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## ERRATA.

Page 343, line 14 from top, delete "In this case the final q becomes a."  
 ,, line 15 ,, for "māraṇa (not mārāṇa) yun," read "māraṇa yun."

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ON THE DATES OF THE SAKA ERA IN INSCRIPTIONS.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C. I. E.; GÖTTINGEN.

(Continued from Vol. XXIII. page 134.)

## II. — IRREGULAR DATES.<sup>1</sup>

### 1. — Dates with Current Tithis.

#### (a). — Dates with Uttarāyana-saṁkrāntis.<sup>2</sup>

123. — §. 1104. — *Inscr. at Sravāṇa Belgoḷa*, No. 124, p. 94. Date of a grant of the Hoysala Viraballāla: —

‘Saka-varshada sāyirada nūra nālkeneya Plava-saṁvatsarada Paushya-bahula-tadige Su(su)kravārad uttarāyana-saṁkrāntiy-endu.

In §. 1104 current, which by the southern luni-solar system was Plava, the Uttarāyana-saṁkrānti took place 6 h. 9 m. after mean sunrise of Friday, 25th December, A. D. 1181, during the third *tithi* of the dark half, which commenced 0 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise of the same day, and ended 2 h. 8 m. after mean sunrise of the following day.

124. — §. 1182. — *Jour. Roy. As. Soc.*, O. S., Vol. V. p. 177; *Jour. Bo. As. Soc.* Vol. IV. p. 105. Terwan copper-plate inscription of Kāṁvadēvarāya of Kalyāṇa: —

‘Śrī-Śaku 1182 varshê Raudra-saṁvatsarê | Pushya-vadisaptami(mî) Sa(sa)ni-dinê | . . . uttarāyana-saṁkrānti-parvani . . .

In §. 1182 expired, which by the southern luni-solar system was Raudra, the Uttarāyana-saṁkrānti took place 16 h. 45 m. after mean sunrise of Saturday, 25th December, A. D. 1260, during the 7th *tithi* of the dark half, which commenced on the same day, 13 h. 19 m., and ended on the following day, 12 h. 28 m. after mean sunrise.

125. — §. 1448. — *As. Res.* Vol. III. p. 49. Kāñchīpura copper-plate inscription of Kṛishṇarāya of Vijayanagara: —

‘One thousand four hundred and forty-eight years of the *Sacābda* . . . being elapsed; . . . in the year Vyaya, in the month of Pushya, when the sun was entering Macara, in the dark fortnight, on the day of Bhṛigu, and on that venerable *tithi*, the tenth of the moon; . . . under the constellation of Viśakha.’

---

<sup>1</sup> Of these dates the following have been already examined by Dr. Fleet: Nos. 127, 128, 150, 155, 157, 160, 165-168, 170, 172, 178-180, 184, 188, 193 and 194. Other irregular dates will be marked as such in my chronological list, below.

<sup>2</sup> Compare also Nos. 143 and 151, below.



In S. 1448 expired, which by the southern luni-solar system was Vyaya, the Makara-samkrānti took place 12 h. 39 m. after mean sunrise of Friday, 28th December, A. D. 1526, during the 10th *tithi* of the dark half, which commenced 2 h. 29 m. after mean sunrise of the same day; on the same day the moon entered Visākha 7 h. 53 m. after mean sunrise.

(b). — A date with a Kṛishṇa-jayanti.

126. — S. 1452. — *Ante*, Vol. IV. p. 329, and Vol. XII. p. 214, No. 95. Harihar inscription of Achyutarāya of Vijayanagara : —

(L. 3). — 'Sri-jayābhyudaya-Sālivāhana-śaka-varsha 1452 Vikru(kṛi)ti-saṁvatsarada Śrāvāṇa-bahula 8yu(ya) Sōmavāra Jayanti-punya-kāladalli sri-Kru(kṛi)shṇavatāra-samayadalli.

In S. 1452 expired, which by the southern luni-solar system was Vikṛita, the 8th *tithi* of the dark half of the *amānta* Śrāvāṇa commenced 12 h. 45 m. after mean sunrise of Monday, 15th August, A. D. 1530, and ended 10 h. 12 m. after mean sunrise of the following day.

(c). — Other dates with current Tithis.

127. — S. 856. — *Ante*, Vol. X. p. 104, and Vol. XVIII. p. 316. Mahākūṭa pillar inscription of the Mahāsāmānta Bappuvarasa : —

(L. 6). — 'Sakanripa-kāl-ātita-sa[m]vatsara-satamga[-eṇ]tu nu(nū)ra ayivatta āraṇeja Jaya-sa[m]vatsarada Kārttika(rtti)ka-su[śu]ddha-pañchamiyūṁ Budhavārad-andu[m].

In S. 856 expired, which by the southern luni-solar system was Jaya, the 5th *tithi* of the bright half of Kārttika commenced 2 h. 42 m. after mean sunrise of Wednesday, 15th October, A. D. 934, and ended 0 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise of the following day. [By the mean-sign system Jaya had ended on the 6th December, A. D. 933, in S. 856 current; and Kārttika-śudi 5 of S. 856 current was Saturday, 26th October, A. D. 933.]

128. — S. 1001. — Hultzsch, *South Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 55; *ante*, Vol. XIX. p. 431. Date of the appointment of Vīra-Chōḍadēva as viceroy of Vēṅgī :—

(L. 76). — Śāk-ābdē śāsi-khadvay-ēṁdu-gaṇitē Simh-ādhirōḍē(ḍhē) ravau chaṁdrē vṛiddhimati trayōdaśa-tithau vārē Gurōr-Vṛiśchikē lagnē-tha Śravanē.

In S. 1001 current the Simha-samkrānti took place (and the solar Bhādrapada commenced) 8 h. 32 m. after mean sunrise of the 27th July, A. D. 1078; and the day of the date is Thursday, 23rd August, A. D. 1078, when the 13th *tithi* of the bright half (of the lunar Bhādrapada) commenced 0 h. 30 m. and ended 23 h. 51 m.,<sup>3</sup> and when the *nakṣatra* was Śrāvāṇa up to 7 h. 13 m. after mean sunrise.

129. — S. 1084. — *Ante*, Vol. XI. p. 12. Anamkoṇḍ inscription of Rudradēva of the Kākatya or Kākatīya dynasty :—

(L. 6). — Śaka-varshamulu 1084 vuneṁṭi Chitrabhānu-saṁvatsara Māgha-śu 13 Vaḍḍavara-munāṁḍu.

In S. 1084 expired, which by the southern luni-solar system was Chitrabhānu, the 13th *tithi* of the bright half of Māgha commenced 2 h. 29 m. after mean sunrise of Saturday, 19th January, A. D. 1163, and ended 3 h. 58 m. after mean sunrise of the following day.

130. — S. 1160. — *Pali, Skr. and Old-Kan. Inscr.* No. 112. Tīlīwālī inscription of the Dēvagiri-Yādava Siṅghaṇa II. :—

'Saka 1160 (in figures, l. 77), the Hēmalambi saṁvatsara; Thursday, the third day of the bright fortnight of Phālguna.'

<sup>3</sup> By Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit's exact calculations, according to the present Sūrya-siddhānta, the *tithi* commenced 1 h. 16½ m. after sunrise of the Thursday, and ended 3½ m. after sunrise of the following day.

In **S. 1160 current**, which by the southern luni-solar system was **Hēmalamba**, the third *tithi* of the bright half of **Phālguna** commenced 5 h. 12 m. after mean sunrise of **Thursday**, 18th February, A. D. 1238, and ended 3 h. after mean sunrise of the following day.

131. — **S. 1189.** — *Ante*, Vol. XII. p. 101. Date of an Old-Kanarese inscription at Kadakol:—

(L. 1). — **Sri-Sa(śa)kavarusa(rsha) 1189 Prabhava-samvatsarada Māgha-su(śu)dha(ddha) 5 Su(śu)kravāradalu.**

In **S. 1189 expired**, which by the southern luni-solar system was **Prabhava**, the 5th *tithi* of the bright half of **Māgha** commenced 2 h. 42 m. after mean sunrise of **Friday**, 20th January, A. D. 1268, and ended 4 h. 41 m. after mean sunrise of the following day.

132. — **S. 1192.** — *Mysore Inscr.* No. 172, p. 325. **Sōmnāthpur** inscription of the Hoysaḷa **Narasimha III.** :—

‘The Saka year 1192, the year **Sukla**, the month **Āshāḍha**, the 12th day of the moon’s increase, **Wednesday**.’

In **S. 1192 current**, which by the southern luni-solar system was **Sukla**, the 12th *tithi* of the bright half of **Āshāḍha** commenced 2 h. 25 m. after mean sunrise of **Wednesday**, 12th June, A. D. 1269, and ended about sunrise of the following day.

133. — **S. 1201.** — *Ante*, Vol. XII. p. 101. Date of an Old-Kanarese inscription at Kadakol:—

(L. 1). — **Srimatu-Sa(śa)kavarusa(rsha) 1201 Pramāthi-samvatsarada Bhādrapada-su(śu)-ddha-chhat[†\*]i Sōmavārad-amdu.**

In **S. 1201 expired**, which by the southern luni-solar system was **Pramāthim**, the 6th *tithi* of the bright half of **Bhādrapada** commenced 4 h. 19 m. after mean sunrise of **Monday**, 14th August, A. D. 1279, and ended 3 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise of the following day.

134. — **S. 1277.** — *Ante*, Vol. XII. p. 212, No. 64. *Mysore Inscr.* No. 1, p. 3. **Chitaldurg** inscription of **Bukkarāya-Voḍeya** of **Hosapaṭṭana** (and afterwards of **Vijayanagara**):—

**Sa(śa)ka-varusha 1277 Manumatha-samvachchhaha(tsa)rada Jê(jyai)shṭa(shṭha)-śudhdha(ddha) 7 Sô (i. e. Sōmavāra).**

In **S. 1277 expired**, which by the southern luni-solar system was **Manmatha**, the 7th *tithi* of the bright half of **Jyāishṭha** commenced 3 h. 58 m. after mean sunrise of **Monday**, 18th May, A. D. 1355, and ended 1 h. 17 m. after mean sunrise of the following day.

135. — **S. 1296.** — *Hultzsch, South Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 104. Inscription on the south wall of a **Maṇḍapa** at the base of the **Tirumalai** rock :—

‘On the day of (the *nakshatra*) **Uttirattādi** (i. e. **Uttara-bhādrapadā**), which corresponds to **Monday**, the eighth lunar day of the former half of the month of **Dhanu** of the **Ānanda** year, which was current after the ‘Saka year 1296 (had passed).’

In **S. 1296 expired**, which by the southern luni-solar system was **Ānanda**, the **Dhanu-samkrānti** took place (and the solar **Pausha** commenced) 20 h. 21 m. after mean sunrise of the 27th November, A. D. 1374; and the day of the date is **Monday**, 11th December, A. D. 1374 when the 8th *tithi* of the bright half (of the lunar **Pausha**) commenced 3 h. 41 m., and when the moon entered **Uttara-bhādrapadā** 3 h. 17 m. after mean sunrise.

136. — **S. 1560.** — *Pāli, Skr. and Old-Kan. Inscr.* No. 237; *Mysore Inscr.* No. 119, p. 218. Date in a stone inscription at **Halēbīd** :—

‘**Sālivāhana-Saka 1560** (in figures, l. 9), the **Īsvara samvatsara**; **Thursday**, the fifth day of the bright fortnight of **Phālguna**.’

In S. 1560 current, which by the southern luni-solar system was *Īsvara*, the 5th *tithi* of the bright half of *Phālguna* commenced 3 h. 12 m. after mean sunrise of Thursday, 8th February, A. D. 1638, and ended 3 h. after mean sunrise of the following day.

137. — S. 1619. — *Pāli, Skr. and Old-Kan. Inscr.* Nos. 35 and 229; *Mysore Inscr.* No. 114, p. 211. *Dēvanhalli* copper-plate and stone inscriptions of *Gōpāla Gauḍa*, 'lord of the *Āvati nād*.'

'*Sālivāhana-Saka* 1619, the *Īsvara saṁvatsara*; Saturday, the fifteenth day of the bright fortnight of *Māgha*.'

In S. 1619 expired, which by the southern luni-solar system was *Īsvara*, the full-moon *tithi* of *Māgha* commenced 6 h. 52 m. after mean sunrise of Saturday, 15th January, A. D. 1698, and ended 5 h. 57 m. after mean sunrise of the following day.

138. — S. 1714. — *Arch. Survey of South. India*, Vol. IV. p. 42. Date of a stone inscription at *Tirupparaikunṇam* :—

'On . . . Wednesday, the fourth *tithi*<sup>4</sup> of the month of *Paṅguni* in the year *Paritāpi*, which was current after the 1714th elapsed year of the *Sālivāhana Saka*, and on the second day<sup>5</sup> of the light fortnight in which the asterism of *Rēvatī*, the *yōga* named *Śula*,<sup>6</sup> and the *karaṇa* *Pālava-karaṇa* were in conjunction.'

In S. 1714 expired, which by the southern luni-solar system was *Paridhavin*, the month *Paṅguni* (i. e. the solar *Chaitra*) commenced, by the *Sūrya-siddhānta*, 14 h. 49 m., and by the *Ārya-siddhānta*, 11 h. 54 m. after mean sunrise of the 10th March, A. D. 1793; accordingly, by the *Ārya-siddhānta*, the fourth day of the solar month was Wednesday, 13th March, N. S., A. D. 1793. On this day the second *tithi* of the bright half (of the lunar *Chaitra* of the luni-solar *Saka* year 1715 expired) and the *karaṇa* *Bālava* commenced 3 h. 20 m., the *nakshatra* was *Rēvatī* from 8 h. 32 m., and the *yōga* *Sukla* up to 9 h. 47 m. after mean sunrise.

## 2. — Dates with Wrong Saka Years, but Correct Jovian Years.<sup>7</sup>

139. — S. 775. — *Ante*, Vol. XIII. p. 134. *Kaṇheri* inscription of the *Rāshtrakūṭa Amōghavarsha I.* :—

(L. 1). — *Sakanripa-kāl-ātita-saṁvatsara-satēshu saptasu pañcha-saptatishv=aṁkataḥ* [api saṁva]tsaraśaḥ 775 tad-antarggata-Prajāpati-sasva(mva)tsar-āntaḥpāti-Āśvina-vahula-dvitiyā-[yām Budha]dinē.

By the southern luni-solar system *Prajāpati* was S. 773 (not 775) expired, and by the mean-sign system *Prajāpati* lasted from the 26th November, A. D. 850, to the 22nd November A. D. 851; and during this time (by both systems in S. 773 expired) the second *tithi* of the dark half of the *amānta* *Āśvina* ended 10 h. 29 m. after mean sunrise of Wednesday, 16th September, A. D. 851.

140. — S. 1063. — *Ante*, Vol. XII. p. 126. *Anjanēri* inscription of the *Yādav. Mahāsūmantha Sēṇadēva* :—

(L. 1). — *Saka-saṁvat* 1063 *Duṁdubhi-saṁvatsar-āntarggata-Jyēshtha-sudi pañcha-daśyām Sōmē Anurādhā-nakshatrē Siddha-yōgē asyām saṁvatsara-māsa-paksha-divasa-apūrvvāyām tithau*.

In the year *Duṁdubhi*, which by the southern luni-solar system was S. 1064 (not 1063) expired, the 15th *tithi* of the bright half of *Jyāishtha* ended 13 h. 32 m. after mean sunrise of Monday, 11th May, A. D. 1142; and on this day the *nakshatra* was *Anurādhā* ud to 13 h. 47 m., and the *yōga* *Siddha* from 2 h. 38 m. after mean sunrise.

<sup>4</sup> This should be 'day.'

<sup>5</sup> This should be '*tithi*.'

<sup>6</sup> This should be '*Sukla*.'

<sup>7</sup> Compare also Nos. 149, 162, 183, 187 and 196, below.

141. — **S. 1128.** — *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 343. Pāṭṇā inscription of the Dēvagiri-Yādava Siṅghaṇa II. : —

(L. 21). — 'Śrī-Sākē 1128 Prabhava-saṁvatsarē Śrāvāṇa-māsē paurṇamāsyāṁ candra-grahaṇa-samayē.

In the year **Prabhava**, which by the southern luni-solar system was **S. 1129** (*not 1128*) expired, the full-moon *tithi* of Śrāvāṇa ended 11 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise of the 9th August, A. D. 1207, when there was a lunar eclipse, visible in India.

142. — **S. 1444.** — *Pāli, Shr. and Old-Kan. Inscr.* No. 27; *Mysore Inscr.* No. 135, p. 245. Šimoggā copper-plate inscription of Kṛishṇarāja of Vijayanagara : —

'Śālivāhana-Saka 1444 (in words; l. 5 of the fourth side), the **Svabhānu saṁvatsara**; **Tuesday**, in the month **Pushya**; at the time of the **Makara-saṁkrama** . . .; under the constellation **Hasta**.'

In the year **Subhānu**, which by the southern luni-solar system was **S. 1445** (*not 1444*) expired, the **Makara-saṁkrānti** took place 18 h. 1 m. after mean sunrise of Monday, 28th December, A. D. 1523, while the moon was in **Hasta**; and on the following day, **Tuesday**, the 29th December, the 8th *tithi* of the dark half of **Pausha** ended 21 h. 42 m. after mean sunrise.

143. — **S. 1645.** — *Mysore Inscr.* No. 169, p. 318. Melkote copper-plate inscription of Kṛishṇarāja of Maisūr : —

'In . . . the Śālivāhana Saka, the year reckoned as *bhūta*, *aṇava*, *aṅga* and *kṣhiti* (1645) having passed, and the year **Krōdhi** being current, in the month **Pushya**, the 12th day of the moon's decrease, **Wednesday**, under the constellation **Anurādhā**, the **Vṛiddhi yōga**, the **Bālava karaṇa**, the **uttarāyaṇa**, the sun being in **Makara**, — on this auspicious day, in the morning.'

In the year **Krōdhi**, which by the southern luni-solar system was **S. 1646** (*not 1645*) expired, the **Uttarāyaṇa-saṁkrānti** took place 18 h. 16 m. after mean sunrise of Tuesday, 29th December, A. D. 1724; and the 12th *tithi* of the dark half of the *amānta* **Pausha** commenced (and the *karaṇa* **Bālava**<sup>8</sup> ended) 3 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise of **Wednesday**, 30th December, A. D. 1724, when the *nakshatra* was **Anurādhā** up to 11 h. 10 m., and the *yōga* **Vṛiddhi** from 3 h. 56 m. after mean sunrise.

### 3. — Dates with Wrong Months.<sup>9</sup>

144. — **S. 872.** — *Jour. Bo. As. Soc.* Vol. XI. p. 245. Date of a grant commemorated in an inscription at Narēgal : —

'On the occasion of an eclipse of the sun on **Thursday**, the day of the new moon of the month **Kārttika** of the **Sādhāraṇa saṁvatsara**, being the year of the 'Saka 872.'

In **S. 872** expired, which by the southern luni-solar system was **Sādhāraṇa**, the 15th *tithi* of the dark half of the *amānta* **Kārttika** ended 13 h. 53 m. after mean sunrise of Tuesday, 12th November, A. D. 950, when there was no eclipse. But there was a total solar eclipse, not visible in India, at sunrise of **Thursday**, 12th December, A. D. 950, which was the 15th of the dark half of the following month, the *amānta* **Mārgasirsha**. [By the mean-sign system **Sādhāraṇa** ended on the 30th September, A. D. 949.]

145. — **S. 1096.** — *Jour. Bo. As. Soc.* Vol. XVIII. p. 275. Belgaum District copper-plate inscription of the Kalachuri Śōmēśvara : —

(Plate ii, l. 20). — **Shaṇṇaraty-adhika-sahasratamō Śakē Jaya-saṁvatsarē Kārttika-śukla-dvādaśyāṁ Brīhaspativāra-Rēvatīnakshatru-Vyatipātayōga-Va(ba)vakarāṇa-yuktāyām.**

<sup>8</sup> Perhaps 'Bālava' may be an error for 'Kaulava,' the *karaṇa* which follows immediately upon Bālava.

<sup>9</sup> Compare also No. 156, below.

In S. 1096 expired, which by the southern luni-solar system was **Jaya**, the 12th *tithi* of the bright half of **Kārttika** ended 12 h. 24 m., and the *karana* **Bava** about one hour after mean sunrise of Wednesday, 9th October, A. D. 1174, and on this day the *nakshatra* was **Pūrva-bhadrapadā**, and the *yōga* **Vyāghāta**. But the 12th *tithi* of the bright half of the following month, **Mārgaśīrsha**, ended 21 h. 6 m., and the *karana* **Bava** about 9 h. after mean sunrise of Thursday, 7th November, A. D. 1174; and on this day the *nakshatra* was **Rēvati** up to 13 h. 8 m. after mean sunrise, and the *yōga* **Vyatipāta** about the whole day. [The date No. 69, above, from an inscription of the same king, shews that the 15th of the dark half of **Mārgaśīrsha** of S. 1096 expired corresponded to the 26th November, A. D. 1174. And it may be added that, calculated by Prof. Jacobi's Special Tables, **Kārttika** was not intercalary in S. 1096 expired.]

146. — S. 1353. — Hultzsch, *South Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 80. Date of an inscription on the base of the **Īśvara** temple at **Tellūr** near **Vēlūr** —

'On the day of (the *nakshatra*) **Tiruvōṇam** (i. e. **Śravaṇa**), which corresponds to **Monday**, the fifth lunar day of the former half of the month of **Karkaṭaka** of the **Sādhārana** year (and) the **Saka** year 1353.'

In S. 1353 current, which by the southern luni-solar system was **Sādhārana**, the sun was in the sign **Karkaṭa** from 23 h. 13 m. after mean sunrise of the 28th June to 10 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise of the 30th July, A. D. 1430. During this time there was only one 5th *tithi* of the bright half, and this *tithi* ended 17 h. 34 m. after mean sunrise of Tuesday, the 25th July, when the moon was in **Hasta** (No. 13), not in **Śravaṇa** (No. 22). — In S. 1353 current, the year of the date, the only fifth of the bright half on which the moon was in **Śravaṇa** was **Monday**, the 20th November, A. D. 1430, which was the 5th of the bright half of the lunar **Mārgaśīrsha** and the 22nd day of the solar **Mārgaśīrsha**. Now, as the solar **Mārgaśīrsha** of the north would in the south be called the month of **Kārttigai**, I believe the word **Karkaṭaka** of the date to have been erroneously put for **Kārttigai**.

#### 4. — Dates with Wrong Tithis.

147. — S. 902. — *Jour. Bo. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 210; *ante*, Vol. XII. p. 209, No. 11. Saundatti inscription of the Western **Chālukya** **Taila** II. :—

Sa(sa)kanṛipa-kāl-ātita-saṁvatsara-satamga[1\*] 902neya **Vikrama-saṁvatsarada** **Paṇṣhya**-(sha)-śuddha-daśamī-Bṛihaspativārad-aṁdin=uttarāyana-sa(sa)mkrāṇadol.

In S. 902 expired, which by the southern luni-solar system was **Vikrama**, the **Uttarāyana-saṁkrānti** took place 5 h. 54 m. after mean sunrise of Thursday, 23rd December, A. D. 980; and on the same day the 14th (not the 10th) *tithi* of the bright half of **Paṇṣha** ended 11 h. 37 m. after mean sunrise. [By the mean-sign system **Vikrama** ended on the 27th May, A. D. 979, in S. 902 current.]

148. — S. 966. — *Ante*, Vol. XII. p. 209, No. 14. Hūli inscription of the Western **Chālukya** **Sōmēśvara** I. :—

Sakanṛipa-kāl-ātita-saṁvatsara-satamga 966neya **Tārana-saṁvatsarada** **Paṇṣya**-(shya)-su(su)-dhḍha(ddha) 10 **Ādivārama**=(u)ttarāyana-saṁkrānti-aṁdu.

In S. 966 expired, which by the southern luni-solar system was **Tārana**, the **Uttarāyana-saṁkrānti** took place 19 h. 21 m. after mean sunrise of Sunday, 23rd December, A. D. 1044; and on the same day the first (not the 10th) *tithi*<sup>10</sup> of the bright half of **Paṇṣha** ended 7 h. 1 m. after mean sunrise.

<sup>10</sup> In the text of **Rāmaṇjāchārya**'s *Sāsana* at **Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa**, printed *ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 234, the *tithi* of the date is the first (1); but according to the text (not the translation) published by the same editor in *Inscriptions at Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa*, p. 100, No. 136, the *tithi* is the tenth (10). Here my calculation shews this latter reading (10) to be correct. Compare also below, No. 196.

149. — §. 1317. — *As. Res.* Vol. IX. p. 420; Colebrooke's *Misc. Essays*, Vol. II. p. 264. Chitradurg copper-plate inscription of Harihara II. of Vijayanagara:—

Rishi-bhū-vahni-chandrê tu gaṇitê Dhāt[ri]-vatsarê |  
Māgha-māsê śukla-pakṣiê pañṇamāsyâm mahâtithan ||  
nakshatrê pitri-daivatye Bhānuvārêṇa saṁyutê |

In the year Dhātṛi, which by the southern luni-solar system was §. 1318 (*not* 1317) expired, the full-moon *tithi* of Māgha ended 3 h. 20 m. *before* mean sunrise of Sunday, 14th January, A. D. 1397; but the day of the date is evidently this Sunday, the first of the dark half, on which the moon was in the pitri-nakshatra, *i. e.* Maghā, by the Brahma-siddhānta, from 2 h. 38 m., and, by the Garga-siddhānta, from 5 h. 16 m. after mean sunrise.

#### 5. — Dates with Wrong Weekdays.

150. — §. 976. — *Ante*, Vol. XIX. p. 273. Honwād inscription of the Western Chālukya Sōmēśvara I.:—

(L. 33). — Sa(śa)ka-varsha 976neya Jaya-saṁvatsarada Vaisā(śā)khad=amāvāśye(sye) Sōmavārada-mādinā sū(sū)ryagrahaṇa-nimittya(tta)dim.

In §. 976 expired, which by the southern luni-solar system was Jaya, the 15th *tithi* of the dark half of the amāvāśya Vaisākha ended 6 h. 12 m. after mean sunrise of Tuesday (*not* Monday), 10th May, A. D. 1054, when there was a total solar eclipse, visible in India. [Compare above, No. 56.]

151. — §. 984. — *Ante*, Vol. XII. p. 209, No. 16. Hulgūr inscription of the Western Chālukya Sōmēśvara I.:—

Sa(śa)ka[u]ṛipa-kāl-ākṛānta-saṁvatsara-śataṁga[\*] 984neya Subhakṛit-saṁvatsaram pravarttise tad-varsh-ābhyantarada Pushya-bahula-saptame(mi) Ādityavāramum=uttarāyana-saṁkrāntiy-andu.

In §. 984 expired, which by the southern luni-solar system was Subhakṛit, the Uttarāyana-saṁkrānti took place 11 h. 8 m. after mean sunrise of Tuesday (*not* Sunday). 24th December, A. D. 1062, during the 7th *tithi* of the dark half of Pausha which commenced on the same day, 10 h. 33 m. after mean sunrise.

[*Ibid.* p. 209, No. 15, a Chillūr-Baḍṇi inscription of the same king is dated:—

Sa(śa)kanṛipa-kāl-ātita-saṁvatsara-sa(śa)taṁga[\*] 984neya [Sū]bhakṛitu-saṁvatsarada Pauśya(sha)-su(śu)ddha-dasa(śa)mi Ādityavāram=uttarāyana-saṁkrānti-vyatīpātad-andu.]

152. — §. 993. — *Ante*, Vol. XII. p. 212, No. 55; *Pāli, Skr. and Old-Kan. Inscr.* No. 159; *Mysore Inscr.* No. 70, p. 144. Baḷagāmve inscription of the Western Chālukya Sōmēśvara II.:—

(L. 12). — Sa(śa)ka-varsha 993neya Virōdhikṛit-saṁvatsarada Pushya-su(śu)ddha 1 Sōmavārada-mādin=uttarāyana-saṁkrānti-parbba(rvva)-nimittadim.<sup>11</sup>

In §. 993 expired, which by the southern luni-solar system was Virōdhakṛit, the Uttarāyana-saṁkrānti took place 19 h. 2 m. after mean sunrise of Saturday, 24th December, A. D. 1071, during the first *tithi* of the bright half of Pausha which ended 8 h. 24 m. after mean sunrise of Sunday (*not* Monday), 25th December, A. D. 1071.

153. — §. 997. — *Arch. Survey of West. India*, Vol. III. p. 106; *ante*, Vol. I. p. 141. Kādarōḷi inscription of the Western Chālukya Sōmēśvara II.:—

(L. 19). — Sa(śa)ka-varsha 997neya Rākshasa-saṁvatsarada Pushyada pupṇa(ṇṇi)me Ādityavāra uttarāyana-saṁ(saṁ)krānti-vyatīpātad=amdu.

<sup>11</sup> The same date in another Baḷagāmve inscription of the same king, *Pāli, Skr. and Old-Kan. Inscr.* No. 160; and *Mysore Inscr.* No. 78, p. 165.

In S. 1096 expired, which by the southern luni-solar system was *Jaya*, the 12th *tithi* of the bright half of *Kārttika* ended 12 h. 24 m., and the *karāṇa* *Bava* about one hour after mean sunrise of Wednesday, 9th October, A. D. 1174, and on this day the *nakṣatra* was *Pūrva-bhādrapadā*, and the *yōga* *Vyāghāta*. But the 12th *tithi* of the bright half of the following month, *Mārgaśīrṣa*, ended 21 h. 6 m., and the *karāṇa* *Bava* about 9 h. after mean sunrise of Thursday, 7th November, A. D. 1174; and on this day the *nakṣatra* was *Révatī* up to 13 h. 8 m. after mean sunrise, and the *yōga* *Vyātipāta* about the whole day. [The date No. 69, above, from an inscription of the same king, shews that the 15th of the dark half of *Mārgaśīrṣa* of S. 1096 expired corresponded to the 26th November, A. D. 1174. And it may be added that, calculated by Prof. Jacobi's Special Tables, *Kārttika* was not intercalary in S. 1096 expired.]

146. — S. 1353. — Hultzsch, *South Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 80. Date of an inscription on the base of the *Īśvara* temple at Tellūr near Vēlūr:—

'On the day of (*the nakṣatra*) *Tiruvōṇam* (i. e. *Śravaṇa*), which corresponds to Monday, the fifth lunar day of the former half of the month of *Karkaṭaka* of the *Sādharaṇa* year (and) the 'Saka year 1353.'

In S. 1353 current, which by the southern luni-solar system was *Sādharaṇa*, the sun was in the sign *Karkaṭa* from 23 h. 13 m. after mean sunrise of the 28th June to 10 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise of the 30th July, A. D. 1430. During this time there was only one 5th *tithi* of the bright half, and this *tithi* ended 17 h. 34 m. after mean sunrise of Tuesday, the 25th July, when the moon was in *Hasta* (No. 13), not in *Śravaṇa* (No. 22). — In S. 1353 current, the year of the date, the only fifth of the bright half on which the moon was in *Śravaṇa* was Monday, the 20th November, A. D. 1430, which was the 5th of the bright half of the lunar *Mārgaśīrṣa* and the 22nd day of the solar *Mārgaśīrṣa*. Now, as the solar *Mārgaśīrṣa* of the north would in the south be called the month of *Kārttigai*, I believe the word *Karkaṭaka* of the date to have been erroneously put for *Kārttigai*.

#### 4. — Dates with Wrong Tithis.

147. — S. 902. — *Jour. Bo. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 210; *ante*, Vol. XII. p. 209, No. 11. Saundatti inscription of the Western Chālukya Taila II.:—

Sa(sa)kanṛipa-kāl-ātita-saṁvatsara-śataṅga[1\*] 902neya Vikrama-saṁvatsarada Paushya-(sha)-suddha-daśamī-Bṛhaspativārad-aṁdin=uttarāyana-sa(sa)mkrāṇadol.

In S. 902 expired, which by the southern luni-solar system was *Vikrama*, the *Uttarāyana-saṁkrānti* took place 5 h. 54 m. after mean sunrise of Thursday, 23rd December, A. D. 980; and on the same day the 14th (not the 10th) *tithi* of the bright half of *Pausha* ended 11 h. 37 m. after mean sunrise. [By the mean-sign system *Vikrama* ended on the 27th May, A. D. 979, in S. 902 current.]

148. — S. 966. — *Ante*, Vol. XII. p. 209, No. 14. Hūli inscription of the Western Chālukya Sōmēśvara I.:—

Sakanṛipa-kāl-ātita-saṁvatsara-śataṅgalu 966neya Tārana-saṁvatsarada Puṣya(shya)-su(su)-dhḍha(ddha) 10 Ādivārama=(u)ttarāyana-saṁkrāntiy-aṁdu.

In S. 966 expired, which by the southern luni-solar system was *Tārana*, the *Uttarāyana-saṁkrānti* took place 19 h. 21 m. after mean sunrise of Sunday, 23rd December, A. D. 1044; and on the same day the first (not the 10th) *tithi*<sup>10</sup> of the bright half of *Pausha* ended 7 h. 1 m. after mean sunrise.

<sup>10</sup> In the text of Rāmānujāchārya's *Sāsana* at *Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa*, printed *ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 234, the *tithi* of the date is the first (1); but according to the text (not the translation) published by the same editor in *Inscriptions at Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa*, p. 100, No. 136, the *tithi* is the tenth (10). Here my calculation shews this latter reading (10) to be correct. Compare also below, No. 198.

149. — S. 1317. — *As. Res.* Vol. IX. p. 420; *Colebrooke's Misc. Essays*, Vol. II. p. 264. Chitradurg copper-plate inscription of Harihara II. of Vijayanagara:—

Rishi-bhū-valni-chandrê tu gaṇitê Dhāt[ri]-vatsanê |  
Māgha-māsê śukla-pakṣhê paṇṇamāsyâm mahātithan ||  
nakṣhatrê pitri-daivatye Bhānuvārêṇa saṁyutê |

In the year Dhātri, which by the southern luni-solar system was S. 1318 (*not* 1317) expired, the full-moon *tithi* of Māgha ended 3 h. 20 m. *before* mean sunrise of Sunday, 14th January, A. D. 1397; but the day of the date is evidently this Sunday, the first of the dark half, on which the moon was in the pitri-nakṣhatra, *i. e.* Maghā, by the Brahma-siddhānta, from 2 h. 38 m., and, by the Garga-siddhānta, from 5 h. 16 m. after mean sunrise.

#### 5. — Dates with Wrong Weekdays.

150. — S. 976. — *Ante*, Vol. XIX. p. 273. Honwād inscription of the Western Chālukya Sōmēśvara I.:—

(L. 33). — Sa(śa)ka-varsha 976neya Jaya-saṁvatsarada Vaisā(śā)khad=amāvāśye(sye) Sōmavārād-aṁdina sū(sū)ryagrahaṇa-nimittya(tta)dim̐.

In S. 976 expired, which by the southern luni-solar system was Jaya, the 15th *tithi* of the dark half of the amānta Vaisākha ended 6 h. 12 m. after mean sunrise of Tuesday (*not* Monday), 10th May, A. D. 1054, when there was a total solar eclipse, visible in India. [Compare above, No. 56.]

151. — S. 984. — *Ante*, Vol. XII. p. 209, No. 16. Hulgūr inscription of the Western Chālukya Sōmēśvara I.:—

Sa(śa)ka[u]ṛipa-kāl-ākṛānta-saṁvatsara-śatamga[1\*] 984neya Subhakrit-saṁvatsaram̐ pravartise tad-varsh-ābhyantarada Pushya-bahula-saptame(mi) Ādityavāramum=uttarāyana-saṁkrāntiy-andu.

In S. 984 expired, which by the southern luni-solar system was Subhakrit, the Uttarāyana-saṁkrānti took place 11 h. 8 m. after mean sunrise of Tuesday (*not* Sunday), 21th December, A. D. 1062, during the 7th *tithi* of the dark half of Pausha which commenced on the same day, 10 h. 33 m. after mean sunrise.

[*Ibid.* p. 209, No. 15. a Chillūr-Baḍṇi inscription of the same king is dated:—

Sa(śa)kanṛipa-kāl-ātita-saṁvatsara-sa(śa)taṁga[1\*] 984neya [Su]bhakritu-saṁvatsarada Pauśya(sha)-su(śu)ddha-dasa(śa)mi Ādityavāram=uttarāyana-saṁkrānti-vyatipātad-andu.]

152. — S. 993. — *Ante*, Vol. XII. p. 212, No. 55; *Pāli, Skt. and Old-Kan. Inscr.* No. 159; *Mysore Inscr.* No. 70, p. 144. Baḷagūhve inscription of the Western Chālukya Sōmēśvara II.:—

(L. 12). — Sa(śa)ka-varsha 993neya Virōdhikrit-saṁvatsarada Pushya-su(śu)ddha 1 Sōmavārād-aṁdin=uttarāyana-saṁkrānti-parbba(rvva)-nimittadim̐.<sup>11</sup>

In S. 993 expired, which by the southern luni-solar system was Virōdhakrit, the Uttarāyana-saṁkrānti took place 19 h. 2 m. after mean sunrise of Saturday, 24th December, A. D. 1071, during the first *tithi* of the bright half of Pausha which ended 8 h. 24 m. after mean sunrise of Sunday (*not* Monday), 25th December, A. D. 1071.

153. — S. 997. — *Arch. Survey of West. India*, Vol. III. p. 106; *ante*, Vol. I. p. 141. Kādarōḷi inscription of the Western Chālukya Sōmēśvara II.:—

(L. 19). — Sa(śa)ka-varsha 997neya Rākshasa-saṁvatsarada Pushyada puṇṇa(ṇṇi)me Ādityavāra uttarāyana-saṁ(saṁ)krānti-vyatipātad=aṁdu.

<sup>11</sup> The same date in another Baḷagūhve inscription of the same king, *Pāli, Skt. and Old-Kan. Inscr.* No. 160, and *Mysore Inscr.* No. 78, p. 163.



In **§. 997** expired, which by the southern luni-solar system was **Rākshasa**, the **Uttarāyana-saṁkrānti** took place 18 h. 16 m. after mean sunrise of Thursday, 24th December, A. D. 1075, during the full-moon *tithi* of Pausa which ended 4 h. 49 m. after mean sunrise of Friday (not Sunday), 25th December, A. D. 1075.

[*Ante*, Vol. IV. p. 210, and *Mysore Inscr.* No. 69, p. 143, there is a **Baḷagāṁve** inscription of the reign of the same king which is dated : 'On the occasion of the festival of the sun's commencing his progress to the north on Monday the first day of the bright fortnight of the month Pushya of the **Rākshasa saṁvatsara** which was the year of the 'Saka 997.']

154. — **§. 1080.** — *Ante*, Vol. XI. p. 274. Date of a **Kādamba** stone inscription at **Siddāpur** : —

(L. 28). — **Śaka-varṣaṁ 1080neya Bahudhānya-saṁvatsarada Āśāḍad-amavāsya Sōmavārad-amḍa dakṣiṇāyana-saṁkrānti-vyatīpātada puṇya-tithiyolu.**

In **§. 1080** expired, which by the southern luni-solar system was **Bahudhānya**, the **Dakṣiṇāyana-saṁkrānti** took place 12 h. 17 m. after mean sunrise of Thursday, 26th June, A. D. 1158, and the 15th *tithi* of the dark half of the *amānta* **Āshāḍha** ended 20 h. 16 m. after mean sunrise of Friday (not Monday), 27th June, A. D. 1158.

155. — **§. 1096.** — *Ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 127. **Hulgūr** stone inscription of the **Kalachuri Sōmēśvara** : —

(L. 18). — **Śaka-varsha 1096neya Jaya-saṁvatsarada Jyēshṭhada amavāsye Ādityavara sūryyagrahaṇa-vyatīpātad-andu.**

In **§. 1096** expired, which by the southern luni-solar system was **Jaya**, the 15th *tithi* of the dark half of the *amānta* **Jyāishṭha** ended 8 h. 22 m. after mean sunrise of Saturday (not Sunday), 1st June, A. D. 1174, when there was a solar eclipse, visible in India.

156. — **§. 1141.** — *Jour. Do. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 256. Date in a stone tablet at **Nésarige** : —

'On a sacred lunar day which comprised the conjunction of a *vyatīpāta* with the sun's commencement of his progress to the north, on Thursday, the seventh day of the bright fortnight of **Māgha**<sup>12</sup> in the year of the Saka era 1141, being the **Bahudhānya saṁvatsara**.'

In **§. 1141** current, which by the southern luni-solar system was **Bahudhānya**, the **Uttarāyana-saṁkrānti** took place 19 h. 55 m. after mean sunrise of Tuesday (not Thursday), 25th December, A. D. 1218, during the 7th *tithi* of the bright half of Pausa which ended 20 h. 10 m. after mean sunrise of the same day.

157. — **§. 1145.** — *Jour. Bo. As. Soc.* Vol. XII. p. 20; *Arch. Survey of West. India*, Vol. II. p. 233, and Vol. III. p. 117; *ante*, Vol. XIX. p. 440. **Muṇōlli** inscription of the **Dēvagiri-Yādava Siṅgha II** : —

(L. 24). — **Śrīmatu Śa(śa)ka-varsha 1145neya Chittrabhānu-saṁvatsarada Kārttika-su(śu)-ddha(ḍḍha)-puṇṇami Sōmavāra sōmagrahaṇa-bya(vya)tipātadalli.**

In **§. 1145** current, which by the southern luni-solar system was **Chittrabhānu**, the full-moon *tithi* of **Kārttika** ended 0 h. 44 m. after mean sunrise of Saturday (not Monday), 22nd October, A. D. 1222, when there was a lunar eclipse, visible in India. The *yōga Vyatīpāta* had ended 1 h. 58 m. before mean sunrise of the same day.

158. — **§. 1148.** — *Pāli, Skt. and Old-Kan. Inscr.* No. 110. Date in a **Chauḍadāmpur** inscription of the time of the **Dēvagiri-Yādava Mahādēva (P)** : —

'Saka 1148 (in figures, 1. 26), the **Pārthiva saṁvatsara**; Monday, the fifteenth day of the bright fortnight of **Bhādrapada**; at the time of an eclipse of the moon.'

<sup>12</sup> This clearly is an error for 'Pausa.'

In S. 1148 current, which by the southern luni-solar system was Pārthiva, the 15th *tithi* of the bright half of Bhādrapada ended 18 h. 59 m. after mean sunrise of Tuesday (*not* Monday), 19th August, A. D. 1225, when there was a lunar eclipse, visible in India.

159. — S. 1483. — *Pāli, Skr. and Olīl-Kan. Inscr.* No. 134; *Mysore Inscr.* No. 24, p. 41. Harilar inscription of Sadāśivadēva of Vijayanagara :—

‘Sālivāhana-Saka 1483 (in figures, l. 8), the Durmati *saṁvatsara*; Monday, the fifteenth day of the bright fortnight of Māgha; at the time of an eclipse of the moon.’

In S. 1483 expired, which by the southern luni-solar system was Durmati, the full-moon *tithi* of Māgha ended 14 h. 42 m. after mean sunrise of Tuesday (*not* Monday), 20th January, A. D. 1562, when there was a lunar eclipse, visible in India.

#### 6. — Dates with Wrong Nakshatras.

160. — S. 614. — *Ante*, Vol. XIX. p. 150; *Mysore Inscr.* No. 134, p. 241. Sorab copper-plate inscription of the Western Chalukya Vinayāditya :—

(L. 18). — [Cha]turdaśōttara-shatcchhatēshu Śaka-varshēshv=atitēshu pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājra-saṁvatsarē [ēka]daśē varttamānē . . . dakshināyan-ābhimukhē bhagavati bhāskarē Rōhini(ṇi)-nakshatrē Sanaishcharavārē.

In S. 614 expired the Dakshināyana-saṁkrānti took place 0 h. 8 m. after mean sunrise of Saturday, 22nd June, A. D. 692; but at sunrise of this day the moon was in the *nakshatra* Āślēshā (No. 9), or, by the Brahma-siddhānta, in Māghā (No. 10), *not* in Rōhini (No. 4).

161. — S. 735. — *Ante*, Vol. XII. p. 16. Kaḍab copper-plate inscription of the Rāshṭra-kūṭa Gōvinda III. :—

(Plate iv, l. 10). — Śakanripa-saṁvatsarēshu śara-śikhi-munishu vyatitēshu J[y\*]ēshṭha-māsa-śukla-paksha-daśamyām Pushya-nakshatrē Chandravārē.

In S. 735 current the 10th *tithi* of the bright half of Jyāishṭha ended 15 h. 31 m. after mean sunrise of Monday, 24th May, A. D. 812; but on this day the moon was in Hasta (No. 13) and Chitra (No. 14), *not* in Pushya (No. 8). [In S. 735 expired the *tithi* of the date ended on Friday, 13th May, A. D. 813, and the *nakshatra* then also was Hasta.]

162. — S. 822. — *Ante*, Vol. XII. p. 221. Nandwāḍige inscription of the Rāshṭrakūṭa Kṛishṇa II. :—

(L. 1). — Śakanripa-kāl-ātita-saṁvatsaramga]=eṇṭu nūra irppatt-eraḍaneya Dundubhiy=emba varisham pravarttise tad-varsh-ābhyanantara-Māgha-su(śu)ddha-paṁchamiyūṁ Brihaspativārāḍ-andu[m] Uttarāshāḍa(ḍha)-nakshatramūṁ Siddhiy=emba [yōgamu]m=āge.

In the year Dundubhi, which by the southern luni-solar system was S. 824 (*not* 822) expired, and which by the mean-sign system also was current at the commencement of S. 824 expired,<sup>13</sup> the 5th *tithi* of the bright half of Māgha ended 21 h. 42 m. after mean sunrise of Thursday, 6th January, A. D. 903; but on this day the *nakshatra* was Uttara-bhādrapadā (No. 26), *not* Uttarāshāḍhā (No. 21), and the *yōga* Śiva (No. 20), *not* Siddhi (No. 16).

#### 7. — Seemingly Regular Dates from Spurious Inscriptions.

163. — S. 366. — *Ante*, Vol. VIII. p. 95; *Mysore Inscr.* No. 158, p. 296. Bangalore copper-plate inscription of Vīra Nōṇamba, apparently a modern forgery :—

(L. 12). — Saka-varusha 366 Tārāṇa-saṁvachharē Phāgluna-māsē kṛishṇa-pakshē Bi(bri)-hāvāra amāvāsyayām tithau.

In S. 366 expired, which by the southern luni-solar system would be Tārāṇa, the new-moon *tithi* of the *amānta* Phālguna ended 18 h. 55 m. after mean sunrise of Thursday,

<sup>13</sup> Dundubhi lasted from the 24th April, A. D. 901, to the 20th April, A. D. 902.

22nd February, A. D. 445. [By the mean-sign system Tārana lasted from the 10th August, A. D. 448 (in S. 370 expired), to the 6th August, A. D. 449 (in S. 371 expired).]

164. — S. 411. — *Ante*, Vol. VII. p. 212. British Museum forged copper-plate inscription of the Early Chalukya Pulikēsin I. :—

(L. 28). — Śakanrip-ābdēshv=ēkādaś-ōttarēshu chatuś-śatēshu vyatītēshu Vibhava-saṁvatsarē pravarttamānē . . . Vaiśākh-ōdita-pūrṇa-puṇya-divasē Rāhō(hau) vidhau(dhōr=) maṇḍalaṁ ślēshṭē(?).

In S. 411 current, which by the southern luni-solar system would be Vibhava, there was a lunar eclipse, not visible in India, 2 h. 38 m. after mean sunrise of the 12th April, A. D. 488, the full-moon day of Vaiśākh. [By the mean-sign system Vibhava lasted from the 6th February, A. D. 492 (in S. 413 expired), to the 1st February, A. D. 493 (in S. 414 expired).]

165. — S. 417. — *Ante*, Vol. XIII. p. 117 ; and Vol. XVIII. pp. 92 and 286. Ilāo copper-plate inscription of the Gurjara Dadda II. Praśāntarāga :—

(L. 18). — Śakanripa-kāl-ātita-saṁvachohha(tsa)ra-śata-chatusṭayē saptadaś-ādhikē Yē-(jyē)shth-[ā\*]m[ā\*]vāsy[ā\*]-su(st)ryagrāhē.

In S. 417 current the new-moon *tithi* of the *pūrṇimānta* Jyaisṭha ended on the 21st April, A. D. 494, and that of the *amānta* Jyaisṭha on the 20th May, A. D. 494; on neither day was there a solar eclipse. For S. 417 expired the corresponding days are the 10th May, A. D. 495, when there was a solar eclipse, 9 h. 42 m. after mean sunrise, and the 8th June, A. D. 495, when there also was a solar eclipse, 16 h. 41 m. after mean sunrise; both these eclipses were invisible.

#### S. — Select Irregular Dates, not given above.

166. — S. 169. — *Ante*, Vol. VIII. p. 213, and Vol. XVII. p. 241. Tanjore copper-plate inscription of the Western Gaṅga king Arivarman (Harivarman) :—

(L. 10). — Sa(sa)kā(ka)-kālē nav-ōttara-shashṭir=ēka-śata-gatēshu Prabhava-saṁvatsar-ābhyanterē . . . . . Shā(Phā)lgun-āmāvāsō(syā)-Bhṛigu[vārē\*] Rēvatī(tī)-nakshatrē Vṛiddhi-yōgē Vṛishabha-lagnē.

By the southern luni-solar system Prabhava would be S. 169 expired. As shewn by Dr. Fleet, the new-moon *tithi* of Phālguna did not end on a Friday, either in S. 169 expired or in S. 169 current. In S. 169 expired with the *pūrṇimānta* scheme of the month, it commenced about 3 h. 15 m. after mean sunrise of Friday, 11th February, A. D. 248; but the *nakshatra* then was Satabhishaj (No. 24), not Rēvatī (No. 27); and the *yōga* was Siddha (No. 21), not Vṛiddhi (No. 11). [By the mean-sign system Prabhava lasted from the 20th November, A. D. 253 (in S. 175 expired), to the 16th November, A. D. 254 (in S. 176 expired).]

167. — S. 261. — *Ante*, Vol. XV. p. 175, and Vol. XVII. p. 239. Muḍyanūr copper-plate inscription of the Bāṇa king Śrīvadhūvallabha-Malladēva-Nandivarman :—

(L. 23). — Ēkashasṭy-uttara-dvaya-śatē Śak-ābdaḥ pravarddhamān-ātmanaḥ trayō-vimśati varttamāna-Vilambi-saṁvatsarē Kārttikā(ka)-śukla-pakshē<sup>14</sup> trayōdaśyām Sōmavārē Aśvinyām nakshatrē.

In S. 261 current, which by the southern luni-solar system would be Vilamba, the 13th *tithi* of the bright half of Kārttika ended on Friday, 13th October, A. D. 338, when the *nakshatras* were Rēvatī and Aśvinī. And in S. 261 expired the same *tithi* occupied about the whole of Wednesday, 31st October, A. D. 339, when the *nakshatras* were Aśvinī and Bharaṇī. [By the mean-sign system Vilamba lasted from the 1st November A. D. 343 (in S. 265 expired), to the 27th October, A. D. 344 (in S. 266 expired).]

<sup>14</sup> That the intended reading is Kārttika-śuklapakshē, not Kārttik-śuklapakshē, is shewn by the *nakshatra* quoted in the date.

168. — S. 261. — *Ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 311. Spurious date in the Kalbhâvi Jain inscription:—

(L. 14). — Saka-varsha 261neya Vibhava-saṁvatsarada Paushya(sha)-bahuḷa-chaturdśi-Sōmavāram=uttarāyana-saṁkrānti-yāmu.

By the southern luni-solar system S. 261 current would be Vilamba, and S. 261 expired Vikārin, — not Vibhava, which would be S. 230 expired. And by the mean-sign system the year Vibhava, nearest to S. 261, lasted from the 8th March, A. D. 314 (in S. 236 expired), to the 4th March, A. D. 315 (in S. 237 expired). This proves the wording of the date to be quite incorrect; and Dr. Fleet, *loc cit.* pp. 310, 311, has taken the trouble to shew that the date does not in any way work out satisfactorily for any one of the Saka years mentioned.

169. — S. (P) 388. — *Ante*, Vol. I. p. 363; *Mysore Inscr.* No. 151, p. 288; *Coorg Inscr.* No. 1, p. 3. Merkara copper-plate inscription of the Western Gaṅga king Avinita-Koṅgaṇi:—

(L. 16). — Ashṭa aṣṭi uttarasya trayô satasya saṁvatsarasya Māgha-māsani Sōmavāram Svati-nakshatra suddha-pāñchami.

In S. 388 current the 5th *tithi* of the bright half of Māgha ended on Friday, 7th January, A. D. 466, when the *nakshatra* was Uttara-bhadrpadā (No. 26), not Svāti (No. 15). And in S. 388 expired the same *tithi* ended on Wednesday, 28th December, A. D. 466, when the *nakshatra* also was Uttara-bhadrpadā.

170. — S. 415. — *Ante*, Vol. XVII. p. 200, and Vol. XVIII. p. 92. Bagumrā copper-plate inscription of the Gurjara Dadda II. Prāsāntarāga:—

(L. 21). — Śakanṛipa-kāl-ātita-saṁva[chchha(tsa)]ra-sata-chatusṭayê pañchadaś-ādhikê Yê(jyê)shṭh-[ā]māvāsya-su(sū)ryagrahê.

In S. 415 current the new-moon *tithi* of Jyāishṭha ended, by the *pūrṇimānta* scheme, on the 12th May, A. D. 492; and, by the *amānta* scheme, on the 10th June, A. D. 492; and for S. 415 expired the corresponding days are the 1st May, A. D. 493, and the 31st May, A. D. 493. On none of these days was there a solar eclipse. There was an invisible solar eclipse on the 10th July, A. D. 492; and one, which was invisible in India, on the 29th June, A. D. 493.

171. — S. 684. — *Mysore Inscr.* No. 152, p. 286. Hosūr copper-plate inscription of the Western Gaṅga king Prithuvī-Koṅgaṇi:—

Chaturāṣṭi-uttarêshu shatṭhatêshu Saka-varshêshu samatîtêshu . . . . Vaisākha-masê sōmagrahaṇê Visākha-nakshatrê Sukravare.

In S. 684 expired the full-moon *tithi* of Vaisākha ended on Tuesday, 13th April, A. D. 762; and in S. 684 current it ended 0 h. 13 m. after mean sunrise of Friday, 24th April, A. D. 761, on which day the moon was in the *nakshatras* Svāti and Visākha. On neither day was there a lunar eclipse; nor was there one on a Friday in A. D. 760 or A. D. 763.

172. — S. 730. — *Ante*, Vol. XI. p. 159, Vol. XVI. p. 74. Waṇi copper-plate inscription of the Rāshṭrakūṭa Gōvinda III.:—

(L. 46). — Śakanṛipa-kāl-ātita-saṁvatsara-śatêshu saptasu tri(tri)masad-adhikêshu Vyaya-saṁvatsarê Vaisākha-sita-paurṇamāsî-sōmagrahaṇa-mahāparvvaṇi.

The year Vyaya, by the mean-sign system, lasted from the 4th June, A. D. 806, to the 31st May, A. D. 807, and was therefore current at the commencement of S. 730 current; and by the southern luni-solar system Vyaya would be S. 728 expired. The full-moon *tithi* of Vaisākha ended, in S. 728 expired, when Vaisākha was intercalary, on the 6th April and the 6th May, A. D. 806; in S. 729 expired (= S. 730 current), on the 25th April, A. D. 807; and in S. 730 expired, on the 14th April, A. D. 808. On none of these days was there a lunar eclipse. [In A. D. 805 there was only one lunar eclipse, in September; and in A. D. 809 there was none from February to June.]

173. — S. 872. — *Jour. Bo. As. Soc.* Vol. XI. p. 237. Date of a grant commemorated in an inscription at Narêgal :—

‘ On the occasion of an eclipse of the moon, when the sun was commencing his progress to the north, on Monday, the day of the full-moon of the bright fortnight of the month Pushya of the Saumya saṁvatsara, being the year of the Śaka 872.’

In S. 872 current, which by the southern luni-solar system was Saumya, the full-moon *tithi* of Pausa ended 1 h. 17 m. after mean sunrise of Monday, 7th January, A. D. 950; but there was then no lunar eclipse, and the Uttarāyana-saṁkrānti had taken place already 5 h. 24 m. after mean sunrise of Sunday, 23rd December, A. D. 949, during the first *tithi* of the bright half of Pausa. In S. 872 expired, the Uttarāyana-saṁkrānti took place on Monday, 23rd December, A. D. 950, during the 12th *tithi* of the bright half of Pausa. [By the mean-sign system Saumya had ended on the 4th October, A. D. 948, in S. 870 expired.]

174. — S. 896. — *Ante*, Vol. XII. p. 271. Guṇḍūr stone-tablet of the Râshṭrakûṭa Kakka (Kakka II.):—

(L. 13). — Sa(sa)kha(ka)-varsham=ēṇṭu nûṛa tombhatt-âṛaneya Śrī mukha-saṁvatsar-Âshâḍa(ḍha)-dakshināyana(na)-saṁkrāntiyum-Âdityavârad-andum.

In S. 896 current, which by the southern luni-solar system was Śrī mukha, the Dakshināyana-saṁkrānti took place 17 h. 11 m. after mean sunrise of Tuesday, 24th June, A. D. 973. In S. 896 expired it took place 23 h. 23 m. after mean sunrise of Wednesday, 24th June, A. D. 974. [By the mean-sign system Śrī mukha had ended on the 24th June, A. D. 972, in S. 894 expired.]

175. — S. 919. — From impressions supplied to me by Dr. Fleet. Bhâdâna copper-plate inscription of the Śilâra Aparâjita :—

(L. 53). — Sa(sa)kanṛipa-kâl-âtîṭa-saṁvatsara<sup>15</sup>-sa(sa)têshu naṇasu êkônaviṁśaty-uttarêshu pravarttamâna-Hêmalamba(mba)-saṁvatsar-ânta<sup>16</sup> Âshâḍha-va(ba)hula-chatusyâm(rthyâm=) anka(ika)tô=pi samvat<sup>17</sup> 919 Âshâḍha-vadi 4 . . .

(L. 55). — saṁjâta-dakshināyana-karkkaṭa-saṁkrānti-parvvapi su(su)bh-âbhyudaya-kârîṇi.

In S. 919 expired, which by the southern luni-solar system was Hêmalamba, the Dakshināyana-saṁkrānti took place 22 h. 13 m. after mean sunrise of the 24th June, A. D. 997, during the second *tithi* of the dark half which ended 3 h. 7 m. after mean sunrise of the 25th June. And the 4th *tithi* of the dark half commenced 0 h. 43 m. and ended 21 h. 52 m. after mean sunrise of the 26th June. [By the mean-sign system Hêmalamba ended on the 15th March, A. D. 996, in S. 919 current.]

176. — S. 922. — *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 217. Saṁgamnêr copper-plate inscription of the Yâdava Bhīllama II. :—

(L. 1). — Sakanṛipa-kâl-âtîṭa-saṁvatsara-śatêshu naṇasu dvâviṁśaty-adhikêshv=aṁkatô=pi saṁvatsarâḥ 922 ||

(L. 110). — Sâ(sa)rvvari-saṁvatsariya-Bhâdrapad-âmâvâsyâyâm . . . sūrya-grahanê.

In S. 922 expired, which by the southern luni-solar system was Sârvarin, the new-moon *tithi* of the *pūrṇimānta* Bhâdrapada ended on the 2nd, and that of the *amānta* Bhâdrapada on the 31st August, A. D. 1000. On neither day was there a solar eclipse. There was one in the *amānta* Âśvina, 10 h. 16 m. after mean sunrise of the 30th September, A. D. 1000, but it was not visible in India. [By the mean-sign system Sârvarin ended on the 3rd March, A. D. 999, before the commencement of S. 922 current.]

<sup>15</sup> Read -saṁvatsara-.

<sup>16</sup> Read -saṁvatsar-ântargat-Â°.

<sup>17</sup> Read saṁvat.

177. — **S. 941.** — *Ante*, Vol. V. p. 18; *Mysore Inscr.* No. 72, p. 150. Baḷagāmve inscription of the time of the Western Chālukya Jayasimha III. : —

‘On the occasion of the festival of the sun’s commencement of his progress to the north, on Sunday, the second day of the bright fortnight of the month Pushya of the Siddhārthi saṁvatsara, which was the year of the ‘Saka era 941.’

In **S. 941** expired, which by the southern luni-solar system was Siddhārthin, the Uttarāyana-saṁkrānti took place 8 h. 6 m. after mean sunrise of Thursday, 24th December, A. D. 1019, during the 11th *tithi* of the dark half of Pausha; and the second *tithi* of the bright half of Pausha ended 6 h. 48 m. after mean sunrise of Tuesday, 1st December, A. D. 1019.

178. — **S. 944.** — *Ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 274. Bêlûr inscription of the time of the Western Chālukya Jayasimha III. : —

(L. 29). — Sa(śa)kanṛipa-kāl-âtita-saṁvatsara-śataṁga[!]\* 944neya Dundubhi-saṁvatsaraḍ=uttarāyana-saṁkrāntiyum vyatipātamum=Ādityavārad-a[!]\*du.

In **S. 944** expired, which by the southern luni-solar system was Dundubhi, the Uttarāyana-saṁkrānti took place, by the Sūrya-siddhānta, 2 h. 44 m., and, by the Ārya-siddhānta, 1 h. 13 m. after mean sunrise of Monday, 24th December, A. D. 1022 (while the *yōga* was Dhruva, No. 12, not Vyatipāta, No. 17).

179. — **S. 948.** — *Ante*, Vol. V. p. 278, and Vol. XVI. p. 46. Bhāṇḍûp copper-plate inscription of the Śilāra Chittarāja : —

(Plate iiö, l. 2). — Sa(śa)kanṛipa-kāl-âtita-saṁvatsara-sa(śa)tēshu navasu(sv)=aṣṭachatrovā-rimśad-adhikēshu Kshaya-saṁvatsar-āntarggata-Kārttika-su(śu)ddha-pañchadasyām(śyām) yatṛ-āṁkatō=pi saṁvat 948 Kārttika-su(śu)ddha 15 Bavau saṁjātō(t=) ādityagrahana-parvvaṇi.

As a solar eclipse is coupled here with the 15th *tithi* of the bright half of the month, the wording of the date must be wrong; and the suggestions which have been made are, either that the solar eclipse may have been erroneously put down instead of a lunar eclipse, or that the bright half of the month may have been wrongly quoted instead of the dark half. But the date in no way works out satisfactorily. By the southern luni-solar system Kshaya was **S. 948** expired. In that year the full-moon *tithi* of Kārttika ended on Friday (not Sunday), 28th October, A. D. 1026, when there was a lunar eclipse, visible in India, 18 h. 18 m. after mean sunrise; the new-moon *tithi* of the *pūrṇimānta* Kārttika ended on Thursday, 13th October, A. D. 1026, when there was no solar eclipse; and the same *tithi* of the *amānta* Kārttika ended on Saturday, 12th November, A. D. 1026, when there was a solar eclipse, not visible in India, 1 h. 49 m. after mean sunrise. [In **S. 948** current, there was a solar eclipse, which was visible in India, on the new-moon *tithi* of the *amānta* Kārttika, corresponding to Tuesday, 23rd November, A. D. 1025; see above No. 98.]

180. — **S. 962.** — *Ante*, Vol. XIX. p. 164. Maṇṭûr inscription of the time of the Western Chālukya Jayasimha III. : —

(L. 5). — Sa(śa)ka-varsha 962neya Vikrava(ma)-saṁvatsarada śrāheya-Mārggaśira-śuddha 5 Ādityavārad-aṁdu.

In **S. 962** expired, which by the southern luni-solar system was Vikrama, the 5th *tithi* of the bright half of Mārggaśira ended 0 h. 9 m. after mean sunrise of Wednesday, 12th November, A. D. 1040.

181. — **S. 970.** — *Ante*, Vol. IV. p. 180; *Mysore Inscr.* No. 53, p. 114. Baḷagāmve inscription of the time of the Western Chālukya Sômêśvara I. : —

(L. 12). — Saka-varsha 970neya Sarvvadhāri-saṁvatsarada Jyêshṭha-śuddha-trayōdaśi Ādityavārad-aṁdu.

In S. 970 expired, which by the southern luni-solar system was Sarvadhārin, the 13th *tithi* of the bright half of Jyāishṭha ended 12 h. 24 m. after mean sunrise of Saturday, 28th May, A. D. 1048. The 13th *tithi* of the *dark* half of the same (*amānta*) month ended on Sunday, 12th June, A. D. 1048.

182. — S. 991. — *Ante*, Vol. XII. p. 120. Bassein copper-plate inscription of the Yādava Sēunachandra II. : —

(L. 24). — Sa(śa)ka-saṁvat êkanavaty-adhika-nava-sa(śa)tēshu saṁvat 991 Saumya-saṁvatsariya-Śrāvaṇa-sudi chaturdasyam(śyām) Guru-dinē.

In S. 991 expired, which by the southern luni-solar system was Saumya, the 14th *tithi* of the bright half of Śrāvaṇa ended 14 h. after mean sunrise of Tuesday, 4th August, A. D. 1069.

183. — S. 1008. — From an impression supplied to me by Dr. Fleet. Sītābaldī inscription of the Western Chālukya Vikramāditya VI. : —

(L. 1). — Sa(śa)kanṛipa-kāl-ātita-saṁvatsar-āntarggata-daśasata ya[tra] ashtatyadhikē (*altered to ashtādhikē*) saku 1008 Prabhava-saṁvatsarē Vaisā(śā)kha-su(śu)dha(ddha)-trītiyā-Su(su)kradinē.

In the year Prabhava, which by the southern luni-solar system was S. 1009 (*not* 1008) expired, the third *tithi* of the bright half of Vaisākha ended 16 h. 9 m. after mean sunrise of Thursday, 8th April, A. D. 1087. In S. 1008 expired the same *tithi* ended on Sunday, 19th April, A. D. 1086 ; and in S. 1008 current on Monday, 31st March, A. D. 1085.

184. — S. 1056. — *Ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 58, and Vol. XX. p. 191. Chittūr copper-plate inscription of the Eastern Chalukya Kulōttunga-Chōḍadēva II. : —

(L. 49). — Śāk-ābdānām pramāṇē rasa-viśikha-viyach-chāndra-saṁkhyām prayātē . . . s-Ārdra-rksbē pūrva-ma(pa)kshē vi<sup>18</sup>shuvati sutithā(thau).

In S. 1056 current the Mēsha-vishuvat-saṁkrānti took place on the 24th March, A. D. 1133, the 2nd of the dark half of Chaitra, when the *nakshatra* was Svāti (No. 15), not Ārdra (No. 6) ; and the Tulā-vishuvat-saṁkrānti took place on the 27th September, A. D. 1133, the 12th of the dark half of Āśvina, when the *nakshatra* was Pūrva-phalgunī (No. 11). And for S. 1056 expired the corresponding days are the 24th March, A. D. 1134, the 12th of the dark half of Chaitra, with the *nakshatra* Pūrva-bhādrapadā (No. 25) ; and the 27th September, A. D. 1134, the 8th of the bright half of Āśvina, with the *nakshatra* Uttarāshāḍhā (No. 21). — According to Mr. Dikshit, the nearest year which would satisfy the requirements of the date is S. 1054 expired ; for in that year the Mēsha-vishuvat-saṁkrānti took place 22 h. 3 m. after mean sunrise of the 23rd March, A. D. 1132, during the 6th *tithi* of the bright half of Chaitra, and the moon entered the *nakshatra* Ārdra about 5 h. 16 m. after mean sunrise of the 24th March, A. D. 1132.

185. — S. 1060. — *Mysore Inscr.* No. 174, p. 333. Sindigere inscription of the time of the Hoysala Vishnuvardhana : —

‘The ‘Saka year 1060, the year Piṅgala, the month Pushya, the 10th day of the moon’s increase, Sunday, uttarāyaṇa-saṁkrānti.’

In S. 1060 current, which by the southern luni-solar system was Piṅgala, the Uttarāyaṇa-saṁkrānti took place 20 h. 54 m. after mean sunrise of Friday, 24th December, A. D. 1137, during the 11th *tithi* of the bright half, which ended 22 h. 14 m. after mean sunrise of the same day.

186. — S. 1066. — *Pāli, Skr. and Old-Kan. Inscr.* No. 96. Date in a Miraj inscription of the Silāhāra Vijayāditya : —

‘Saka 1066 (in figures, l. 47), the Rudhirōdgāri saṁvatsara ; Vaḍḍavāra, the fourteenth day of the dark fortnight of Māgha.’

<sup>18</sup> The *aksharas* from *dra* to *vi* are engraved over a cancelled passage.

In S. 1066 current, which by the southern luni-solar system was Rudhirôdgârin, the 14th *tithi* of the dark half of the *amânta* Mâgha ended 13 h. 11 m. after mean sunrise of Friday, 4th February, A. D. 1144; and in S. 1066 expired the same *tithi* ended 20 h. 33 m. after mean sunrise of Tuesday, 23rd January, A. D. 1145.

187. — S. 1084. — *Jour. Bo. As. Soc.* Vol. XI. p. 273. Paṭṭadakal inscription of the time of the Sinda Châvuṇḍa II., the subordinate of the Western Châlukya Taila III. :—

‘On a holy lunar day which combined a *vyatipâta* with an eclipse of the moon, on Monday, the day of the full-moon of the bright fortnight of the month Jyêshṭha of the Subhânu *saṃvatsara*, which was the year of the ‘Saka one thousand and eighty-four.’

In the year Subhânu, which by the southern luni-solar system was S. 1085 (not 1084) expired, the full-moon *tithi* of Jyâishṭha ended about 20 h. after mean sunrise of Sunday, 19th May, A. D. 1163, (with the *yôga* Siddha). In S. 1084 expired the same *tithi* ended on Wednesday, 30th May, A. D. 1162 (with the *yôga* Sukla); and in S. 1084 current on Thursday, 11th May, A. D. 1161 (with the *yôga* Siddha). On none of these days was there a lunar eclipse.

188. — S. 1091. — *Ante*, Vol. XIX. p. 156; *Mysore Inscr.* No. 13, p. 23. Dâvaṅgere inscription of the Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara Vijayapâṇḍyadêva :—

(L. 16). — ‘Srimat-Saka-varshada<sup>19</sup> 1091neya Virôdhi-saṃvatsarada dvitiya-Śrâvaṇa-suddha-puṇṇami-Sôma-varad-amdu.

In S. 1091 expired, which by the southern luni-solar system was Virôdhin, Śrâvaṇa was intercalary; but the full-moon *tithi* of the second Śrâvaṇa ended 11 h. 36 m. after mean sunrise of Saturday, 9th August, A. D. 1169.

189. — S. 1105. — *Ante*, Vol. IV. p. 276. Bêhaṭṭi copper-plate inscription of the Kalachuri Siṅghanadêva :—

(L. 59). — Sa(śa)kanṛipa-kâl-âtîtê cha paṃchôttaraśat-âdhika-sahasratagê(mê) śakê Sôbhakrit-saṃvatsarê Âsva(śva)yukt-âmavâsyâm Sôma-varê Vyatipâta-yôgê.

In S. 1105 expired, which by the southern luni-solar system was Sôbhakrit (Sôbhana), the new-moon *tithi* of the *amânta* Âśvina ended 8 h. 47 m. after mean sunrise of Tuesday, 18th October, A. D. 1183, when the *yôga* was Âyushmat (No. 3), not Vyatipâta (No. 17). [The full-moon *tithi* of the same month ended on Monday, 3rd October, A. D. 1183, when the *yôga* was Vajra (No. 15).] In S. 1105 current, the same new-moon *tithi* ended on Wednesday, 29th September, A. D. 1182, when the *yôga* was Vaidhṛiti (No. 27).

190. — S. 1109. — *Ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 20. Date in an Old-Kanarese inscription at Têrdâl :—

(L. 79). — Sa(śa)ka-varśam(rśam) 1109neya Plavaṅga-saṃvatsarada Chaitra-su 10 Bri(bri)haspativarad-amdu.

In S. 1109 expired, which by the southern luni-solar system was Plavaṅga, the 16th *tithi* of the bright half of Chaitra ended 15 h. 12 m. after mean sunrise of Saturday, 21st March, A. D. 1187. In S. 1109 current, the same *tithi* ended on Monday, 31st March, A. D. 1186.

191. — S. 1114. — From an impression supplied to me by Dr. Fleet. Kôlhâpur inscription of the Silâhâra Bhôja II. :—

(L. 13). — Śakanṛipa-kâlâd=ârabhiya varshêshu chaturddasôttara-śatâdhika-sahasrêshu nirṇittêshu varttamâna-Paridhâvi-saṃvatsar-âmtarggata-Âsvija-suddha-pratipadi Sukravare.

In S. 1114 expired, which by the southern luni-solar system was Paridhâvin, the first *tithi* of the bright half of Âśvina ended 11 h. 12 m. after mean sunrise of Wednesday, 9th September, A. D. 1192. [For another, regular date in the same inscription see above, No. 70.]



192. — **S. 1157.** — Graham's *Kolhapoor*, p. 426, No. 12. From an impression supplied to me by Dr. Fleet. Kôlhâpur inscription of the Dêvagiri-Yâdava Siṅghaṇa II. : —

(L. 1). — Śaka 1157 Manmatha-saṁvatsarê Śrâvaṇa-bahula 30 Gurau.

In **S. 1157** expired, which by the southern luni-solar system was Manmatha, the 15th *tithi* of the dark half of the *amānta* Śrâvaṇa ended 9 h. 8 m. after mean sunrise of Wednesday, 15th August, A. D. 1235. In **S. 1157** current, which was the year Jaya, Śrâvaṇa was intercalary, and the new-moon *tithi* of the first Śrâvaṇa ended 15 h. 36 m. after mean sunrise of Thursday, 27th July, A. D. 1234.

193. — **S. 1174.** — *Jour. Bo. As. Soc.* Vol. XII. p. 39; *ante*, Vol. XIX. p. 441. Munôlli inscription of the Dêvagiri-Yâdava Kṛishṇa : —

(L. 20). — Sa(śa)ka-varsha 1174neya Virô[dhikṛitu]-saṁvatsarada Jêshṭha<sup>20</sup> bahula ṛa(a)mâvâse sūryyagrahaṇa Su(su)kravâ[rad-a]mdu.

In **S. 1174** current, which by the southern luni-solar system was Virôdhakṛit, the new-moon *tithi* of the *amānta* Jyaishṭha ended 15 h. 14 m. after mean sunrise of Tuesday, 20th June, A. D. 1251. In **S. 1174** expired the same *tithi* ended 16 h. 1 m. after mean sunrise of Saturday, 8th June, A. D. 1252. On neither day was there a solar eclipse.

194. — **S. 1175.** — *Jour. Bo. As. Soc.* Vol. XII. p. 44; *ante*, Vol. XIX. p. 442. Bêhaṭṭ copper-plate inscription of the Dêvagiri-Yâdava Kṛishṇa : —

(L. 51). — Pañchasaptatyadhika-śatôttara-sahasrakê Śaka-varshê varttamânê svasti śrîmad-Yâdavanârâyaṇa-bhujava(ba)laprauḍhapratâpachakravartti-śrî-Kanharadêva-varshêshu saptamê Pramâdi-saṁvatsarê Chaitra-mâsê kṛishṇa-pakshê amâvâsyâyâm Sômaṅgarê.

In **S. 1175** expired, which by the southern luni-solar system was Pramâdin, the new-moon *tithi* of the *amānta* Chaitra ended 19 h. 59 m. after mean sunrise of Sunday, 30th March, A. D. 1253. In **S. 1175** current the same *tithi* ended 11 h. 7 m. after mean sunrise of Wednesday, 10th April, A. D. 1252.

195. — **S. 1180.** — Hultzsch, *South Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 108. Date of an inscription at the Ammaiappêśvara temple at Paḍavêḍu : —

‘To-day, which is (*the day of the nakshatra*) Rêvatî and Monday, the seventh lunar day of the former half of the month of Karkâṭaka, which<sup>21</sup> was current after the Śaka year one thousand one hundred and eighty (*had passed*).’

In **S. 1180** expired the sun was in the sign Karkâṭa from 11 h. 5 m. after mean sunrise of the 27th June to 22 h. 21 m. after mean sunrise of the 28th July, A. D. 1258. During this time there was one 7th *tithi* of the bright half, which commenced 3 h. 58 m. after mean sunrise of Monday, the 8th July, and ended 1 h. 46 m. after mean sunrise of the following day. But on Monday, the 8th July, the moon was in Hasta (No. 13) and Chitrâ (No. 14), not in Rêvatî (No. 27).

196. — **S. 1261.** — *Ante*, Vol. X. p. 63. Bâdâmî inscription of the time of Harihara I. of Vijayanagara : —

(L. 1). — Śaka-varusha 1261neya Vikrama-saṁvatsarada Chaitra-su(su) 1 Gu (i. e. Guruvâra).

In the year Vikrama, which by the southern luni-solar system was **S. 1262** (*not 1261*) expired, the first *tithi* of the bright half of Chaitra ended 4 h. 53 m. after mean sunrise of Tuesday, 29th February, A. D. 1340. In **S. 1261** expired the same *tithi* commenced 1 h. 46 m. after mean sunrise of Thursday, 11th March, A. D. 1339, and ended 3 h. 41 m. after mean sunrise of the next day. — If the figure 1 for the *tithi* of the date were a mistake for 10, the

<sup>20</sup> Read *Jyêshṭha*.

<sup>21</sup> The name of the Jovian year has here been omitted through an oversight.

date would regularly correspond, for S. 1262 expired, to Thursday, 9th March, A. D. 1340, when the 10th *tithi* of the bright half ended 18 h. 34 m. after mean sunrise.

197. — S. 1276. — *Jour. Bo. As. Soc.* Vol. XII. p. 349; *Mysore Inscr.* No. 131, p. 235; *ante*, Vol. XII. p. 214, No. 92. Harihar copper-plate inscription of Bukkarāya of Vijayanagara:—

(L. 19). — Śrī-jayābhyudaya-nṛipa-Śalivāhana-śaka 1276neya Vijaya-saṁvatsarada Māgha-śudha(ḍḍha) 15 Chandravāra sōmōparāma(ga)-parvvaṇi vu(u)ṣṇakāladallu.

In S. 1276 current, which by the southern luni-solar system was Vijaya, the full-moon *tithi* of Māgha ended 5 h. 53 m. after mean sunrise of Saturday, 8th February, A. D. 1354. In 'S. 1276 expired the same *tithi* ended 22 h. 11 m. after mean sunrise of Wednesday, 28th January, A. D. 1355. On neither day was there a lunar eclipse.

198. — S. 1377. — *Ante*, Vol. XX. p. 391. Copper-plate inscription of Gāṇadēva of Koṇḍaviḍu (a contemporary of Kapila, the Gajapati king of Orissa):—

(L. 29). — Śākē śaila-turaṅgam-āgni-śaśi-saṁkhyātē Yuv-ābdē śubhē . . . Bhādrapadē vidhōr-graha-dinē.

In S. 1377 expired, which by the southern luni-solar system was Yuvan, the full-moon *tithi* of Bhādrapada ended on the 27th August, A. D. 1455. In 'S. 1377 current the same *tithi* ended on the 7th September, A. D. 1454. On neither day was there a lunar eclipse.

199. — S. 1478. — From an impression supplied to me by Dr. Hultzsch. Chingleput copper-plate inscription of Sadāsiva of Vijayanagara:—

(L. 120). — Kramād=vasu-hay-ābdh-īṁdu-gaṇitē Śaka-vatsarē |

Nala-saṁvatsarē māsi Mārgaśīrsha iti śrutē |

sūry-ōparāgē=mālvāsyā-tithā(thau) Mārttāṇḍa-vāsarē |

In S. 1478 expired, which by the southern luni-solar system was Nala (Anala), the new-moon *tithi* of the *amānta* Mārgaśīrsha ended on, and occupied nearly the whole of, Tuesday, 1st December, A. D. 1556, when there was no eclipse. But there was a solar eclipse, visible in India, 6 h. 15 m. after mean sunrise of Monday, 2nd November, A. D. 1556, which was the new-moon day of the *amānta* Kārttika (or *pūrṇimānta* Mārgaśīrsha).

200. — S. 1497. — Hultzsch, *South Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 74. Date of an inscription at Sattuvāchchēri near Vēlūr:—

'On Wednesday, the thirteenth lunar day of the dark half of the month of Makara, of the Yuva-saṁvatsara, which was current after the Śaka year 1497 (*had passed*).'

In S. 1497 expired, which by the southern luni-solar system was Yuvan, the sun was in Makara from 4 h. 57 m. after mean sunrise of the 29th December, A. D. 1575, to 15 h. 51 m. after mean sunrise of the 27th January, A. D. 1576. During this time there was one 13th *tithi* of the dark half, which lasted from shortly after sunrise of Thursday, the 29th December, A. D. 1575, to about the end of the same day.

(To be continued.)

## NOTES ON THE SPIRIT BASIS OF BELIEF AND CUSTOM.

BY J. M. CAMPBELL, C.I.E., I.C.S.

(Continued from Vol. XXIII. p. 384.)

### 5. Articles which scare Spirits.

AMONG the articles which, because they cured diseases, were believed to be spirit-scarers, four of chief importance, fire, water, iron and urine, require special consideration. The rest may be taken in alphabetical order.

**Fire :** — The article which, perhaps more than any other, shows its power over spirits, by driving out the demon of senselessness and fainting, and by curing severe pains and acute attacks and seizures, is fire, the actual cautery, or application of the burning brand, the red-hot iron, or the heated stone. Fire as a fiend-scarer seems to be the root of the worship of fire and of the worship of the sun, the fire of the world.

In almost all their ceremonies the Hindus give a leading place to fire — either to the sacred<sup>1</sup> fire or to lamps. Fires are lit at the time of birth to frighten spirits; at the thread-girding the sacred fire is kindled, and ought to be always kept alive; a fire is carried before the dead body, even when the body is to be buried; and the waving of lamps to scare spirits is a chief invocation in marriage ceremonies, in the worship of the gods, and in acts of welcome.

The Prabhûs of Bombay keep a lampburning near the face of a new-born child for a month, or at least for ten days. Similarly, among the high-class Bombay Hindus, until a child is six months old, daily in the evening a lighted lamp is waved round its face, in order that it may not be blighted by the evil eye.<sup>2</sup> Among the Beni-Isrâ'îls of Poona, after child-birth, a dimly burning brass lamp is placed near the child's face.<sup>3</sup> The Râmôsis and the Telugu Nûâvis of Poona carry fire in front of a dead body, though they bury and apparently make no use of the fire.<sup>4</sup> The Poona Halâlkhôrs scoop a small hole in the grave in front of a dead body, and keep a lighted lamp in the hole.<sup>5</sup> The Bhôis of Ahmadnagar, who bury their dead, carry a fire-pot in front of the body,<sup>6</sup> and the Ahmadnagar Mhârs keep a lighted lamp burning night and day in a lying-in room for the first twelve days.<sup>7</sup> The Kôlis of Ahmadnagar when they are much annoyed by rheumatic pains in the months of December and January, cure them by cautery and by burning turmeric.<sup>8</sup> Among the Belgaum Kôrvîs, an early tribe, when a woman is taken in adultery, she is put out of caste and not allowed back, till three millet stalks have been burnt over her head and her tongue has been branded with hot gold.<sup>9</sup> The Pâtrâdavaras, or Dhârwarî dancing girls, heat a needle and touch a new-born babe on the head, shoulders, chest, palms and soles to keep off sickness.<sup>10</sup> In Dhârwarî the Gôndhâlis, in worshipping Bhavânî, touch their bodies with lighted torches, and the Vaishnavas have their bodies branded with a red-hot copper, or with a gold seal bearing the discus or shell of Vishnu.<sup>11</sup> In the month of Kârtik (November) high-class Hindus hang lamps in the open air. In Kânara (1700) the girl who walked in front of the hook-swinging car carried a pot of fire on her head.<sup>12</sup> In South Kânara women walk barefoot on red-hot coals to be cured of barrenness caused by spirit possession.<sup>13</sup> Among the Batadaras, or Bakadaras, of North Kânara, if a woman has a paramour her husband puts her away, the paramour builds her a hut, and she goes to it: he sets the hut on fire, and she flies: after this burning out is repeated in eight different villages, the woman is pure.<sup>14</sup> In Kânara, when a Brâhman has committed such a sin or caste-offence, — as having connection with a forbidden caste, — to purify him burning straw is held, and sometimes fastened, on his body.<sup>15</sup> The Karnâtak Sûdras keep a lamp burning in the booth during marriage,<sup>16</sup> and the Tirgul Brâhmans of the Karnâtak burn a lamp in the lying-in room for three months after a birth.<sup>17</sup> The Oṛâois of Chutiâ Nâgpâr keep a fire burning for fifteen days after child-birth.<sup>18</sup> The Oṛâois also burn marks on the fore-arm.<sup>19</sup> Among the Khonds a hot sickle covered with a wet cloth is a favourite cure.<sup>20</sup> In Southern India every man who goes out at night carries a brand with him. Sometimes, even in broad day,

<sup>1</sup> At all Hindu *sanskrits* or ceremonies a sacred fire is kindled. These sacred fires are known by different names, thus the birth-fire is *mangal*, the lucky, and the death-fire is *kravyâd*, the flesh-eater.

<sup>2</sup> Information given by Mr. P. B. Joshi.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XVIII. pp. 424, 382.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XVII. p. 157.

<sup>5</sup> *Trans. By. Geog. Soc.* Vol. I. p. 222.

<sup>6</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XXII. p. 190.

<sup>7</sup> Hamilton's *New Account*, Vol. I. pp. 272 and 274.

<sup>8</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. III. p. 107.

<sup>9</sup> From MS. notes.

<sup>10</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 251.

<sup>11</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XVIII. p. 526.

<sup>12</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XVIII. p. 438.

<sup>13</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XVII. p. 173.

<sup>14</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XXI. p. 172.

<sup>15</sup> Information from Mr. Tirmal Rao.

<sup>16</sup> Buchanan's *Mysore*, Vol. III. p. 23.

<sup>17</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 306.

<sup>18</sup> Dubois, Vol. I. p. 322.

<sup>19</sup> Dalton's *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 252.

<sup>20</sup> Macpherson's *Khonds*, p. 59.

Hindus light lamps to keep devils off.<sup>21</sup> The ceremony of running through fire is mentioned in a Hindu account of Malabâr.<sup>22</sup> The principal object of Vedic worship is fire, or solar fire.<sup>23</sup> Among the Hindus, in performing the *śrāddha* ceremony, a lamp is kept lighted to drive away evil spirits: the lamp is called *rukshôghna*, the destroyer of demons.<sup>24</sup> According to Ward, Hindus used to walk over fire in honour of 'Siva'.<sup>25</sup> In India violent sicknesses are cured by applying burning iron to the feet.<sup>26</sup>

Great fear of spirits seems to be the origin of the Persian worship of fire. Light and fire terrify all that is evil.<sup>27</sup> So the Supreme addresses Zoroaster from the midst of a circle of fire.<sup>28</sup> Fire and water are the two pure elements, because they make pure by driving away evil spirits.<sup>29</sup> The second most joyful land is where fire is placed.<sup>30</sup> The Persians worshipped the sun as the mightiest light, being thus the greatest terror to evil spirits.<sup>31</sup> The Parsis light a fire for the dead.<sup>32</sup> In January (sixteenth of Bahman) the old Persians lighted great fires.<sup>33</sup>

The Jews had a sacred fire or altar at Jerusalem.<sup>34</sup> Lamps were kept burning in Egyptian and Roman tombs.<sup>35</sup> In Central Ceylon visitors enter a house between lamps, lighted and set on each side of the threshold to keep evil spirits from coming in.<sup>36</sup> The Nintiras of the Malay Peninsula put the mother near a fire to keep off spirits,<sup>37</sup> and other tribes pass the new-born child over fire.<sup>38</sup>

The Karens of Burma set a burning torch at each end of the back-bone, or other bone, kept as a memorial, and walk round the bone in procession.<sup>39</sup> The Chinese let off crackers on the Chinese New-year's Day to frighten evil spirits,<sup>40</sup> and crackers are often fired from Chinese boats to dispel evil influences.<sup>41</sup> At their weddings the Chinese hold lighted torches before the bride, even at noon-day.<sup>42</sup> In August, on the full-moon day, the Japanese hold a feast of lanterns, when they light the graves of the dead.<sup>43</sup> In Central Asia to spit on fire is a sin. To blow out a light is a breach of manners among the Kirghis of Central Asia.<sup>44</sup> In Turkistân, for eight days after a birth, a lamp is kept burning near the child to keep off the evil eye.<sup>45</sup> The Tartars pass the staffs of the dead between two fires.<sup>46</sup>

In Melanesia no one goes out at night for fear of spirits without a light, which ghosts fear.<sup>47</sup> In Polynesia the only fire that is allowed at night is a light in the lying-in room.<sup>48</sup> When they have no liquor to offer the gods, the Samoan Islanders raise a bright fire at the evening meal, and call on the family gods to help, and on the gods of the sea to pass over the land, and take its diseases away with them.<sup>49</sup> The Philippine islanders bury the dead in the fields, and, for many days, keep fires burning in the dead man's house, that he may not come to take those that are left alive.<sup>50</sup> Actual cautery is a common cure among the savage tribes of Polynesia: it is specially used to cure rheumatism. The Australians burn the skin with a lighted stick in grief for a chief or relation.<sup>51</sup> Some wild Australian tribes believe in spirits or ghosts, and consider that fire keeps away spirits.<sup>52</sup> The Australians burn large fires at the grave, sometimes for a month: the original reason is probably to scare the

<sup>21</sup> Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II. p. 193.

<sup>22</sup> Maurice's *Indian Antiquities*, Vol. II. p. 228.

<sup>23</sup> Ward's *View of the Hindus*, Vol. I. p. 20.

<sup>24</sup> Bleek's *Khordah Avesta*, p. 23.

<sup>25</sup> Bleek's *Khordah Avesta*, p. 59.

<sup>26</sup> *Dôbistan*, Vol. I. p. 335.

<sup>27</sup> Maurice's *Indian Antiquities*, Vol. II. p. 225.

<sup>28</sup> Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II. p. 466.

<sup>29</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 430.

<sup>30</sup> Gray's *China*, Vol. I. p. 251.

<sup>31</sup> *Careri in Churchill*, Vol. IV. p. 352.

<sup>32</sup> Vambery's *Central Asian Sketches*, p. 292.

<sup>33</sup> Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II. p. 434.

<sup>34</sup> *Early History of Man*, p. 232.

<sup>35</sup> *Careri in Churchill*, Vol. IV. p. 434.

<sup>36</sup> Wilson's *Mackenzie Coll.* p. 351.

<sup>37</sup> Colebrooke's *Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. I. p. 191.

<sup>38</sup> Maurice's *Indian Antiquities*, Vol. VII. p. 636.

<sup>39</sup> Maurice's *Indian Antiquities*, Vol. II. p. 224.

<sup>40</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 26.

<sup>41</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 44.

<sup>42</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 113.

<sup>43</sup> Spencer's *Principles of Sociology*, Vol. I. p. 297.

<sup>44</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 381.

<sup>45</sup> Fytche's *Burmah*, Vol. I. p. 333.

<sup>46</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 272.

<sup>47</sup> St. John's *Witch Coast of Nippon*, p. 220.

<sup>48</sup> Schuyler's *Turkestan*, Vol. I. p. 110.

<sup>49</sup> *Jour. Anthropol. Inst.* Vol. X. p. 284.

<sup>50</sup> Pritchard's *Polynesian Remains*, p. 124.

<sup>51</sup> Earl's *Papuans*, p. 72.

<sup>52</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 217.

spirit: the belief now is that it is out of kindness to the dead, who feels cold.<sup>53</sup> The Australians, who believe that the evil spirit Cienga prowls about at night, will not leave their fires.<sup>54</sup>

In Madagascar, at the beginning of the new year, small bundles of dry grass are stened to the ends of bamboos, and then lighted and carried about the town.<sup>55</sup> In Madagascar, on first leaving the house, the child is carried over a fire at the door.<sup>56</sup> Fire doctors are famous in North Africa. The doctor generally keeps with him a little charcoal fire, bellows and irons. When a patient, thinking himself bewitched, comes to the doctor, he makes the patient lie down, and draws aside the clothes from his back, and heating his rod of iron red-hot he draws it with a hissing sound across the back and loins of the sick person in the name of God.<sup>57</sup> In Morocco fire is applied to the temples, the neck and the part behind the ears to cure eye-disease.<sup>58</sup> In Basutoland fires are burnt round the crops to keep off spirits, and if a child walks on a grave the mother lights a fire at its feet.<sup>59</sup> When the Hottentot is away hunting, the wife kindles a fire. She watches it and does nothing else. If the fire goes out the husband has no luck.<sup>60</sup> The Abyssinian Christians, according to Barbosa (1500-1514), had a baptism of fire, marking themselves on the temples and forehead with fire.<sup>61</sup>

The South American Indians carry brands at night to keep off demons.<sup>62</sup> In Mexico, on the fifth of the unlucky days that come every fourth year, people made their children pass through fire.<sup>63</sup> The King of Mexico was enthroned before the divine hearth.<sup>64</sup> Among the Greenlanders an old woman followed the corpse with a firebrand, saying, "there is nothing more to be got here."<sup>65</sup>

Greek children were carried round fire.<sup>66</sup> The Romans had a strong faith in the spirit-scaring power of fire. Nothing is so good in a pestilence as to kindle fires:<sup>67</sup> fire is the best cure for convulsions.<sup>68</sup> In eclipses they threw fire-brands into the air to frighten the spirit which was eating the sun or the moon.<sup>69</sup> They made their flocks and herds pass through fire, and the people leaped over fire.<sup>70</sup> Roman mourners stepped across a fire. The unfading Vestal lamp was to keep off spirits.<sup>71</sup> So when a candle went out, the smell of its snuff caused untimely travail.<sup>72</sup> The torch was the symbol both of marriage and of death.<sup>73</sup> Fire was placed at the door and touched by the newly married pair.<sup>74</sup>

At Constantinople lamps continually burn round the sacred tomb of Eyûb.<sup>75</sup> In Sardinia in early spring the children leap through fires.<sup>76</sup> Formerly in Skandinavia sacred fire was kept burning night and day.<sup>77</sup> In Skandinavia, till a child is baptized the lamp must never go out, lest the trolls should steal the child. A live coal is thrown after a woman who is going to be churchd, to prevent her being bewitched, and a live coal is also thrown after a witch when she leaves a house, that her familiar may not stay behind.<sup>78</sup> In Sweden it is believed that no one should take a child in his hands without first touching fire.<sup>79</sup> The Russian bishop waves candles over his congregations in the form of a cross.<sup>80</sup> The main duty of the Russian reader, the lowest rank of Russian clergy, is to hold a candle.<sup>81</sup> In consecrating a Russian church each of the priests, deacons, and readers, and every member of the congregation holds a candle.<sup>82</sup> In

<sup>53</sup> *Jour. Anthropol. Inst.* Vol. VII. p. 289.

<sup>54</sup> Sibree's *Madagascar*, p. 316.

<sup>55</sup> Rohlf's *Morocco*, p. 82.

<sup>56</sup> Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II. p. 434.

<sup>57</sup> Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II. p. 195.

<sup>58</sup> Jones' *Crowns*, p. 534.

<sup>59</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 439.

<sup>60</sup> *Op. cit.*, loc. cit.

<sup>61</sup> Ovid's *Fasti*, Vol. IV. p. 728.

<sup>62</sup> Pliny's *Natural History*, Vol. VII. p. 7.

<sup>63</sup> Riley's *Ovid's Fasti*, Vol. IV. p. 792, n.

<sup>64</sup> Leslie's *Early Races of Scotland*, Vol. I. p. 60.

<sup>65</sup> Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II. p. 195.

<sup>66</sup> Mrs. Romanoff's *Rites and Customs of the Græco-Russian Church*, p. 425.

<sup>67</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 54.

<sup>68</sup> *Op. cit.*, loc. cit.

<sup>69</sup> Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II. p. 431.

<sup>70</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 88.

<sup>71</sup> Hahn's *Tsuni Goam*, p. 77.

<sup>72</sup> Stanley's *Ed.* p. 20.

<sup>73</sup> Bancroft, Vol. III. p. 376.

<sup>74</sup> Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II. p. 27.

<sup>75</sup> Pliny's *Natural History*, Vol. XXXVI. p. 27.

<sup>76</sup> Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. I. p. 333.

<sup>77</sup> *Eur. Rat.* Vol. I. p. 25.

<sup>78</sup> Smith's *Dict. of Ant.*, s. v., *Far.*

<sup>79</sup> Jones' *Crowns*, p. 424.

<sup>80</sup> Mallet's *Northern Antiquities*, p. 113.

<sup>81</sup> Henderson's *Folk-Lore*, p. 22.

<sup>82</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 90.

Russia, on the 29th of August (1700), horses were passed through fire.<sup>83</sup> In Roman Catholic churches, at the time of baptism, a lighted candle is put into the child's hand.<sup>84</sup> Candles are lighted in the sick room, when the Roman Catholic priest gives the sick person the Sacrament.<sup>85</sup> In Germany a light is burnt in the lying-in room till the child is baptized.<sup>86</sup> The Pope every year, when he blesses the world from the balcony of St. Peter's at Rome, holds a lighted taper, and when a Cardinal curses the heretics, a bell tolls, and the Pope throws the taper among the people.<sup>87</sup> In Iceland fire is carried five times round the land to keep off evil spirits.<sup>88</sup>

In Ireland, till 1700, people and cattle were passed through the Sun, or Beltine, Fires on Mayday and on Midsummer's Eve.<sup>89</sup> Higgins<sup>90</sup> says that children were passed through fire (1827), and when a cattle-disease broke out, a new fire was made and the cattle were passed through it.<sup>91</sup> Fire was worshipped in Ireland and Scotland in 1596;<sup>92</sup> and in the eighteenth century, after baptism, the child was passed thrice across a fire.<sup>93</sup> On the leading Beltine, or Sun, days, that is on Mayday and on Midsummer's-day, fires were lighted and fire was carried round on poles to drive off disease and mischief.<sup>94</sup> In West Scotland a great fire was lighted over a suicide's body.<sup>95</sup> In Scotland (1790) farm servants used to go round the fields with torches to secure good crops.<sup>96</sup> A fairy, or changling, child was burnt on the embers and the real child was restored.<sup>97</sup> Witches feared fire, and were burned to death to destroy the familiar as well as the witch. Wax-tapers were essential in conjurations or exorcisms.<sup>98</sup> The candles in Roman Catholic churches are consecrated, sprinkled with holy water, and incensed;<sup>99</sup> and that the object of lighting church candles is to drive away evil spirits appears from the following lines from Naogeorgus' *Popish Kingdom*, f. 47 :—

“ . . . a wondrous force and might  
Doth in these candles lie, which, if at any time they light,  
No thunder in the skies be heard nor any devils spide,  
Nor fearful sprites that walke by night,  
Nor hurts of frost nor haile.”<sup>100</sup>

In England, candlesticks were held before Richard I.<sup>1</sup> Martin in his *History of the Western Islands*, p. 116, says :—“ In this island of Lewis there was an ancient custom to make a fiery circle about the houses, corn, and cattle, belonging to each particular family. A man carried fire in his right hand and went round. Fire was also carried around women before they are churched and about children until they be christianed. They told me this fire round was an effectual means to preserve both the mother and the infant from the power of evil spirits who are ready at such times to do mischief, and who sometimes carry away the infants and return them meagre skeletons.”<sup>2</sup> In 1845, in Inverness, a girl was hung over a fire to cure her of the sin of witchcraft.<sup>3</sup> According to an old English belief, if a piece of the Candlemas (February 2nd) candle is kept till Christmas, the devil can do no harm in the house.<sup>4</sup> On the twelfth day after Christmas (in Herefordshire, 1791), English farmers used to go and light bonfires near wheat fields.<sup>5</sup> In Warwickshire (1790), candles were carried round a field to prevent the growth of tares, darnel, and other noisome weeds.<sup>6</sup> In the last century fires were lighted in England to keep wheat crops from disease.<sup>7</sup> On Firebrand Sunday, in England, peasants used to go to their fields with lighted torches of straw to drive bad air from

<sup>83</sup> *Early History of Man*, p. 395.

<sup>84</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 721.

<sup>85</sup> *Madras Almanac* (1840), p. 629.

<sup>86</sup> Leslie's *Early Races of Scotland*, Vol. I. p. 115.

<sup>87</sup> *Early History of Man*, p. 256.

<sup>88</sup> *Op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*

<sup>89</sup> Mitchell's *Highland Superstitions*, p. 34.

<sup>90</sup> Scott's *Border Minstrels*, p. 467.

<sup>91</sup> Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 45.

<sup>1</sup> Jones' *Crowns*, p. 195.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. III. p. 14.

<sup>3</sup> Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 393.

<sup>84</sup> *Golden Manual*, p. 721.

<sup>85</sup> Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II. p. 195.

<sup>86</sup> Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II. p. 195.

<sup>87</sup> Higgins' *Celtic Druids*, p. 181.

<sup>88</sup> Leslie's *Early Races of Scotland*, Vol. I. p. 114.

<sup>89</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 131.

<sup>90</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 133.

<sup>91</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 41.

<sup>100</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 46.

<sup>2</sup> Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, Vol. II. p. 486.

<sup>4</sup> Chambers' *Book of Days*, p. 214. <sup>5</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 55.

<sup>7</sup> Leslie's *Early Races of Scotland*, Vol. I. p. 124.

the earth.<sup>9</sup> On St. Blaze's Day, in England, people used to burn great fires on hills.<sup>9</sup> In England, on Midsummer Eve people passed through fire to be free from agues.<sup>10</sup> Even now, in the north of England, fire is not allowed to go out on Holloweven, Midsummer Eve, Christmas Eve and New Year's Eve.<sup>11</sup> This custom used to be observed 'for the prosperity of state and people, and to dispel every kind of evil.'<sup>12</sup> Candles are burnt in Roman Catholic churches with the object of scaring spirits.<sup>13</sup>

(To be continued.)

### INDO-DANISH COINS.

T. M. RANGA CHARI AND T. DESIKA CHARI.

No authentic information exists regarding the history of the Danish Mint at Tranquebar, but as far as can be gathered, the Danes in India struck there no fewer than three hundred varieties of coins in lead, copper, silver and gold. It does not appear that there was any mint in the other Danish Settlements in India, *viz.*, at Porto Novo, Serampore, or Balasore.

Out of the three hundred varieties above mentioned only about eighty can now be obtained in India. Many of these were published by us in 1888,<sup>1</sup> and the rest have been recently dealt with by Dr. E. Hultzsck, Government Epigraphist, Bangalore.<sup>2</sup> One remarkable piece, however, has hitherto remained unpublished, and that is the lead *Cas* of Frederick III. (A. D. 1648-70):—

*Obv.*—The crowned monogram of the king — F. 3.

*Rev.*—The Royal escutcheon of Denmark.

By far the oldest and the most difficult to obtain of the Tranquebar issues are those in lead; and when met with, they are so much oxidised, that it is scarcely possible to decipher the legend on them. Lead was coined into money only in the first three reigns, and the coinage commenced with Christian IV. in the year 1640; but the earliest lead coin bearing date, so far as we know, was of the year 1644. None of these lead issues bear on them the value of the coin, in this particular differing from the later copper coinage. The coins of Christian IV., indeed, have on them the legend *Cas*, but even then, the exact value is omitted. Unlike the copper issues also, the lead ones were of numerous varieties, not less than a dozen different kinds of coins being stated to have been struck in the reign of Frederick III. alone. Some of them afford a clue to the place of mintage, Tranquebar, by the presence on them of the letters D. B. or T. B., standing for Dansborg (the Fort at Tranquebar), or Tranquebar; and in the reign of Christian V. it appears to have been usual to insert on the coins the initials of the mint officer: thus, W. H. [van] K. [alnien].

It would be both a useful and an interesting enquiry to ascertain how it was that a metal so easily liable to decay as lead, came to be chosen as a medium of currency during the infancy of the Indo-Danish Settlement. That in early days there was a scarcity of this metal is evident from the records of the travellers who then visited India. The author of the *Periplus* mentions tin and lead among the imports of Baragaza<sup>3</sup> (Bharôch) on the Western Coast, and of Nelkunda<sup>4</sup> (conjectured by Col. Yule to have been between Kanetti and Kolum in Travancore). Sir Walter Elliott also refers to a passage in Pliny, where it is stated that "India has neither brass nor lead, receiving them in exchange for precious stones and pearls."<sup>5</sup> The only ancient Hindu kingdom that is known to have possessed a lead currency was that of the Andhras, and Sir W. Elliott has suggested that the scarcity of lead in those days might afford some explanation for this peculiarity in the Andhra coinage.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 100.

<sup>9</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 52.

<sup>10</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 299.

<sup>11</sup> Henderson's *Folk-Lore*, p. 72.

<sup>12</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 301.

<sup>13</sup> Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II. p. 196.

<sup>2</sup> "Indo-Danish Coins": *Madras Journal of Literature and Science* for the Session 1888-89.

<sup>3</sup> *Ante*, Vol. XXII. pp. 116-122.

<sup>4</sup> *The Commerce and Navigation of the Erythraean Sea*, by J. W. McCrindle, M.A. (Trübner and Co. 1879) p. 122.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* p. 136.

<sup>6</sup> *Numismata Orientalia — Coins of Southern India*, p. 22.


<sup>7</sup> *Op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*

Coming to later times, we meet with a lead currency only with the advent of the several European powers in the East. The Indo-Portuguese are known to have coined lead money; and the English East India Company, in imitation of the Portuguese, obtained of Charles II. a charter authorizing them to coin, among others, 'budgrooks' (Port. *basarucco*),<sup>7</sup> lead coins, which appear to have been issued by the English East India Company in the reign of Charles II. and in those of the first three Georges, for currency in the Settlement at Bombay.<sup>8</sup> Whether the scarcity of lead, felt in the early centuries of the Christian era, continued up to so late a period as the 16th and 17th centuries, is not known; but it is not improbable that lead was still popular as a medium of currency, and it was perhaps to suit this taste of their customers that the earliest European Power in India, the Portuguese, struck lead coins. The English and the Indo-Danish Companies appear to have copied the Indo-Portuguese in this respect.

It is not known why this currency was subsequently abandoned, but it is remarkable that all the European powers began to give it up just about the same time.

Copper coins appear to have been issued from the Indo-Danish Mint for the first time in the reign of Frederick III., the earliest copper coin bearing date being of the year 1667 A. D.

The late Lieut.-General Pearse sent us a drawing of a large *tutenag* coin which he believed to have been issued in the reign of Christian IV. (1588-1648):—

*Obv.* — The crowned cipher of the king .




T. R.


*Rev.* — C. A. S.

1644.

But we have not hitherto met with this, or any other *tutenag* coins from the Danish Mint.

As in the lead, so in the copper, coinage of Tranquebar, the exact value was not designated on the coins in the reigns of Frederick III. and Christian V., and the first attempt made at giving this was in the reign of Frederick IV. (1699-1730), who issued 10, 4 and 2 *KAS* pieces. This system continued till 1845, the date of the final cessation of the Danish Power in India.

None of the published lists, however, refer to, nor have we been able to obtain, X. *KAS* pieces of the reigns of Frederick V. (1746-1766), or of Christian VI. (1730-1746). But during the long reign of Christian VII. two types of X. *KAS* were issued. The earlier variety had on its obverse the double linked monogram of the king  and on its reverse the monogram of the *Dansk Asiatick Compagni*  with the date and value. The later variety had on its obverse the single crowned monogram  and on the reverse the value and the date.

Likewise there were two varieties of IV. *KAS*, both bearing on their obverse the monogram . On the reverse of the earlier variety were figured the monogram of the Company and the date and the value, but on that of the later variety the date and value alone appeared without the monogram. When this change took place, and whether it pointed to a total release of all their claims by the Danish Company in the East Indian Danish Settlements in favor of the Crown, are matters as to which it is not possible to obtain any exact information.

From 1808 to 1814, the Fort and Town of Tranquebar were, owing to hostilities between the mother countries, taken possession of and retained by the Madras Army. During this period no coins at all were issued, the Danes having naturally suspended operations. Tranquebar was restored to the Danish Power in 1814.

Silver coins began to be struck in the reign of Christian V. (1670-1699), and the earliest known coins are the five and two *fanos* of 1683. The silver currency thus started in *fanos*,


<sup>7</sup> *History of the Coinage of the East India Company* (Government Press, Madras), by Edgar Thurston, Esq., pp. 16 and 17.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 19, 25, 26 and 33.



conformably to the then popular monetary system of India, was superseded in 1755, by the introduction of the one and two *royaliner*. The change was, however, only nominal, the value of the *royalin* continuing to be nearly equal to one-eighth of a rupee. In 1816 a return was made to the old nomenclature *fanos*, which continued till 1818, from which year, the Danish Mint ceased to coin silver.


So far as we know, there were no Indo-Danish gold *fanams*, and the only gold coin that appears to have been struck was the pagoda of Christian VII. :—

*Obv.*—The crowned monogram of the king  on a granulated surface.

*Rev.*—An Indian idol.

From the description given of it in the accompanying list of the Copenhagen Collection, it appears that the pagoda of Christian VII. must have resembled in appearance and size the earlier variety of the Star Pagoda (*Pulivarāhan*) of the English East India Company.

Another gold coin is mentioned in the Copenhagen Royal Coin Cabinet *Catalogue* :—

*Obv.*—The crowned monogram of the king .

*Rev.*— $\zeta$ , the Persian initial, of  $\text{Haidar}$ , so familiar to collectors of Mysore coins of the Muhammadan Usurpation period.

This coin is of very great interest, as tending to shew that the Danish power in the East did homage to the Mysore Usurper, consistently with the unambitious policy of peace adopted by them in their dealings with the dominant Indian Powers.


We now append a list of the Indo-Danish coins in the Royal Coin Cabinet, Denmark, probably the largest known collection of these coins. The list was furnished in March 1884, by Mr. C. F. Herbert, Inspector of the Royal Coin Cabinet at Copenhagen, to the late Lieut.-General Pearse, who kindly placed at our disposal his notes on Indo-Danish coins, including the list. Both have been of material help in the preparation of this paper.

#### Coins of the Danish Colony in East India (Tranquebar).

(B. signifies the work *Beskrivelse over danske Mynter og Medailler i den Kgl Samling*. Kjöbenhavn, 1791, in folio, in which many of the coins are engraved.)

#### Christian IV., 1588-1648.

*Lead.*

1. *Obv.*—The king's crowned cipher, .

*Rev.*—T. R. CAS, 1644 (Tranquebar cash).

2. *Obv.*—As No. 1.

*Rev.*—Cas.

3. *Obv.*—As No. 1.

*Rev.*— $\overline{H}\hat{S}$  (*B. Tab. XXV. No. 32*).

#### Frederick III., 1648-1670.

*Copper.*

1. *Obv.*—The king's crowned cipher: beneath CAS, 1667.

*Rev.*—The Norse Lion.

2. Similar, but without year and of smaller size (*B. Tab. XXI. 13*).



*Lead.*

All with the same obverse: crowned F. 3.

3. *Rev.*—A lion and nine hearts (arms of Cimbria).

4. *Rev.*—A swan and S. (arms of Stormorn).

5. *Rev.*—A Lamb of God (arms of Gothia).






6. *Rev.* — A nettle (arms of Holstein).  
 7. *Rev.* — A crowned stock-fish and A (arms of Iceland).  
 8. *Rev.* — A rose.  
 9. *Rev.* — A cross :   
 10. *Rev.* — A cross and the letters I. C. :   
 11. *Rev.* — D. B. (perhaps Dansborg) and an indistinct indication of the year.

## Christian V., 1670-1699.

*Copper.*



1. *Obv.* — The king's cipher set two-fold under a crown, between 8 — 9 (1689).  
*Rev.* — Crowned D. O. C. between W.—H. and beneath v. K. (*B. Tab.* XXV. No. 18).  
 1b. Similar, from the year 1691.  
 2. *Obv.* — The king's crowned double cipher.  
*Rev.* — Crowned <sup>1</sup>D. O. C. <sup>6</sup><sub>92</sub> (*B. Tab.* XXI. No. 19).  
 3, 4. Similar, from the years 1694 and 1697 (*B. Tab.* XXXV. 11, No. 15 and XLI. No. 3).

*Lead.*

5. *Obv.* — Crowned 16  87.  
*Rev.* — Crowned <sup>D. O. C.</sup><sub>W. K.</sub>  
 6. *Obv.* — Crowned 8  9.  
*Rev.* — Crowned W. D. O. C. H. K.  
 7. *Obv.* — Crowned .  
*Rev.* — Crowned D. O. C.  
 8. *Obv.* — .  
*Rev.* .

## Frederick IV., 1699-1730.

*Silver.*

1. Double Fano.  
*Obv.* — Crowned 17  31.  
*Rev.* — The Norse Lion.  
 This coin was struck before the king's death <sup>12</sup>— 1730 was known in India.  
 2. Fano ( $\frac{1}{2}$  Rupee).  
*Obv.* — Crowned 17  30.  
*Rev.* — The Norse Lion (*B. Tab.* XXIX. No. 7).

*Copper.*


3. *Obv.* — The king's crowned double cipher.  
*Rev.* — Crowned <sup>DOC</sup><sub>10</sub>  
 Kass.  
 4. *Obv.* — As No. 3.  
*Rev.* — <sup>DOC</sup><sub>4 Kas.</sub>  
 5. *Obv.* — As No. 3.  
*Rev.* — <sup>DOC</sup><sub>2 Kas.</sub>

6. (Kas).

*Obv.* — As No. 3.

*Rev.* — Crowned DOC.

7. (Kas).


*Obv.* — Crowned .

*Rev.* — Crowned DOC. (*B. Tab.* XXIX. No. 17-19).

Christian VI., 1730-1746.

*Silver.*

1. Double Fano.

*Obv.* — Crowned 17  31.


*Rev.* — The Norse Lion (*B. Tab.* XIII. No. 3).


2. Fano, of similar type and same year.


*Copper.*

3. 4 Kas.


*Obv.* — Crowned .

*Rev.* — Crowned <sub>4</sub> (*Dansk Asiatisk Compagnie*). (*B. Tab.* XIV. No. 10.)

4. 2 Kas. Similar type but <sub>2</sub> (*B. Tab.* XIV. No. 11).

5. (Kas). Similar type but  (*B. Tab.* XIV. No. 12).


6. (Kas).


*Obv.* — Crowned 17  31.

*Rev.* — The Norse Lion.


7. (Kas). Similar from the year 1732.


8. (Kas).

*Obv.* — .

*Rev.* — .

9. (Kas).


*Obv.* — .

*Rev.* —  (= Tranquebar).

Frederick V., 1746-1766.

*Silver.*

1. 2 Royaliner (= Fanos).

*Obv.* — Crowned .


*Rev.* — The value and beneath, the crowned Danish escutcheon between 17-55 (*B. Tab.* XIX. No. 23).


2-7. Similar, 1756, 1762, 1764 (*B. Tab.* XIX. No. 24).

1765-1766 and *sine anno*.

*Copper.*

16. 4 Kas.


*Obv.* — Crowned .

*Rev.* — Crowned 17 <sub>4</sub> 61 (*B. Tab.* XIX. No. 18).

17. 4 Kas. Similar from the year 1763 (*B. Tab.* XIX. No. 18).

## 18. Kas.


Obv. — As No. 16.

Rev. — Crowned 17  61.

Christian VII., 1766-1808.



Gold.

## 1. Pagoda.

Obv. — Crowned .

Rev. — Indian idol (weight 1 ducat).


## 2. Pagoda.

Obv. — Crowned .Rev. — , the Persian  (Haidar 'Ali).

This coin is not known in the Danish Collections. The description is taken from *Neueste Münzkunde Abbildung und Beschreibung der jetzt coursirenden Gold und silbermünzen*. 1ster Band (Liepzig 1853) Taf. LIX. No. 1.

Silver.

## 3. 2 Royaliner.

Obv. — Crowned .

Rev. — The value over the Danish escutcheon between 17 — 67.


4-28. Similar from 1768, 1770, '71, '72, '73, '74, '75 (*B. Tab. XIII. 5*), 1776, '79, '80, '81, '83, '84, '86 (variant 17—<sup>86</sup><sub>R</sub>), '87, '88, '89, '92, '94, '95, '96, '97, '99 and 1807.


29. Royalin. Similar type as No. 3 from the year 1767.

30-55. Similar from 1768, '69, '70 (*B. Tab. XIII. 3*), 1771, '73, '74, '75, '76, '79, '80, '81, '83, '84, 86, 17—<sup>86</sup><sub>R</sub>, '87, '88, '89, '91, '92, '93, '94, '95, '96, '97, '99 and 1807.

Copper.

## 56. 10 Kas.

Obv. — Crowned .

Rev. —   
10 KAS  
A° 1768.

57, 58. Similar from 1770 and 1777 (*B. Tab. XIII. 9*).


## 59. 10 Kas.


Obv. — As No. 56.

X  
Rev. — Kas  
1786

60, 61. Similar from 1788-1790.

## 62. 4 Kas.

Obv. — Crowned .

Rev. — Crowned 17  67.  
4

63-65. Similar from 1768, 1770 (*B. Tab. XII. No. 11*) and 1777.


## 66. 4 Kas.


Obv. — Crowned .


IV  
Rev. — Kas  
1782

67-75. Similar from 1786, var. <sup>1786</sup><sub>R</sub>, 1787, 1788, '89 '90, '97, '99, 1800, 1807.


76. 2 Kas.


*Obv.* — Crowned .

*Rev.* — Crowned 17  80 (*B. Tab. XIII. 15*).

77. Similar with 17  70.

78, 79 Kas.


*Obv.* — Crowned .

*Rev.* — Crowned 17  77; and similar from 1780 (*B. Tab. XIII. 16*).

#### Frederick VI., 1808-1839.

##### *Silver.*

1. 2 Fano.

*Obv.* — Crowned .

\* 2 \*

*Rev.* — FANO  
1816

2. Similar from 1818.

3, 4. Fano. Similar type as No. 1, but the value <sup>1</sup>FANO from 1816 and 1818.

##### *Copper.*

5. 10 Kas.

*Obv.* — As No. 1.

\* X \*

*Rev.* — KAS  
1816

6-8. Similar from 1822, 1838 and 1839.

9. 4 Kas.

*Obv.* — As No. 1.

\* IV \*

*Rev.* — Kas  
1815

10-24. Similar from 1816, '17, '20, '22, '23, '24, '25, '30, '31, '32, '33 34, '37, '38, and '39.

25. Kas.

*Obv.* — As No. 1.

1

*Rev.* — KAS  
1819

#### Christian VIII., 1839-1848.

##### *Copper.*

1. 10 Kas.

*Obv.* — Crowned .

\* X \*

*Rev.* — KAS  
1842

2. 4 Kas.

*Obv.* — As No. 1.

\* IV \*

*Rev.* — KAS  
1840

3. Similar from 1841, '42, '43, '44 and '45.

## NOTES ON THE SPIRIT BASIS OF BELIEF AND CUSTOM.

BY J. M. CAMPBELL, C.I.E., I.C.S.

(Continued from p. 22.)

## (b) Water.

**N**EXT to fire in power of driving away spirits comes water. Water drives off the spirit of thirst; it refreshes the fainting; it restores life to those in a swoon. On this power over diseases, — that is over evil spirits, — the claim of water as the great purifier seems to rest. The endless bathing of the high class Hindu has its root in the necessity for scaring evil spirits, not in the desire for personal cleanliness. The throwing of water at great ceremonies, and the washing of the feet before entering a house, seem to be done with the object of driving off spirits.<sup>14</sup> The worship of sacred rivers and pools has the same object.<sup>15</sup> Among the Thāna Vādvals, when a child is supposed to be affected by the evil eye, water and salt are waved round its face and thrown away.<sup>16</sup> Among the Khonds, if a woman is possessed by the spirit of barrenness, she goes to where two streams meet, and is sprinkled with water.<sup>17</sup> So water is poured into the mouth of the dying Khond — originally it would seem to keep the spirit from coming back, now apparently to keep evil spirits from entering the dead body. A part of the belief that spirits fear water is that spirits cannot pass through water. This seems to be the original reason for the Brāhmaṇ practice of sprinkling water round their dishes before eating; of the Marāṭhā practice of throwing the stone of life backwards into a pool of water, and of the more general practice of carrying the ashes into a river, or into the sea. So gods, whose festival is over, are borne into deep water and left there. So Hindus troubled with a disease make tiny ships, fill them with offerings, and set them to sea that the disease spirit may start in the boat, and may not return.<sup>18</sup> The belief in holy water is wide-spread in India. The Jews have holy water in their temples, and among many classes water, which has been touched by the religious teacher, or in which the śālagrām stone has been dipped, is believed to have special purifying powers. In Western India, no orthodox Brāhmaṇ begins his meal, until he had thrice sipped water in which a śālagrām stone has been washed.<sup>19</sup> The Kānara Buruds are visited by their Līngāyat priest on the Śrāvan (July-August) new moon. In each house the priest's feet are washed, and the water is drunk by the household, each of whom receives a gift of cow-dung ashes. Among the Kānara Satārkars, on the fourth day after a birth and on the third day after a death, the family is cleansed by water brought from the family priest.<sup>20</sup> The Kāthkars, an early tribe in Kānara,

<sup>14</sup> Examples of throwing or scattering water at great ceremonies are given in the text below. Three may, however, be recorded here from early tribes. At marriages the fathers among the Kurns of West Bengal wash the feet of the young couple (Dalton's *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 234). The Gonds sprinkle water before the bride and bridegroom, and the bride and bridegroom blow water on each other (Hislop's *Aboriginal Tribes of the Central Provinces*, App. I. p. 5). In Bombay on launching a boat when the rains are over the Ratnagiri boatmen shout 'Allah' and dash handfuls of water over each other (MS. notes).

<sup>15</sup> In many places of Hindu pilgrimage the holiest spot is a pool called Rāma's Pool. Western India has three famous Rāma's Pools at Nāsik, at Sōpāra near Bassein, and at Gōkarn in North Kānara. The pool is always, wherever found, sacred to Rāma, and there he bathed. But the basis of the sacredness of the pool is not the fact that it has been honoured by Rāma bathing in it, but that its water had power to purify even Rāma, who was haunted by the most dreaded of spirits — a dead Brāhmaṇ, the giant Rāvaṇa, whom he had slain. The tradition, that Rāma bathed to free himself from this haunting spirit does not remain at Nāsik or at Sōpāra. It is fresh in Gōkarn. Whoever bathes in the Gōkarn pool will be freed from the sin, even of Brāhmaṇ murder. This instance shows the origin of the worship of wells common over the world, nowhere more common than in India. It also shows that sin is possession by an evil spirit, and that a pilgrim can be cleansed from sin by water, because water drives out evil spirits.

<sup>16</sup> Information from Mr. P. B. Joshi.

<sup>17</sup> Macpherson's *Khonds*, p. 71.

<sup>18</sup> Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II. p. 127.

<sup>19</sup> This *tīrtha* water, is supposed to remove diseases and prolong life. The Sanskrit text which the Brāhmaṇs repeat, while sipping the water, is significant of this belief. It is: "Akṣitamrutynharanam, sarra yādhirivāśhanam Viśṇupādādikam tīrtham jukarā dhṛtrayāmyaham," — that is, "I drink this Viśṇu's feet water, which checks untimely death and removes disease."

<sup>20</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XV. pp. 241, 242.

are purified after a birth or a death by drinking water, which has been touched by a Havik Brāhmaṇ.<sup>21</sup> In Dhārwar the Swāmis give their followers holy water before meals, and when an infant is bathed, the mother waves drops of water round its face, and says:—"May you live long."<sup>22</sup> A Kurubar, or Dhārwar, shepherd in search of merit washes his teacher's toes and with the water bathes his own eyes. The teacher says:—"You are sure to go to Śiva's heaven; all evil is scared out of you."<sup>23</sup> In 1790, Moore<sup>24</sup> notices that the Musalmān Nawāb of Sāvanūr in the Bombay Karnāṭak never drank any water, except what came from the Ganges. The water was drunk by the Nawāb, not from any motive of piety, but because of its medicinal properties. The Shōlāpur Pāṇchāls sprinkle the child with water as soon as it is born.<sup>25</sup> Among the Gujarāt Vānis, when the bridegroom on horseback reaches the bride's marriage porch, her mother comes out, waves a pot full of water round the boy's head, and spills it over the horse's legs.<sup>26</sup> At the birth of a Dekhan Rāmōśī child, women-neighbours of any caste come and pour many pots of water in front of the door.<sup>27</sup> When the Bāngdis, or shepherd blanket-weavers of Ahmadnagar, go to visit one of their gods they throw a handful of water at his feet, bow and withdraw.<sup>28</sup> In Southern India holy water is sprinkled on the mourners' heads, and mourners are made to drink holy water on the tenth day after a death.<sup>29</sup> Brāhmans, at their morning bath, cast water on the ground to destroy the demons who war with the gods.<sup>30</sup> Brāhmans also offer *tarpan*,—that is, they pour out water,—for their ancestors and for heavenly spirits.<sup>31</sup> When the Khonds wish to consult a priest they dash water on him,—that is, they scare the evil spirits from his neighbourhood. The priest sneezes, and the good spirit comes into him and the Khonds listen.<sup>32</sup> The Pārsis hold that water purifies women at child-birth, heals sickness, and scares spirits.<sup>33</sup> They believe that rain frightens sickness and death,<sup>34</sup> and they use holy water, over which prayers have been said.<sup>35</sup> The Pārsis have *pāvyāb*, or holy water, which, with prayers, removes all impurities.<sup>36</sup> The bath in the early morning is binding on the Jew, because when he is asleep evil spirits have rested on him.<sup>37</sup> When a Jew became unclean, by touching a dead body, he and his house were sprinkled with the water of separation. This was made with the ashes of a red heifer, cedar and scarlet.<sup>38</sup>

The Buddhists of Ceylon sprinkle holy water on the worshipper.<sup>39</sup> This holy water is prepared by four priests, who sit before dawn in the river Ganorua. On the first sign of dawn (light or fire which chases spirits) with a golden sword (spirits fear gold) they draw a circle (spirits fear a circle) in the water and fill the pitcher from the inside of the circle.<sup>40</sup> The Burmese believe that spirits cannot cross running water, and stretch threads over brooks to help them to cross.<sup>41</sup> The Burmese, while using the first bucket of bathing water, say Pāli prayers with the object of guarding against sickness.<sup>42</sup> At his crowning the Burman king was sprinkled with holy water.<sup>43</sup> The Malays wash new-born infants.<sup>44</sup> The Chinese Mandarin washes his hands before making offerings to the gods.<sup>45</sup> In China, at the end of a feast, waiters go round with basins of hot water, and the guests wash their hands and faces. Among the Musalmāns of Turkistān, before prayers, the hands and face are washed, especially the seven openings, *e. g.*, the eyes, ears, nostrils and mouth.<sup>46</sup>

In Melanesia, charmed bones and leaves are steeped in water to drive out the evil spirit.<sup>47</sup> Polynesian priests consider sea-water pure owing to its containing salt, and from

<sup>21</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XV. p. 347.

<sup>24</sup> Moore's *Narratives*, p. 248.

<sup>27</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XVIII. p. 415.

<sup>29</sup> Dubois, Vol. II. p. 216.

<sup>31</sup> Ward's *Views of the Hindus*, Vol. II. p. 63.

<sup>33</sup> Bleek's *Khordak Avesta*, p. 32.

<sup>35</sup> Bleek's *Vispered*, p. 10.

<sup>37</sup> Mill's *British Jews in Spencer's Princ. of Sociology*, App. p. 6.

<sup>39</sup> Leslie's *Early Races of Scotland*, Vol. I. p. 119.

<sup>41</sup> Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. I. p. 442.

<sup>43</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 430.

<sup>45</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 430.

<sup>46</sup> Sebuyier's *Turkistān*, Vol. I. p. 121.

<sup>22</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XXII. p. 50.

<sup>25</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XXIV. p. 125.

<sup>28</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XVII. p. 93.

<sup>30</sup> Colebrooke's *Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. I. p. 124.

<sup>32</sup> Spencer's *Princ. of Sociology*, Vol. I. p. 245.

<sup>34</sup> *Vendādād Fargard*, Vol. XXI.

<sup>36</sup> *Dābistān*, Vol. I. p. 345.

<sup>38</sup> *Numbers*, XIX.

<sup>40</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. II. pp. 506, 507.

<sup>42</sup> Shway Yoe's *The Burman*, Vol. I. p. 87.

<sup>44</sup> Gray's *China*, Vol. I. p. 89.

<sup>47</sup> *Jour. Anthropol. Inst.* Vol. X. p. 284.

it prepare a holy water to lighten pain and remove disease.<sup>48</sup> The Papuans of New Guinea, when they mean to be peaceful, sprinkle water over their heads.<sup>49</sup> The New Zealanders wash new-born infants.<sup>50</sup> At Guinea (in 1562),<sup>51</sup> a captain of negroes came up to a British ship in a canoe, hollowed like a trough to feed hogs in. He stopped at some distance, and put water on his cheek, and would not come near till the English Captain did the same.

Holy water is used in Madagascar,<sup>52</sup> and while building a royal house the chief post is sprinkled with holy water by the king.<sup>53</sup> The Buras of East Africa, to clear the road, squirt water from their mouths over any one about to start on a journey.<sup>54</sup> Among the Zulus, when an epidemic breaks out, a doctor passes through the town with a bunch of boughs followed by a man with a large bowl of water, and sprinkles the water on the door of every house.<sup>55</sup> Nile water cures children of rickets.<sup>56</sup> Among the Nubians of Africa the best medicine is water, in which leaves of *papu* with texts from the Korân have been washed.<sup>57</sup> The Bongos of the White Nile sprinkle the sick with boiling water.<sup>58</sup> Among the Matambe negroes the widow is ducked in a pond to scare the husband's spirit and remove the risk in a second marriage.<sup>59</sup> The Mongols, the Africans and the people of Guinea use holy water.<sup>60</sup>

In the elaborate Mexican baptism the early object to drive out evil spirits is hidden by much that is more modern: still, that the object is to drive evil out of every limb is shewn by the detail of touching the babe on the breast and crown, while the nurse says: — "Whoever thou art in this child, begone, leave it, put thyself apart."<sup>61</sup> The Peruvians have a yearly sprinkling with water on the first day of the September moon.<sup>62</sup>

The Greeks used holy water mixed with salt. The *perirantocion*, or holy-water vessel, was generally placed at the entrance to the Greek temple.<sup>63</sup> The Romans used to pour out libations of water at the end of every feast.<sup>64</sup> In some of the higher masonry degrees the candidate is purified by water, nominally to cleanse him from the taint of the lower condition.<sup>65</sup> In consecrating the throne, or altar-table, in a Russian church the wood is washed with holy water and wet with wine and then dried.<sup>66</sup> In the Russian church at baptism the priest blows on the brows, lips and breast of the child, and says three times: — "May every evil and unclean spirit that has concealed itself and taken its abode in his breast, depart."<sup>67</sup> The Russian priest consecrates water for baptism by passing his hand three times over it, making a sign of the cross, blowing on it, and signing the surface with a feather dipped in holy oil.<sup>68</sup> In Russia water is made holy by dipping the cross into it. The drops that fall from the wetted cross are sprinkled on the bell.<sup>69</sup> The Russian Bishop, after he puts on his robe, has water poured over his hands.<sup>70</sup> In giving the Sacrament, the Roman Catholic priest washes his hands.<sup>71</sup> At the Roman Catholic lay baptism, when a priest cannot be found and the child is dying, the child may be baptized with common water.<sup>72</sup> Holy water is sprinkled on the Roman Catholic bride and bridegroom.<sup>73</sup> In the Roman Catholic ritual the sick man drinks water in which the priest has washed his hands.<sup>74</sup> In Brandenburg, peasants pour water at the door after the coffin to prevent the ghost from walking.<sup>75</sup> It is a common belief in Europe that spirits cannot cross running water.<sup>76</sup> In the South of Scotland, about the beginning of this century, all but the profane, before going to bed, set a tub or pail of water for the good spirit

<sup>48</sup> Fornander's *Polynesian Races*, Vol. I. p. 116.

<sup>49</sup> Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II. p. 431.

<sup>50</sup> Sibree's *Madagascar*, p. 219.

<sup>51</sup> New's *East Africa*, p. 479.

<sup>52</sup> Parson's *Travels*, p. 312.

<sup>53</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 309.

<sup>54</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. II. pp. 431-433.

<sup>55</sup> Mackay's *Freemasonry*, p. 16.

<sup>56</sup> Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, Vol. II. p. 20.

<sup>57</sup> Mrs. Romanoff's *Rites and Customs of the Greco-Russian Church*, p. 91.

<sup>58</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 70. <sup>59</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 277.

<sup>60</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 17. <sup>61</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 703.

<sup>62</sup> Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II. p. 217.

<sup>49</sup> Earl's *Papuans*, p. 13.

<sup>51</sup> *Voyages*, Vol. VII. p. 297.

<sup>53</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 287.

<sup>55</sup> Gardiner's *Zulus*, p. 95.

<sup>57</sup> Schweinfurth's *Heart of Africa*, Vol. II. p. 325.

<sup>45</sup> Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II. p. 23.

<sup>61</sup> Bancroft, Vol. III. pp. 372-376.

<sup>63</sup> Fornander's *Polynesian Races*, Vol. I. p. 117.

<sup>65</sup> Mackay's *Freemasonry*, p. 3.

<sup>67</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 68.

<sup>70</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 424.

<sup>74</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 721.

<sup>76</sup> Leslie's *Early Races of Scotland*, Vol. I. p. 77.

<sup>71</sup> *Golden Manual*, p. 250.



to bathe in (originally to keep off evil spirits).<sup>77</sup> For the same reason the hands and feet of the dead were washed.<sup>78</sup> The Irish made sheep swim on the first Sunday in August.<sup>79</sup> Well-worship was common in Scotland till comparatively recent times. The epileptic were carried round the well three times, and pieces of rags from the sick were brought to the well.<sup>80</sup> When their oxen, sheep, or horses were sick, the people of Orkney sprinkled them with water, called by them *forespoken water*. They also sprinkled their boats with forespoken water, when they did not prosper or succeed in their fishing.<sup>81</sup> In England, in 1620, water from a smith's forge was believed to cure splenetic affections, passion and madness.<sup>82</sup> Christian baptism in some parts of Europe is believed to drive out an evil spirit. So in Germany the peasants are in great fear that spirits will get into the child between birth and baptism,<sup>83</sup> and so the Roman Catholic priest in baptizing the child orders Satan to begone. Holy water is used both by the Greek and the Roman Churches to drive out demons.<sup>84</sup> The following spell, enumerating the names of spirit-scaring articles, is from Herrick's *Hesperides*, p. 304:—

"*Holy water* come and bring,  
Cast in *salt* for seasoning,  
Set the *brush* for sprinkling,  
Sacred *spittle* bring ye hither,  
*Meale* and it now mix together,  
And a little *oil* to either.  
Give the *tapers* here their light,  
Ring the saint's *bells* to affright  
Far from hence the devil sprite."<sup>85</sup>

In early England holy water was given to mend sick patients,<sup>86</sup> and was (A. D. 600) sprinkled over pagan fanes to make them Christian.<sup>87</sup> In England, if a child cries when he is being baptized, people say it is the voice of the evil spirit being scared out of the child.<sup>88</sup> In the north of England it is believed that a sickly child's health is improved by baptism, and in Northumberland old people say of sickly infants:—"A child never thrives till he is christened."<sup>89</sup> In Wales, water was taken to fill the font from holy wells,<sup>90</sup> and a well in Innes Maree, in West Scotland, cured lunatics.<sup>91</sup> Southring water was a great cure in England (1560) for people taken with the faery.<sup>92</sup> A cure for rheumatism in the north of England is to tie the sick in a blanket and set the sufferer in a running stream.<sup>93</sup> Throwing the patient into the sea was a great cure for madness in the Scotch Highlands.<sup>94</sup> In the English form of baptism in use till 1550 the following words occur:—"I command the unclean spirit to come out and depart."<sup>95</sup> In Lancashire, in England, it is unlucky to let a cat die in the house: a dying cat is drowned.<sup>96</sup> In Yorkshire, hot water is poured over the door steps as the bride and bridegroom drive away.<sup>97</sup> In Cornwall, the disordered in mind are seated on the brink of a pool filled with water from St. Nun's Well: a sudden blow on the breast then knocks the patients into the water where they are left till their fury fades. They are next taken to church, and masses are said over them.<sup>98</sup> Water stops all spells: so if you can put a brook between you and a fiend you are safe.<sup>99</sup> So "the running stream dissolved the spell."<sup>100</sup>

(To be continued.)

<sup>77</sup> Scott's *Border Minstrels*, p. 458.

<sup>78</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 368.

<sup>79</sup> Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, Vol. II. p. 37.

<sup>80</sup> Leslie's *Early Races of Scotland*, pp. 160, 161. Scotch wells were tapestried with rags: apparently the idea was that the disease-spirit came in the rag, and was either driven out or imprisoned by the guardian water spirit.

<sup>81</sup> Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 394.

<sup>82</sup> Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. I. p. 116.

<sup>83</sup> Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, Vol. III. pp. 58, 59.

<sup>84</sup> Leslie's *Early Races of Scotland*, Vol. I. p. 224.

<sup>85</sup> Mitchell's *Highland Superstitions*, p. 24.

<sup>86</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 161.

<sup>87</sup> Spencer's *Princ. of Sociology*, Vol. I. p. 260.

<sup>88</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 201.

<sup>89</sup> Note 20 to *Lays of the Last Minstrel*.

<sup>82</sup> Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*, p. 461.

<sup>84</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 441.

<sup>85</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. III. p. 140.

<sup>86</sup> Henderson's *Folk-Lore*, p. 16.

<sup>87</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 15.

<sup>88</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 3.

<sup>89</sup> Mitchell's *Highland Superstitions*, p. 19.

<sup>90</sup> Dyer's *Folk-Lore*, p. 111.

<sup>91</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 142.

<sup>100</sup> Scott's *Lays of the Last Minstrel*, Vol. III. p. 13.

## BULLETIN OF THE RELIGIONS OF INDIA.

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(Translated from the French by Dr. James Morison.)

(Continued from Vol. XXIII. p. 374.)

BUT the chief publication of these last years, on the *Atharva-Veda* is its proper ritual work, the *Kausika-sûtra*, edited by Prof. Bloomfield.<sup>1</sup> Long waited for with impatience, and appreciated at its full value before it appeared, thanks to what Profs. Weber and Bloomfield had extracted or permitted others to extract from it, it has not belied the expectations which were formed of it. The editor has surrounded himself with all the manuscript sources known, and has used them all to good advantage. He has published all that remains, all at least that is yet legible in the valuable comment of Dârila, first made known by Prof. Weber, and has given copious extracts from the gloss of Kēsava, another commentator. In a learned preface, he has carefully distinguished the different layers of his text, and has laid bare the old foundation of curious practices, which is as it were the kernel. The history of the *Atharva-Veda*, after these investigations, appears with an outline, which, if not quite new, is drawn with more firmness than in the past. It is a modern Veda, in the sense that it is only at a comparatively late time that it was put to use as another Veda, that it was furnished with all that a Veda should have; but as to its substance, it is an ancient, a very ancient text, which for other rites than the great sacrifices was not less celebrated nor held less sacred. As to the aid which Prof. Bloomfield's publication gives to the interpretation of these old texts, it would be hard to exaggerate its value. To make this clear to our minds we need only compare a translation in which this help could be employed, with another where it was wanting; for instance, the seventh book of M. Henry with his thirteenth. In this respect it is hardly likely that we need look for so much from the Commentary of Sâyaṇa, which Mr. Shankar Paṇḍit is preparing to publish. To the *Atharva-Veda* there have gradually been attached those *Upanishads*, which we may call floating, those which are not bound up with a body of Vedic writings still preserved, and whose number has gone on increasing.<sup>2</sup> Among those which belong to this class and which must be accepted as ancient, is the *Kaṭha Upanishad*, a curious Hindu speculation on the problem of life and death, which Prof. Whitney has translated afresh.<sup>3</sup> Colonel Jacob, who has devoted himself enthusiastically to the study of this class of philosophic literature, has published a general concordance, in which every word and every phrase, however unimportant, is registered, with a complete enumeration of all the passages.<sup>4</sup> This storehouse, which embraces texts of all ages, and omits none of any value, includes also the *Bhagavadgītā*, which Col. Jacob was well advised to admit. The number of texts extracted is 67, or by another mode of reckoning only 56, and must have involved an immense amount of labour, since the author has not only collected from the printed material, but has corrected it by the manuscripts, and has very often been obliged to make a critical text anew, the first editions, notably those in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, being often very faulty.<sup>5</sup> This *Kośa* of Col. Jacob will henceforward be indispensable as a working tool to all students of Hindu philosophy. We also owe to Col. Jacob excellent editions of the *Māhānārāyaṇa Upanishad*, and eleven other *Upanishads* of the *Atharva Veda*, with

<sup>1</sup> Maurice Bloomfield, *The Kausika-Sûtra of the Atharva-Veda, with Extracts from the Commentaries of Dârila and Kēsava*; forming the XIVth volume of the *Journ. Americ. Orient. Soc.* New Haven, 1890.

<sup>2</sup> This process of attachment has been carried on still further, to those *Upanishads* which are actually a part of other Vedas, and which are handed down besides in an *Atharva* recension.

<sup>3</sup> W. D. Whitney, *Translation of the Kaṭha Upanishad* in the *Transactions of the Americ. Philological Association*.

<sup>4</sup> Colonel G. A. Jacob, *Upanishadvākya-kōśaḥ. A Concordance to the Principal Upanishads and Bhagavadgītā*, Bombay, 1891, pp. 1,083, large octavo.

<sup>5</sup> Here I may mention the new editions of the chief *Upanishads* with a rich apparatus of commentary, which form part of the *Ānandāśrama Series*, in course of publication at Poona. They are both correct and moderate in price, and there have appeared up till now, the *Īśa*, *Kena*, *Kāṭhaka Prasna*, *Muṇḍaka*, *Māndūkya* (with the *Kārikās* of Gauḍapāda), *Aitareya*, *Taittirīya*, *Chândogya*, *Bṛihadâraṇyaka* and *Svetasvatara Upanishads*.

commentaries, specially that of Nārāyaṇa, when it was available, introductions and notes, where the editor shews both critical power and knowledge.<sup>6</sup> To mention only one example, he has given a new and valid reason for believing that Śaṅkara did not write a commentary on the *Svetāśvatara Upanishad*, or that the commentary on that *Upanishad* which goes under his name, is not by him, a fact which, for me at least, has always seemed evident. These texts belong to the period of the full development of the sectarian forms of Hindu religion, which does not imply that they are modern, but distinguishes them sharply from their ancient prototypes. When we reach them we have left the Veda far behind, and have perhaps even passed beyond the period in which the various systems of Hindu philosophy took the shape which they have retained down to our own days.

When did the Hindus succeed in unravelling the confused speculations [of the ancient *Upanishads*, and the often contradictory prescriptions of their books on ritual — prescriptions which further are often inadequate for want of being put in a general way; when did they reduce them to a body of doctrine clearly defined and methodically arranged? Up till now this question has not been answered even approximately. We do not know, further, when this task of working out the philosophies reached a definite point, nor in what order it took place for the various *darśanas*, or systems. Apart from the *sūtras* of the Nyāya and the Vaiśeṣika, for which, as far as I know, this honour has never been claimed, the priority in point of time has been asserted in turns for the Mīmāṃsā, the Vedānta, the Sāṅkhya and the Yōga, with arguments which are equally subjective, equally specious and equally weak according to the point of view in which we stand. Perhaps the latter question is one, which it would be better not to ask. It is clear that the philosophical doctrines have taken a long time to reach completion and refinement, and that the result was accomplished at the same period in the different schools. It seems that this was the same with the texts. They all argue against one another; they all shew signs of archaism, side by side with marks of later age and as indications of successive strata which had not entirely disappeared when they were finally recast. In the *Sāṅkhyasūtras*, for example, this fact is manifest. Lastly, it has not yet been shewn that influences coming from without had not, for some of them at least, aided in this latter result, and on this side, perhaps future researches will give us some points of chronology to start from. Of all these systems the Vedānta rests most directly on the *Upanishads*. Even in its form it comes before us as a discussion, a *mīmāṃsā* (its other name is *uttarā mīmāṃsā*) of Vedic passages, with the intention of eliciting from them one doctrine. The fundamental *sūtras* attributed to Bādarāyaṇa, whom tradition identifies with the legendary Vyāsa, the arranger of the Vedas, and the author of the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas*, have appeared in a new edition (that in the *Bibliotheca Indica* has not been procurable for a long while) with the commentary of Śaṅkara, and is in course of publication in Poona in the *Ānandāśrama Series*.<sup>7</sup> Professor Thibaut, Principal of the Benares College, has published the first volume of an English translation,<sup>8</sup> which is no mere useless repetition of the work done already by Prof. Deussen, of which I had occasion to speak in the preceding *Report*.<sup>9</sup> Without being so scrupulously literal as Prof. Deussen's version, it keeps very closely to the text, and though like Prof. Deussen, the translator follows the interpretation of Śaṅkara (which is translated as well as the original *sūtra*) he has been careful, in a long and very noteworthy introduction, to shew impartiality to explanations which do not agree with Śaṅkara's. It is well known that Śaṅkara's doctrine, which finally obtained supremacy in the

<sup>6</sup> The *Mahānārāyaṇa Upanishad* of the *Atharva Veda*, with the *Dīpikā* of Nārāyaṇa, Bombay, 1888 — Eleven *Atharvaṇa Upanishads*, with *Dīpikās*. Edited with Notes, Bombay, 1891. These eleven *Upanishads* are, the *Krishna*, *Kālāgnirūdra*, *Vāsudeva*, *Gopīchandana*, *Nārāyaṇa*, *Ātmabodha*, *Gāruda*, *Mahā*, *Varadātāpantya*, *Āśrama*, and *Skanda*.

<sup>7</sup> The *Brahmasūtras* with the *Bhāṣya* of Śrīmat Sāṅkarācārya and his Commentary by Śrīmat Ānandagādhana. Edited by Paṇḍit Nārāyaṇa Sāstri Ekasambekar.

<sup>8</sup> George Thibaut, *The Vedānta Sūtras with the Commentary of Sāṅkarācārya*, translated. Part 1. Oxford 1890, forming the XXXIV th. volume of the *Sacred Books of the East*. The translation goes as far as the end of II. 2, about the half of the whole work.

<sup>9</sup> Tome XIX. p. 152.

school, maintains the view of a thorough-going idealism, of an impersonal absolute being, and of no reality besides that.<sup>10</sup> By means of painstaking analyses, Prof. Thibaut shows that it is not wholly either that of the *Upanishads*, nor that of the *sūtras*, but that it is the most logical resultant of both, that on this ground it has obtained supremacy in the schools, but that the other interpretation, that which upholds a modified idealism and which is summed up in the commentary of Rāmānuja, the so-called *Śrībhāṣya*, rests on a tradition which is not less ancient or venerable; that it goes back to the old *vṛitti*, now lost, of Bodhāyana, and that in many places it seems to give more faithfully the meaning of the *sūtras*; that the two doctrines, defended in either of the commentaries, are found in their germs and in conflict even in the *sūtras* themselves; that if the one has got the upper hand among the Paṇḍits, the other has always found vent in religious belief, which cannot quite dispense with personality in man, nor the personality of the absolute. As to the text of the *Śrībhāṣya*, which is being published simultaneously in two places in India, it makes very slow progress; in the *Paṇḍit* it has got as far as II. 1,<sup>11</sup> and in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, in which only three parts have appeared, it is only at I. 2.<sup>12</sup> Of another commentary on the same *sūtras*, the *Anubhāṣya* of Vallabhāchārya, which also began in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, I have received no instalments since my last *Report*. Rāmānuja dates from the eleventh or twelfth century. As to the date of Sankara, which has always been in dispute, see a remarkable article by Mr. Pathak, who proves nearly conclusively that the great Vedāntin lived at the end of the eighth century (*Journ. Roy. As. Soc. Bombay*, XVIII. 1891, p. 88).

To make up for this, Mr. Johnson has completed his edition in the *Paṇḍit* (with an English translation) of the summary of Vedantic doctrine, also by Rāmānuja, the *Vedānta Tatvasāra*; and, in the same Magazine, Mr. Arthur Venis has finished his edition and translation of the *Vedāntasiddhānta-mūlātāla*.<sup>13</sup> This latter treatise, whose author, Prakāśānanda, Mr. Venis assigns with great probability to the end of the sixteenth century, is like the former, a defence of the fundamental teaching of the *Vedānta*, but even more condensed and essentially polemical in tone. Against the *Tatvasāra* of Rāmānuja he vindicates the absolute idealism of Sankara. Writings like these should never be published, except, as here, accompanied by a translation, and a translation, I will add, cannot properly be made except in India, and with the advice and help of a Śāstrin who is a professed student of the system. A knowledge of Sanskrit, and even of Hindu philosophy such as can be acquired here, are not enough: one must have lived from infancy in that atmosphere to be able to breathe it freely. If any one doubts this, the experiment is easy to make. Let him translate two or three pages at the beginning of Prakāśānanda's treatise, and then compare the results; it is astonishing to find the number of things which one thinks one has understood and which have nevertheless escaped attention or been wrongly understood. Up to a certain point a commentary can take the place of tradition. One may succeed in grasping the full meaning, but at the expense of what an amount of labour. A special aptitude is needed to read through, with such assistance only, books like

<sup>10</sup> The legendary biography of Sankara, the *Sankaradiḡvijaya* of Mādhava, which must not be confused with the spurious work of Ānandagiri, having the same title and published in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, has been edited at Poona, in the Ānandāśrama Series by Paṇḍit Bābaji Nārāyan Fadake; *Śrī Sankaradiḡvijayaḥ by Śrīmat Vidyāraṇya, with the Commentary of Dhanapatiśrī and Extracts from the Commentary of Achchutarāva Modaka* Poona, 1861. This poem affects the style of a *Mahākāvya*. In the colophon the author is called Mādhava, gives himself the title of Navakūlidāsa (1, 9), and invokes, as his guru Vidyātīrtha, who is identified with the supreme soul. In the first verse of the poem it is said to be an abridgment of a *Prāchīnasankarajaya*, which, according to one of the commentators, must have been the work of Ānandagiri, the pupil of a pupil of Sankara. The title and commentary identify this Mādhava with Vidyāraṇya Mādhavāchārya, the well-known commentator of the fourteenth century. But this identification is very uncertain, and for the time being the date of this *Mādhavakāvya* must remain undetermined.

<sup>11</sup> *Śrībhāṣya, with the Brūtaprakāśikā of Sudarśana, edited by Rāma Mītra Śāstrin. Paṇḍit, new series.* VII.-XV. (1885-1893).

<sup>12</sup> Paṇḍit Rāmanātha Tarkaratna, *Śrībhāṣya, Parts I.-III.* Calcutta, 1883-1891.

<sup>13</sup> *Paṇḍit, IX.-XII.* (1887-1890); and XI, XII. (1889-1890).

*Khaṇḍanakhaṇḍakhādyā*, the great polemical and essentially sceptical treatise by Śrīharsha, which is just finished in the *Paṇḍit*,<sup>14</sup> or even shorter works such as the *Naishkarmyasiddhi* of Sureśvara, who is supposed to be a pupil of Sankara, and who plays an important part in the traditions of the followers of the master, the Daśanāmins. The latter treatise, which as is indicated by its title, "the triumph of renouncement of action," that is, ritual acts, defends the position that knowledge alone can lead to final salvation, has been edited by Col. Jacob, with the comment of Jñānottama and critical notes in which the quotations are carefully verified.<sup>15</sup> The editor has discovered a singular inadvertence on the part of a follower of Sankara, who waged such constant war with the Mīmāṃsā school, viz., the attribution of the *Vedāntasūtras* to Jaimini. The fact that the two *Mīmāṃsās*, the *purvā* and the *uttarā*, are often considered as forming one whole, is far from justifying or even explaining this slip. An edition of the same treatise with the same commentary is also on the point of being completed in the *Benares Sanskrit Series*.<sup>16</sup> The *Advaitabrahmasiddhi* of the Kāśmīrī, Sadānanda Yati, who belongs to the same school of the Vedānta, is in course of publication in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, but has not got beyond three parts.<sup>17</sup> But the translation of a more popular exposition of the *Vedānta*, by another, or it may be the same, Sadānanda, the *Vedāntasāra*, which was published by Col. Jacob for the first time in 1881, has reached its third edition.<sup>18</sup> His unintermitted researches have enabled the translator to identify all but two or three of the quotations scattered through the treatise. Even when these manuals are independent works, like the *Vedāntasāra*, they have the general characteristics of the commentaries, bristling like them with technical terms and are distinguished only by a uniform conciseness, while in the commentaries curtness alternates with extreme prolixity. The *Pañchapādikāvivaraṇa* is a commentary at the third remove, "the explanation of the *Pañchapādikā*," of a section of the *Bhāmāṇi* of Vāchaspatimiśra, which is itself a gloss on the commentary of Sankara on the *Vedāntasūtras*.<sup>19</sup> The date of the author, Prakāśatman, or Prakāśānubhava, is uncertain, but he is prior to Mādhavāchārya (fourteenth century). His treatise, which enjoys a great reputation among the Vedāntins, has just been brought out in a new collection appearing in Benares under the direction of Mr. Arthur Venis, the Vizianagram Sanskrit Series, and is the second publication in point of time, although it is numbered five in the series. The first number (No. I.) is another Vedantic treatise of much more modern date, the *Siddhāntaleśasamgraha* of Appayadīkṣhita, a prolific writer and ardent Śaiva, which, however, did not prevent him from writing, besides other Vedantic treatises, this defence of the *advaita* doctrine, so little favoured by his co-religionists.<sup>20</sup> He was born in the neighborhood of Conjevaram, where his descendants are still living, and composed during the last thirty years of the sixteenth and the first thirty years of the seventeenth century, 104 works on nearly all branches of knowledge, poetics, rhetoric, the doctrines of Śaivism, Mīmāṃsā and Vedānta, as to several of which the late Dr. Burnell wrongly challenged his authorship as incompatible with his Śaiva belief. Handbooks of his, such as the *Kuvalayānanda*, the *Vṛttivārttikā*, the *Siddhāntaleśa*, are still celebrated; but they seem to have been more quoted than read. Thus, the end of his short treatise on rhetoric, the *Vṛtti-*

<sup>14</sup> With the commentary of Sankara Miśra, by the late Mohan Lal Achārya, *Paṇḍit*, VI.-XIII. (1884-1891).

<sup>15</sup> *The Naishkarmyasiddhi of Sureśvarāchārya with the Chandrikā of Jñānottama*. Edited with Notes and Index, Bombay, 1891.

<sup>16</sup> Paṇḍit Rāma Śāstrī Mānavallī, *Naishkarmyasiddhi, a Treatise on Vedānta by Sureśvarāchārya, with the Commentary called Chandrikā by Jñānottama Miśra, edited and annotated*, Parts I.-III. Benares, 1890, 1891. In Col. Jacob's edition there is to be found a list of the other known works of Sureśvara. His gloss on the *Taittirīya Upanishad* have been published in the Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series of Poona.

<sup>17</sup> Paṇḍit Vāman Śāstrī Upādhyāya, *Advaitabrahmasiddhi*, by Kāśmīraka Sadānanda Yati, edited with Critical Notes, Parts I.-III. Calcutta, 1888-1889.

<sup>18</sup> Colonel Jacob, *A Manual of Hindu Pantheism, the Vedāntasāra*, translated with copious Annotations, London, 1891, forming part of Trubner's Oriental Series.

<sup>19</sup> Rāmaśāstrin Bhāgavatāchārya, *The Pañchapādikāvivaraṇa of Prakāśatman with Extracts from the Taittirīya Upanishad and Bhāgavatsāstra*, Benares, 1892, forming Number V. of the Vizianagram Sanskrit Series.

<sup>20</sup> Mahāmahopādhyāya Gangādhara Śāstrin Mānavallī, *The Siddhāntaleśa of Appayadīkṣhita with Extracts from the Śrī Kṛishṇalambikā of Achyutakṛishṇānandatīrtha*, Benares, 1890, No. I. of the Vizianagram Sanskrit Series.

*vārttika*, has been lost.<sup>21</sup> He was, it is said, the first of the eight *paṇḍits* who were the *diggujas*, "the elephants of the cardinal points," of the court of Vijayanagara, and seems to have been one of the most perfect specimens of those prodigies of the learning of the decadence, who went on ceaselessly re-casting the work of their predecessors, without adding an atom of their own. The literary profession has become hereditary in the family, and to the data given about him in the Sanskrit preface to the *Siddhāntaleśa* we may add that his grand-nephew Nilakāṇṭhadikshita, speaks of his great-uncle at the end of his *Amyāpaleśasataka* (*Kāvyamālā*, 1890).

The works just mentioned belong strictly to the Vedānta. The *Jīvanmuktivireka*<sup>22</sup> of Vidyāranya, i. e., of Mādhavāchārya, in which the great commentator lays down the theory of "deliverance during this life," is more eclectic. Final deliverance takes place only after death; but like all the Hindu systems, the Vedānta admits that the wise man may attain to a state which is equivalent to it during life. But it shews only by what means the wise man may arrive at it, and does not describe it. To gain materials for such a description, Mādhava has had recourse to works which, strictly speaking, do not belong to the Vedānta, not only to the *Bhagavadgītā* and the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, but to the *Yogavāsishṭha*, and has borrowed from the *Yoga* his hypnotic practices and his theory of ecstasy. In spite of these borrowings and the directions how one must attain to this state, the treatise deals rather with the *mumukshu* than the *mukta*, with the aspirant rather than with him who has already entered into this condition. What Prof. Lanman<sup>23</sup> and M. Oltramare<sup>24</sup> have written is rather on Hindu philosophy in general, than specially on the *Vedānta*, the first on the beginnings of Hindu pantheism, and the second on Hindoo pessimism. Professor Weber has given an analysis of two short compositions, the *Aṣṭāvakra-gītā* and the *Bhedābhedavāda* of Vamśīdāsa, of which the former is the more ancient, but which seem both to belong to the Vedānta of the *Purāṇas*.<sup>25</sup> Professor Windisch, again, has collected from the literature and the traditions of the people the opinions held by the Hindus as to the seat of the soul,<sup>26</sup> which they placed, like many other peoples, not in the head but the breast, and has written a capital essay on a problem of physiology which has been much debated in the schools, and has left permanent traces; "the *purusha*, which is seated in the heart" of the *Upanishads* has never disappeared from philosophy.

The *Mīmāṃsā* was to the ritual portion of the Veda what the *Vedānta* was to its speculative side; it reduced it to a system intended to supply a solution of all dubious cases, by applying a kind of casuistry. To do this it had to work out into a system several doctrines which had only at first a very remote connexion with the ritual; the theory of knowledge and dialectic, questions of authority, and customary and social law, the reward of actions and the end of man, up to questions of pure metaphysics which the general tendency of the system is rather to exclude. The issue of the fundamental text, the *Sūtras* of Jaimini in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, has made no advance since my last Report.<sup>27</sup> The text and index are complete, but the title of the second part, and a few words, at least by way of introduction on the method of forming the text and the manuscripts used by the editor, Paṇḍit Maheshchandra Nyāyaratna, are still wanting. These *sūtras* are supplemented by the four books of the *Saṅkarsha* or *Saṅkarshaṇa Kāṇḍa*, which Śabara Svāmin does not appear to have commented, and which is begun in the *Paṇḍit* with a commentary called *Bhāṭṭadīpikā*.

<sup>21</sup> All that remains, the two first chapters, has been edited in the *Paṇḍit*, XII. (1890), and in the *Kāvyamālā* (1893).

<sup>22</sup> Vāsudeva Śāstrīśarma, *Śrīmad Vidyāranyakṛito Jīvanmuktivirekah*, Poona, 1889, in the *Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series*.

<sup>23</sup> Charles Rockwell Lanman, *The Beginnings of Hindu Pantheism: an Address delivered at the twenty-second Annual Meeting of the American Philological Association*, Cambridge, Mass. U. S. A. 1890.

<sup>24</sup> Paul Oltramare, *Le Pessimisme hindou*, Genève, 1892 (from the *Études chrétiennes*).

<sup>25</sup> Albrecht Weber, *Ueber zwei Vedānta-texte. Sitzungsberichte* of the Academy of Berlin, Nov. 1889.

<sup>26</sup> E. Windisch, *Ueber den Sitz der denkenden Seele, besonders bei den Indern und Griechen und eine Etymologie von Gr. πᾶσιδε*. *Berichte* of the Royal Saxon Academy, Leipzig, 1891.

<sup>27</sup> Paṇḍita Maheshchandra Nyāyaratna, *The Mīmāṃsā Darśana, with the Commentary of Śivaraśmin*, Part I.-XIX. Calcutta, 1870-1887.

The *Tantravārttika* of the celebrated Kumārila Bhaṭṭa (a commentary on the commentary of Śabara Svāmīn on the *sūtras*, nominally at least, but more original and important than one might suspect from its subordinate position), edited in the Benares Sanskrit Series, has advanced by five new parts,<sup>28</sup> and goes as far as III. 4 (the *sūtras* are in twelve books). The *Śāstradīpikā*, an exposition of the system based on the *Tantravārttika*, by Pārthasārathi Miśra of Mithilā, has meanwhile been finished in the *Paṇḍit*.<sup>29</sup> Lastly, a short treatise by Vāchaspati Miśra, who wrote on nearly all the *darśanas* (at the end of the eleventh or beginning of the twelfth century), the *Tattvabindu* based also on the teaching of Kumārila, has been edited in the same magazine.<sup>30</sup>

For the dualistic doctrine of the Sāṅkhya we meet the name of one scholar only, but he has presented us with three works of very great merit. Professor Garbe, who has put to wonderfully good use the short visit he paid to India for the purpose of studying the traditional literature of this school thoroughly, has given in the *Bibliotheca Indica* an excellent edition of the *Sāṅkhyasūtravṛtti* of Aniruddha, the oldest commentator of the *sūtras* who has reached us, though he is no older than the fifteenth century.<sup>31</sup> He has subjoined extracts from the *Sāṅkhyavṛttisāra* of Vedāntin Mahādeva, which he supposes to have been written about 1600, A. D., but which must be later by several decades, since we possess another work of this same Mahādeva dated 1693.<sup>32</sup> Till now we had only the meagre extracts given from these commentaries by Ballantyne in the reprint of his work on the Sāṅkhya (London, Trübner, 1885). Professor Garbe has also translated into German the commentary of Vijñānabhikṣu (well known from the edition of Dr. F. E. Hall), the *Sāṅkhyappravachanabhāṣya*,<sup>33</sup> which belongs to the sixteenth century, and with all its great merits often errs by trying to reconcile the Sāṅkhya with the Vedānta. This translation is in every point of view remarkable; it is made from a better text than Hall's, and all the technical terminology of the Sāṅkhya has been subjected to laborious and careful examination, from which it has issued in great measure in a new light. Not less remarkable, and perhaps more interesting for the majority of readers, is Prof. Garbe's third publication, the German translation of the *Sāṅkhyatattva-kaumudī* of that same Vāchaspati Miśra, whom we have seen above expounding the doctrines of the Vedānta and the Mīmāṃsā.<sup>34</sup> Professor Garbe's translation, as before, is distinguished by the scrupulous care he has employed to grasp and render the whole bearing and the precise meaning of the technical terms, and in this respect it would seem his work has reached finality. As to Vāchaspati's work, Prof. Garbe pronounces it to be the best in the whole range of Sāṅkhya literature, a judgment in which I concur with confidence, if I may be permitted, perhaps, to make an exception in favour of the text on which this *Kaumudī* is a commentary, the ancient *Sāṅkhyakārikā* of Īśvarakrishṇa (translated, we are told, into Chinese in the sixth century), which, by reason of its sobriety and vigour, its clear and direct style (not without an elegance of its own), seems to me to be the gem not only of the Sāṅkhya, but of all the scholastic, philosophy of India. In the introduction, a model of lucidity and solid learning, Prof. Garbe takes up the question of the origin and age of the Sāṅkhya. He considers it to be the oldest of the *darśanas*, formed first of all as a reaction<sup>35</sup>

<sup>28</sup> Paṇḍit Dhuṇḍhirāja Panta, and afterwards Paṇḍit Gangādhara Śāstrin Mānavallī, *The Tantravārttika*, a Gloss on Śabara Svāmīn's Commentary on the *Mīmāṃsā*, by Bhaṭṭa Kumārila, Parts I.-X. Benares, 1882-1890.

<sup>29</sup> By Rāma Miśra Śāstrin, VI.-XIV. 1885-1892.

<sup>30</sup> By Gangādhara Miśra, XIV. 1892.

<sup>31</sup> Richard Garbe, *The Sāṅkhya Sūtra Vṛtti, or Aniruddha's Commentary and the original parts of Vedāntin Mahādeva's Commentary to the Sāṅkhya Sūtras*, edited with Indices, Calcutta, 1888.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. Arthur Venis, *Sāṅkhyatattvavṛttivāṇī*, p. vi. of the reprint; and *Paṇḍit*, XII p. 490.

<sup>33</sup> Richard Garbe, *Sāṅkhyappravachanabhāṣya*, Vijñānabhikṣu's Commentary on the *Sāṅkhyasūtras*. Aus dem Sanskrit übersetzt und mit Anmerkungen versehen. Leipzig, 1889, forming part of Vol. IX. of the *Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, published by the German Oriental Society.

<sup>34</sup> R. Garbe, *Der Mondschein der Sāṅkhya-Wahrheit*, Vāchaspatimiśras *Sāṅkhya tattvakaumudī* in deutscher Uebersetzung, nebst einer Einleitung über das Alter und die Herkunft der Sāṅkhya-Philosophie, Munich, 1892, from the *Abhandlungen* of the Academy of Munich.

<sup>35</sup> Notwithstanding the supposed antiquity of the Sāṅkhya system, Prof. Garbe does not claim a great antiquity for the *Sāṅkhya sūtras*, which on the contrary he reckons very modern, more recent not only than the *Sāṅkhyakārikā*, but even than the *Kaumudī* of Vāchaspati. Like him, I doubt the high antiquity of these *sūtras* (cf. *Revue*

against the idealism of the *Upanishads*, and that Buddhism took its rise from it. He has carefully examined the resemblances, which have been before pointed out, between Buddhism and the doctrine of the Sāṅkhya, and has indicated fresh ones. On both points his arguments have completely failed to convince me, and I still remain in the position of doubt which I formerly gave utterance to, and which Prof. Garbe has tried to remove. I do not see why the Sāṅkhya should have been reduced to a system earlier than the doctrines which it combatted, and, on the other hand, granting that these systems grew up side by side, the original affinities of Buddhism are nearer to the Vedānta than to the Sāṅkhya. The coincidences in detail and terminology, which are beyond denial, may, in this respect, be deceptive. Among all the ancient systems, the Sāṅkhya alone elaborated a complete theory of finite things, and Buddhism must have borrowed this theory from it, as did all the Brahmanical systems, when they wished to speak of the material world, or the notions, which according to them, were a part of that world. But I doubt if it took from this quarter the absolute negation in which it logically ended, though it did not always and uniformly profess it. On this point, again, there is between Prof. Garbe and myself a little misunderstanding. By characterizing the Sāṅkhya as "a logical system, hardly admitting development or profound modifications, . . . above all with very little sentiment" (*Les Religions de l'Inde*, p. 70 of the French edition), I did not mean to imply that it not give sufficient importance to the theory of sensibility and of the external world (exactly the contrary is the truth, as Prof. Garbe very justly remarks), but only that it was not conducive to the enthusiasms and unrest of a mysticism without an object. And by Buddhist pessimism, which I cannot find in the Sāṅkhya, I meant its metaphysical pessimism. The Sāṅkhya philosophy is pessimistic, to be sure, since life, for it, is a seduction and a slavery. But, though it wishes to escape from suffering, it does not wish to escape from all existence, nor from the continuance of the principle of personality, in which, on the contrary, it has the firmest faith, while the Vedānta and Buddhism both must needs end by denying it. In a word, now as then, I see in Buddhism more a Vedānta which despairs of the absolute than a Sāṅkhya which has ended in scepticism.

I have just said that the Sāṅkhya "hardly admits development or profound modifications." It, nevertheless, has undergone one modification, in the *Yoga* it has become theistic and devout. This latter system is, to put it shortly, a kind of supplement to the Sāṅkhya, which can be added to it or taken from it at will, and accepting the whole bulk of the ancient doctrine, so that the same name serves for both (*Sāṅkhyapravachana* being the title common to the *Sāṅkhya* and *Yoga sūtras*), but bringing in a belief in a God, the Supreme Lord, and moreover a complete and often very grotesque discipline of the ascetic and spiritual life. It is from this side, without doubt, that the *Yoga sūtras* have attracted the attention of the leaders of modern Hindu theosophy, since they recommend them as reading suitable for adepts, and have had an English translation made for their use.<sup>36</sup> Besides this translation, which I have not seen, there is to be mentioned on the *Yoga* but one essay by Paṇḍit Bāshyāchārya on the age of Patañjali, the author of the *Yogasūtras*. The essay is a curious mixture of exact information and of assertions heaped up in an uncritical fashion. The Paṇḍit's results are that Patañjali, the grammarian and author of the *Mahābhāṣya*, is also the author of the *Yogasūtras*; that he lived after Pāṇini and before the last Buddha, about the tenth century before our era; that he was only the last editor of the *Sūtras*, which are infinitely older, and that the allusions to Buddhism.

*Critique*, 19th April 1886, p. 303), but can scarcely go so far. In the twelfth century it was universally admitted that a *darśana* must rest on a *sūtra*, and I can hardly conceive how at that time such an imposture could have been introduced into the schools and gained general acceptance.

<sup>36</sup> The *Yoga sūtras* of Patañjali, translated by Prof. Manilāl Nathubhai Dvivedi: published at the expense of the Theosophical Society of Bombay. Among the publications of the Society I may mention further the translations of the *Bhagavadgītā*, the *Prabodhachandrodaya*, the *Sāṅkhyakārikā*, the *Ātmabodha* of Śaṅkara, reprints of the *Upanishads* translated in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, etc. From the point of view of literary archaeology there is nothing to be said against this. But as reading for practical life and for edification, it must produce a curious effect on some minds.



which have been pointed out in his works, have reference to the Buddhism of the predecessors of Sākyamuni.<sup>37</sup>

In the domain of the Nyāya, whose aim is the theory of knowledge and logic, the publication in the *Bibliotheca Indica* of the bulky and not very old treatise of Gangeśa Upādhyāya, the *Tattvachintāmaṇi*, has progressed by eight parts<sup>38</sup> since the last report, while that of the more ancient commentary of Uddyotakara, the *Nyāyavārttika*, begun in the same series has not advanced a step.<sup>39</sup>

To make up for this, a happy discovery of Prof. Peterson has restored to us two monuments of the Buddhist Nyāya, perhaps works of those Buddhist dialecticians against whom Kumārila, Śāṅkara and Sureśvara argued; and by a curious chance, it is from the recesses of an ancient Jaina library that these venerable relics are restored to us:—an anonymous treatise, the *Nyāyabindu* and the *ṭīkā*, or gloss on this treatise by a certain *āchārya* Dharmottara.<sup>40</sup> The work had before been pointed out by Wassiljew as existing in a Tibetan translation in the Tanjur, and in his preface Prof. Peterson at first thought of identifying this Dharmottara with the founder of the Buddhist school which is called after him Dharmottariya. I see with pleasure that he has now given this up,<sup>41</sup> for the school is mentioned even in the ancient inscriptions of Kārli and of Junnar, while this Dharmottara was preceded by Vinītadeva and Dharmakīrti, who belong to the seventh century, and also commented on the *Nyāyabindu*.

The *Vaiśeṣhika* is closely related to the Nyāya. Their tradition is partly common, most of the teachers of the one having been also teachers of the other. In their aim, too, they are also both independent of the Veda. They only appeal to the sacred text for form's sake, the one for its logic, the other for its categories and for its theory of substance and qualities. Thus they have both been cultivated by Buddhists and Jains. The latter have claimed Kaṇāda, the founder of the *Vaiśeṣhika*, as one of themselves. The new edition of the *Sūtras* undertaken in the *Benares Sanskrit Series*, and mentioned in the preceding *Report*, is still at its first part only.<sup>42</sup> But I have to mention another, the work of a reformer. The *Mahāmahopādhyāya Chandrakānta Tarkāṅkara* is a professor in the Sanskrit College of Calcutta. He has written much and in more than one department, poetics, drama, *smṛiti* and grammar; but his favourite study is philosophy. He has formed the conviction that since the time of Udayana, i. e., at least since the twelfth century, the *Sūtras* of Kaṇāda have been wrongly understood on several important points, and to set forth his discoveries, he has incorporated them, according to Hindu usage, in a commentary. He has made an edition of the *Sūtras* accompanied by a new *Bhāṣya*.<sup>43</sup> At first sight these new views do not seem very important. The endeavours to shew, for example, that for Kaṇāda non-existence is not a category in the same sense as the others; that the categories can be reduced to three, substance, quality and action, which imply the others; that time and space are not modes of substance; that the quality of form cannot be denied to air; that gold and silver do not belong to the element fire, but to earth; that the soul, in no case, can be perceived by the senses, etc. All this seems very Hindu and somewhat strange. Looking at

<sup>37</sup> Paṇḍit N. Bhāṣyaāchārya, *The Age of Patañjali*, Madras, 1889, from the September number of the *Theosophist*, the organ of the Theosophical Society of Madras.

<sup>38</sup> Paṇḍit Kāmākhyānātha Tarkavāgīśa, *The Tattvachintāmaṇi by Gangeśa Upādhyāya, with Extracts from the Commentaries of Mithurānātha Tarkavāgīśa and of Jayadeva Mīśra*, Vols. I. and II., parts I.-VII. Calcutta, 1884-1891.

<sup>39</sup> Paṇḍit Vinḍhyeśvarī Prasāda Dube, *Nyāyavārttikam* edited Part I. Calcutta, 1887.

<sup>40</sup> Peter Peterson, *The Nyāyabinduṭīkā of Dharmottarāchārya, to which is added the Nyāyabindu*, Calcutta, 1889.

<sup>41</sup> Journ. Roy. As. Soc. Bombay, XVII. 1889, p. 47 sqq.

<sup>42</sup> Paṇḍit Vinḍhyeśvarī Prasāda Dube, *The Aphorisms of the Vaiśeṣhika Philosophy of Kaṇāda, with the Commentary of Prasastapāda and the Gloss of Udayanāchārya*, Part I. Benares, 1885.

<sup>43</sup> Mahāmahopādhyāya Chandrakānt Tarkāṅkār, *The Vaiśeṣhika Darśanam, with Commentaries*, Calcutta, 1887; cf. *Trübner's Record*, Oct. 1890.

them closer we see that these propositions are intended to make Kaṇāda's physics more compatible with our own; that we have, as it were, a very delicate unobtrusive thread of Western thought introducing itself into Hindu tradition. We recall what Alberūni tells us of the Hindus of his own time; teach them a new doctrine, at once they will turn it into *ślokas*, so that next day you will not be able to recognize your own thoughts. And we are led to think that this must have been the case from the earliest times when the Hindus found themselves in contact with knowledge which was in advance of their own, and that more than one borrowing may thus lie hid, and concealed from our eyes, in this traditionary lore of theirs which looks so original. We are indebted to the same author for two editions of another work of one of the great teachers of the Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika, the *Kusumāñjali* of Udayana,<sup>44</sup> a treatise on the existence of God, well known by the fine translation made thirty years ago by Prof. Cowell.

(To be continued.)

## DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF OBJECTS MADE AND USED BY THE NATIVES OF THE NICOBAR ISLANDS.

BY E. H. MAN, C.I.E.

Notes referring to the Catalogue.

	Area sq. miles.	Population (about).
C. N., or Car Nic., denotes Car Nicobar, the northernmost island of the Nicobars ... ..	4.9	3,500
Chowra Island ... ..	2.8	700
Teressa and Bompoka Islands ... ..	37.8	650
Central Group, consisting of Camorta, Nancowry, Trinkat, and Katchal Islands ... ..	145.3	1,070
Southern Group, consisting of Great Nicobar, Little Nicobar, and adjacent islets ... ..	391.7	290
Shom Peñ, an inland tribe of Great Nicobar ... ..	...	700
Uninhabited islands ... ..	8.3	...
TOTAL... ..	634.9	6,910

The following are the meanings of the diacritically marked letters employed in transliterating Nicobarese words:—

a ...	idea, cut.	ò ...	pot.
ā ...	cur (untrilled r).	ô ...	anful.
â ...	father.	ö ...	könig (Germ.)
ã ...	fathom.	u ...	influence.
e ...	bed.	ū ...	pool.
ē ...	pair.	ü ...	über (Germ.)
i ...	lid.	ai ...	bite.
ī ...	police.	au ...	house.
o ...	indolent.	àn ...	haus (Germ.)
ō ...	pole.	òi ...	boil.

<sup>44</sup> The first of these editions was issued in Calcutta in 1889. It is entirely in Sanskrit, without an English title, and contains the Commentary of Haridāsa (published in Cowell's edition also) with a gloss by the editor. The other is published in the *Bibliotheca Indica*; Mahāmahopādhyāya Chandrakānta Tarkālakāra, *Nyāya Kusumāñjali-prakaranam*, Parts I.-III. Calcutta. There are four other parts which I have not yet received. It contains the Commentary of Ruchidatta and the gloss of Vardhamāna, and gives the complete text, while the first only gives the *kārikās*.

*Nasal Vowels and Diphthongs, etc.*

ai...	...	un (French).	ôï	...	
âi...	...		ôñ	...	
ân...	..		uñ	...	
ei...	...	vin (French).	aiñ	...	
iñ ...	...	sim (Portuguese).	ôïñ	...	
on	...	on (French).	ñ	...	gagner (French).

(m) denotes implements, etc., made by men.

(f) denotes implements, etc., made by women.

Except where otherwise stated, the names of the objects in this Catalogue are those employed in the Central Group of islands.

## CATALOGUE.

## 1. Huts and Village poles.

1 (m). **Ñi** (*Car Nic. Pāti*). Hut raised on posts 5 to 7 feet above the ground. Huts vary in size and description, as follows: — (1) **Ñi-holpūl**, of circular bee-hive shape, with plank or spathe walling and windows, made in the Central, and, less commonly, in the Southern, Group. In certain villages all other designs are tabued. (2) **Pāti-chanwī**, a modification of No. (1), made at all the Northern Islands. At Chowra, and at certain villages elsewhere, no other description of hut may be erected. (3) **Pāti-tamdrô**, oval-shaped hut with dome roof, made almost exclusively at Car Nicobar. (4) **Ñi-ta-optòpshe**, oblong, with roof somewhat resembling the tilt of a waggon, made with slight variations of form in certain villages throughout the islands. (5) **Ñi-hillā**, ordinary oblong hut with pent roof of the Malay pattern, in common use in the Central Group, and erected when time, labor, and means are limited. In the Northern Islands, *i. e.*, Car Nicobar, Chowra, Teressa and Bompoka, the thatch consists of a thick layer of *lalang* grass (*Imperata*) neatly laid on, which lasts for many years. In the Central and Southern Islands, leaves of the *Nipa fruticans* are generally used, less frequently cane, or *Pandanus* leaves, or *Areca* spathes. At Car Nicobar cocoanut fronds are largely used in place of thatch for covering the roof of small or temporary huts.

1 a. (m). **Kanaiya**. Village poles — usually one or more for each dwelling-hut in the village — 60 ft. to 80 ft., or more, high, and ornamented with tufts of young cocoanut-leaves at intervals of every 8 or 10 feet of their length. They are planted along the foreshore in front of certain villages in the Central Group, the object being to scare away evil spirits. They are renewed at a certain season once a year, each community having a prescribed "moon," or month, in which to do this. At Car Nicobar a small variety, called **māya**, is erected at the change of the monsoon, *i. e.*, after the termination of the rains, when fever is prevalent. Six months later, when the rains commence, a lofty variety, called **kentūla**, is substituted. One, or more, of a larger and loftier variety of *kanaiya*, called **Kanaiya-ta-karu**, is erected at several of the villages of the Central Group in turn. The occasion is called **Et-kait-ñi**, when dancing and singing take place as well as feasting. This festival occurs during the rains and at intervals of five or more years, according to the wealth of the particular village in pigs. This species of *kanaiya* is ornamented with a flag at the top in addition to the cocoanut-leaf tufts at intervals throughout its length. They require derricks and a large number of men in order to hoist them into position along the foreshore in front of the village (*vide* No. 76). No significance is attached to them. They are merely intended to afford evidence of the skill of their makers.

## 2. Canoes and their fittings.

- 2 (m). **Düe** (*Car Nic. Âp*). Outrigger-canoe, of various sizes from about 8 feet to about 50 feet long, made in the Central and Southern Groups and — of the smaller sizes only — at Car Nicobar. In the Central Group the trunk of the *Calophyllum spectabile* is usually preferred. All but the very small canoes are usually provided with one or more wooden masts (**kanâma**), cotton sails (**hentêha**), — on certain festive occasions, an ornamental prow (**karûha**) painted vermilion, and colored calico pennons attached to the mast-head (**kôï-kanâma**), — and out-rigger peg-fastenings (**henêma-rûe**).
- 2 a. (m). **Ti-nêanga** (*Car Nic. Chakânga*). Ornamental grating, placed as a seat for one or two children in the bows of a large canoe. It also serves to keep the **karûha** (*vide* under No. 2) in position.
- 2 b. (m). **Kanai-ridla**. Ornament of bamboo, or wood, fixed upright, like a flag, in the projecting stern of a canoe on festive occasions.
- 3 (m). **Pôwah-enkôina** (a), **Pôwah-enkâna** (b), (*Car Nic. Paiyûah*). Paddles: (*lit.*, male (a), and female (b)). The former are made only in the Central and Southern Groups, and are distinguished by the lozenge-shaped ornament at the point of the blade. The wood used is usually that of the *Garcinia speciosa*.
- 4 (m). **Lôe-lama-hoanh**. Furling leaf-sail, made of the leaves of the *Nipa fruticans*: now-a-days rarely used, and only in the Central and Southern Islands. It is preferred to a cloth sail (**hentêha**) only when necessity arises for sailing close to the wind. On the death of its owner it is lashed to his grave head-post (*vide* **hentina-kôï-pentila**, No. 163).
- 5 (m). **Hentêha-dai-oyâu**. Coconut-leaf sail. An improvised sail made by trimming a single coconut frond, which is then fixed upright in the canoes. Is used only in the Central Group, and only for short trips when other sails are not available.
- 6 (m). **Shin-ngan** (*Car Nic. Tanam-âp*). A long thin pole for propelling a canoe in shallow water.
- 7 (m). **Shin-pôya** (*Car Nic. Het*). Anchor; usually consists of a lump of iron or stone, which, by its mere weight, serves the intended purpose.
- 8 (m). **Wâng** (*Car Nic. Wang*). Movable partitions placed near the centre of large canoes, and lashed to the thwarts or gunwale, when conveying coconuts, garden produce, etc., to a distant village, the object being to keep the deepest portion of the canoe free for baling purposes. Two, or sometimes one, suffices for each loaded canoe.
- 9 (m). **Hinëat** (*Car Nic. Hanôka*). Wooden scoop for baling a canoe.
- 10 (m & f). **Tane-dâk-düe**. A half-coconut-shell, used for baling a canoe. Similar shell-cups are used for other purposes. (1) For lighting a fire or for drinking, when they are called **taiyâk** or **enfâ** (*vide* No. 38). (2) For filling any utensil with water, when they are styled **henfûata**. (3) With a hole through the bottom, for serving as a funnel, when they are named **hendiwa** (*vide* No. 36).

## 3. Spears and Harpoons.

- 11 (m). **Shaneñ Mong-hêang** (*Car Nic. Wê-ta-heng-ngapâk*). Pig spear. The shafts of this and the other **shaneñ** spears are made of strong, heavy wood. **Shaneñ** by itself denotes any spear having a bladed head.
- 12 (m). **Shaneñ Hoplôap** (*Car Nic. Wê-waiñ*). Pig spear: also sometimes used for spearing sharks and crocodiles. A similar weapon is used by the Malays in the Straits Settlements.

- 13 (m). **Shaneñ Kopatōn** (*Car Nic. Wē-tabāku*). And 14 (m). **Shaneñ Yanōma** (*Car Nic. Wē-tabāku*). With these weapons the Nicobarese arm themselves when visiting distant villages, in case of any serious dispute or attack taking place. They differ only in the size of the bladed head, the former being the larger of the two. They are sometimes used for spearing sharks.
- 15 (m). **Shaneñ Harāta**. Pig spear with detachable head. The blade resembles that of the **shaneñ monghōang** (*vide* No. 11), and the arrangement for attaching it to the shaft is identical with that of the **hinweñh** (*vide* No. 22). The cord attachments and lashings of this, as well as of all the iron-headed spears and harpoons, are made with the bark fibre of the *Gnetum gnemon* (*Nic. Het-toit*, *vide* No. 145), of which great use is made.
- 16 (m). **Chenōk-kolpāl**. A light single-pronged and barbed spear, used occasionally for collecting *bêche-de-mer* along the shore for sale to Malay and Chinese traders. Sometimes used by, or on behalf of, mourners for spearing fish (*vide* No. 24), also for spearing any object in play.
- 17 (m). **Miāñ-momānya** (*lit.*, two-pronged spear) [*C. N. Pāk-mā*]. Used for picking up *bêche-de-mer* along the coast for sale to Malay traders and for spearing fish. The shafts of this and of the other **miāñ** spears are made of light imported bamboos, the local variety of bamboo not being so well adapted for the purpose. **Miāñ** denotes any spear having two or more barbed prongs.
- 18 (m). **Miāñ-lōe**, *lit.*, three-pronged spear. 19 (m). **Miāñ-fōan**, *lit.*, four-(in a row) pronged spear. 20 (m). **Miāñ-kanòp**, *lit.*, four-(in a circle) pronged spear. And 21 (m). **Miāñ-tanai**, *lit.*, five-pronged spear. Used for spearing fish by day and by torchlight at night. Sometimes also used for spearing flying-foxes, when hanging asleep from a branch: for this purpose a long bamboo pole is substituted for the ordinary shaft, so as to be able to reach the bat by a mere thrust.
- 22 (m). **Hinweñh** or **Hinlāk** (*Car Nic. Lāk*). And 23 (m). **Kan-shōka**. Two descriptions of harpoons for spearing turtles, ray-fish, sharks, and dugongs. The latter weapon, being provided with a long line, which is held in the hand, is first thrown; after which, in order to render the capture more certain, the former is brought into use. The shaft of the **hinweñh** is of bamboo, but that of the **kanshōka** is of hard wood.
- 24 (m). **Palahōma**. Spear which alone can be used by, or on behalf of, mourners during the mourning period, and not before the **Entōin** memorial-feast, which occurs 3 or 5 "moons" after the death. The shaft consists of a short piece of strong, thin, flexible wood, and the iron-head is a single prong. Fish speared with any of the **miāñ** (*vide* No. 17) spears cannot usually be eaten by mourners, as they possess more than one prong. At certain villages, however, two-pronged spears are conceded for this purpose. The **palahōma** is also used in play for spearing a cocoanut, which is rolled along the beach for the purpose.
- 25 (m). **Hokpāk** (*Car Nic. Pāk*). Wooden-pronged spear, for spearing garfish by torchlight. The lashings are of cane, and the shaft of bamboo.
- 26 (m). **Shinpung** or **Opwāh**. Wooden-pronged spear, resembling the **Hokpāk** (*vide* No. 25), but smaller: used for spearing sardines. The lashings are of the same fibre as that employed for the various iron-headed spears and harpoons.
- 27 (m). **Hinyūan**. Wooden spear with barb-like notched head, as used by the Shom Peñ Tribe both in hunting and, as a weapon, in their raids on the coast inhabitants. Similar spears are made by the latter for use in repelling hostile parties of Shom Peñ. The wood used is that of the *Areca catechu*.

## 4. Fighting sticks and hats.

- 28 (m). **Paīyūah** (*C. Nic. Harāh-paīyūh*). Fighting-stick, generally about 12 feet long. Used somewhat like a quarter-staff at all the islands, — except Car Nicobar — where a light sapling is employed — both in settling disputes between villages or individuals, and in sham fights at memorial-feasts, in order to gratify the departed spirits: hence the necessity for the padded hats (*vide* No. 29). When fighting in anger, these sticks, which are made of the *Garcinia speciosa*, are often previously smeared with pig's blood and sand, and the knots in the wood are not removed.
- 29 (m). **Kemilī**. Padded fighting-hat, worn in the Central and Southern Groups when using the **paīyūah** (*vide* No. 28). The lining, or padding, usually consists of the *ochrea* — i. e., the fibrous stem sheath — of the cocoanut tree.
- 29a. (m). **Kemilī Ok-ho**. Padded fighting-hat, made of the bark-cloth prepared from the *Ficus brevicuspis* (*vide* No. 140), sometimes made and used in the Southern Group.
- 30 (m). **Kahāwat**. Fighting-hat made of the husk of a cocoanut, after removing the shell and its contents, used at Teressa, Bompoka, and Chowra, when fighting with the **paīyūah** (*vide* No. 28).

## 5. Bows and Arrows.

- 31 (m). **Fōin** (*Car Nic. Lendrain*), *a*. And 31a. (m). **Āñh-chakā-fōin** (*C. N. Chok-lendrain*). *b*. Cross-bow (*a*), and bolt (*b*), used at Car Nicobar, Chowra, Teressa, and Bompoka, for shooting birds, chiefly pigeons, when perched on trees, where they are sometimes shot at a considerable height. The string of the bow is made of the fibre of the *Gnetum gnemon* (*vide* No. 145).
- 32 (m). **Bel** (*a*). **Āñh-chakā-bel** (*b*). Toy bow (*a*), and arrow (*b*), as sometimes used by children in the Central Islands for shooting at birds, fish, and inanimate objects.

## 6. Articles of cocoanut shell, spathe and leaf.

- 33 (f). **Hishōya** (*Car Nic. Hanòk-mat*). Cocoanut-shell water-vessels, prepared by women (*vide* No. 122): made and used for fetching and storing water, chiefly for cooking and washing purposes. They are usually kept, suspended in pairs, on a stick, placed horizontally a few feet above the hut floor. In the Central Group the exterior surface of these utensils is polished with oil, or pig's fat, and blackened by means of smoke or soot. A cane-plaited loop connects each pair of shells. The hole for filling and emptying these vessels is formed by piercing and enlarging the soft uppermost "eye" of the nut. A strong man often carries 20 pairs of these shells, filled with water, on a pole over his shoulder, 10 pairs in front and 10 pairs behind.
- 34 (f). **Hōh** (*Car Nic. Kūal-kūa*). Large cocoanut-shell receptacle for holding *tārī* (toddy). Similar objects are used by the women when collecting small shell-fish, which are placed in them: those so used are styled **hōh-ta-momūang**. A large cocoanut-shell is likewise used at all the islands, except the Southern Group for tapping *tārī* from the cocoanut-tree *spadix*; it is then termed **henwain-chakā-shiat**.
- 35 (m). **Hendiwa-toak** (*Car Nic. Hōn-kāöt*). Toddy (*tārī*) jug, consisting of a cocoanut-shell with a thin bamboo spout: used for pouring filtered *tārī* (*vide* No. 45) into drinking cups.
- 36 (m). **Hendiwa-dak** (*Car Nic. Endrūara*). Funnel and filter, used when pouring water from a pitcher, etc., into a **Hishōya** (*vide* No. 33). The filtering medium consists merely of a piece of the *ochrea* (fibrous stem-sheath) of the cocoanut-leaf, and is renewed when foul.

- 37 (f). **Hendiwa-ngaich** (*Car Nic. Nah-tāwü*). A similar object to No. 36, but smaller: used for filling a bottle, etc., with strained oil.
- 38 (f). **Enfā** or **Taiyāk** (*Car Nic. Chuk-nòm*). Half a coconut-shell, used (1) as a drinking-cup: (2) as a basin to hold hot water when washing an infant, and then styled at Car Nicobar **chuk-enchūn**: (3) in kindling a fire, or for making a bright flame when dancing at night: (4) in lifting a pot off a fire by holding a half-shell in each hand, the rims pressed against the pot: and (5) as a mortar for pounding chillies (*vide* 115 and 10).
- 39 (m & f). **Henhet-kāa** or **Hanēat-kolai** (*C. Nic. Fanòk-kari*). Wooden or perforated cocoanut-shell ladle with wooden handle for serving out boiled meat, fish, rice, vegetables, etc., from the cooking-pot. The object of perforating the ladle is to strain off the gravy.
- 39 a. (m & f). **Wāh**. Small cocoanut-shell, used at Teressa and Chowra for holding shell-lime for betel-chewing.
- 40 (m). **Kanchūat-ok** or **Kanchūat-ānha**. Scratch-back or scratch-body. Consists usually of a circular piece of cocoanut-shell with serrated edges, and pierced through the centre with a stick to serve as a handle: used for relieving itch or irritation of the skin. *Psoriasis* and *Ptyriasis* are diseases common amongst Nicobarese of the Central Group.
- 41 (m & f). **Kanchūat-ngoāt**. A piece of cocoanut-shell with serrated edges, in imitation of a *Capsa rugosa* or *Arca* shell, which are generally used for the purpose noted below (*vide* No. 134). These are employed for the purpose of rasping the kernel of a ripe cocoanut, in order to form fine paste for the use of those who have few or no teeth, or preparatory to making oil. Cocoanut-paste is, however, made more rapidly by means of the **kensēch** (*vide* No. 89), but it is not then so fine as when made by the above method.
- 42 (m & f). **Chuk-palatēwa**. Ordinary hut-light, consisting of a small clam-shell filled with cocoanut-oil, the wick being a thin twist of cotton cloth. On festive occasions this primitive lamp is placed in a cocoanut-shell receptacle, attached to a large cane ring, from which it is suspended after the manner of a European hanging-lamp, whence the idea appears to have been borrowed.
- 43 (m). **Chuk-katòk** (*Car Nic. Chuk-tālēhe*). Parrot-stand, the bird being attached to the stand by means of a cocoanut-shell ring, which is pierced with a hole of sufficient dimensions to suit the size of the captive's leg. A half cocoanut-shell is fixed on the spike for holding food or water in the centre of the bar.
- 44 (m). **Henhōta** (*Car Nic. Tasāla-ta-kūchya*). Slow-match, usually made by slitting the small spathe of the cocoanut-tree into narrow shreds and binding them with fibre of the *Gnetum gnemon* (*vide* No. 145): used for lighting cigarettes or kindling a fire, when travelling or in a canoe.
- 45 (m). **Henhet-toak** (*C. Nic. Nām-kāōt*). **Tārī-strainer**, consisting of a piece of the *ochrea* (fibrous stem-sheath) of a cocoanut-leaf, which is held over a **tārī-jug** (*vide* No. 35), when filling it from a **tārī-pot** (*vide* No. 34), or other utensil.
- 46 (f). **Henhet-ngaich** (*Car Nic. Chanoit-tāwü*). Similar object to No. 45, and used for straining cocoanut-oil from impurities.
- 47 (f). **Henhāl-tewīla** or **Manūa-tewīla**. **Cycas-paste-strainer**, made of the *ochrea* (fibrous stem-sheath) of the cocoanut-leaf. Pounded kernel of the *Cycas*-fruit

(tewila), mixed with water, is placed in this strainer, and all superfluous moisture extracted by wringing and pressing on the *entāna-momūa* (*vide* No. 116). All that passes through is thrown away, and the rest is boiled and eaten with cocoanut-paste.

- 48 (f). **Hinong-lama-oal** *a.* (*lit.*, inner skirt): **Hinong-lam-hēam** *b.* or **Hinong-hen-oal-lama-ok** (*lit.*, intermediate skirt): **Hinong-lama-ok** *c.* (*lit.*, outer skirt). Skirts made of split cocoanut-leaf, and worn only by women, at Chowra, Teressa, and Bompoka.

*a.* is worn next to the skin both night and day: at night *b.* and *c.* are removed, and re-placed by a cotton skirt. As there is usually sufficient calico among the natives of Teressa and Bompoka, the women there are frequently able to dispense with the use of *b.* and *c.*, which they don only when working in their gardens, or when fetching fire-wood, water, etc.

*a.* is generally about 5 inches deep, and is made of plain split leaf.

*b.* is usually about a foot deep, and consists of fine split leaf-work, and

*c.* the outermost skirt is likewise about 12 inches deep, and consists of partially split leaf, the unsplit portion being so arranged as to present two parallel bands a few inches apart; which, by way of ornament, are whitened with shell-lime and run horizontally throughout its length of about three feet, more or less, according to the size or requirements of the wearer.

The upper edge of these leaf-skirts consists of a stout cord to which the ends of the leaves are neatly attached, while the lower fringe of the leaves is evenly clipped. For fastening them round the waist, short pieces of cord are provided at the upper ends, and these are tied between the hip and the middle-front of the body. They are sometimes made to overlap at the ends by several inches, in which case two additional pieces of twine are provided for fastening purposes.

- 48 *a.* (r). **Opchiap.** (*Car Nic. Kinfan*). Skirt about 6 feet long, worn folded by females: generally of blue calico. It is usually fastened at the waist and extends to a little below the knees. At Car Nicobar, when strangers arrive, the cloth is unfolded to its full width and worn fastened above the breasts; but, at the Central and Southern Groups, at such times a second cloth is instead thrown over the shoulders, so long as strangers are present. This covers the shoulders and breast, and is styled *hendōnga-shi-toah*.

- 48 *b.* (m). **Neng.** (*Chowra, Kinwan; Car Nic. Kissat*). Loin-cloth, worn by males: generally of red calico. The full size is about 6 feet long and 4 to 6 inches wide. This, in the Central and Southern Groups, is folded to a width of about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches. In donning this scant attire, one end is held at the pubes, and the remainder drawn back between the thighs and over the genitals so as to conceal them under the perineum. The band is then brought round from behind across the hip to the front, where it is fastened to the end at the pubes; the remaining portion is taken round the other hip to the *os coccyx*, where a second knot secures it in position, and leaves about 15 inches dangling like a tail behind. Now-a-days at the Central Group, the above description of **neng** is usually worn only by old men, the young and middle-aged having adopted one which is about 12 feet long and folded to a width of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches. With the extra length, the wearer is enabled to pass the band a second time round the body across the abdomen after making the fastening at the *os coccyx*; finally, instead of a tail-like appendage at the back, a loop is formed from the *os coccyx* to the left hip, from which the remaining length of the band (about 18 inches) is allowed to hang. At Car Nicobar and Chowra the loin-cloth is



about 6 feet long and folded to a width of only  $\frac{1}{4}$ ths of an inch : one end, to a length of about 18 inches, is then stitched and forms the tail-end of the garment, which is worn much after the fashion above described, the only distinction being that the genitals are less tightly enveloped. The tail is generally tucked under the band at the left hip, so as not to dangle behind.

- 49 (m). **Pal-ta-chūma** (*Car Nic. Tā-nyukla*). Coconut-leaf torch, used when spearing fish at night.

#### 7. Articles of other palms.

- 50 (m & f). **Shindung-kōi** (*Car Nic. Endrū*). Screen, made of the leaves of the *Nipa fruticans*, and used in the Southern Group for covering the head and back when exposed to rain.
- 51 (f). **Lōah-hilūa** (a) (*Car Nic. Chāmōm*). **Homyūam** (b) or **Danāp-oal-hilūa**. **Hichih** (c) (*Car Nic. Trānōp*).
- (a) is the spathe of one of the three *Areca* palms (*viz.*, the *Orania* — or *Bentinckia* — *Nicobarica*), common in the islands. The spathes of the other two varieties found in the islands are smaller, and less useful.
- (b) consists of one of the spathes of the *hilūa*, trimmed at its two ends and flattened, so as to serve as a sleeping mat. The inner and lighter-colored side is placed uppermost on the floor for this purpose. A small uneven number (3, 5, 7 or 9) of these spathes are wrapped round a corpse prior to burial.
- (c) consists of two *homyūam*, stitched together at one side to serve as a screen when exposed to rain.
- 52 (m & f). **Hannōi** (*Car Nic. Hanūi*). Fan, made of *Areca*-spathe and used for kindling or fanning a fire when cooking, and for fanning the face in oppressive weather, or in order to drive away mosquitoes, etc.
- 53 (m & f). **Taṅ-shūla** or **Tafōl** (*Car Nic. Tā-silla*). Box, made of *Areca*-spathe in common use throughout the islands for holding cloth, clothes, etc.
- 54 (f). **Kenōang**. *Areca*-spathe receptacle, made and used in the Central and Southern Groups for holding betel-nuts, shell-lime, and *chavica* leaves for chewing.
- 55 (f). **Chuk-tanāla** or **Chuk-hendo**. *Areca*-spathe basket, or *Pandanus*-leaf receptacle, for containing betel-nut, shell-lime, and *chavica* leaves : used chiefly at Teressa Island. At Car Nicobar Burmese lacquered boxes — *Nic. Tanāp* (*vide* No. 156) — are mostly used.
- 56 (m & f). **Timā**. *Areca*-spathe bucket, used when bathing.
- 57 (m & f). **Tanōchya**. *Areca*-spathe receptacle made for the use of hatching fowls. In place of grass, a certain kind of leaf is placed inside. At Car Nicobar a Chowra-made pot, or a *taṅ-shūla* (*vide* No. 53), is used for this purpose.
- 58 (m & f). **Daiyuāk** or **Pakōl**. Feeding dish, made of a spathe of the *Pinanga Manni* (*Nic. okshuāk*). A similar object is made by the *Shōm Peñ* of the bark of a certain tree.
- 58 a. (m & f). **Daiyuāk-tewīla**. *Areca*-spathe receptacle in which uncooked *Cycas*-paste is kept.
- 58 b. (m & f). **Daiyuāk-homlem**. *Areca*-spathe receptacle in which cooked *Cycas*-paste is kept.

- 59 (f). **Chuk ok-hiyä.** *Areca*-spathe receptacle for collecting the refuse of betel-husks, after extracting the kernels for chewing. A superior variety made of wicker-work and provided with an outer tray for the husked nut is sometimes used, the large inner receptacle being for the husks only.

#### 8. Articles of pandanus leaf.

- 60 (m **Shanōang** (*Car Nic.* **Tächōkla**). Ornamental head-band made of *Pandanus*-leaf, worn & f). on the head by both sexes, usually on festive occasions. At Car Nicobar it is always, and at Chowra and Teressa sometimes, made of the spathe of the *Areca catechu*.
- 60 a. (m **Kupòt-sinpai.** *Pandanus*-leaf head-ornament, made by Car Nicobar women and & f). occasionally worn by both sexes.
- 61 (f). **Kenòp-kōi-haṅshōi.** Dome-shaped cover made of *Pandanus*-leaves and placed over the **kenyūa-kōi-haṅshōi** (*vide* No. 111) when boiling *Pandanus*, *Cycas*-paste, or vegetables. At Car Nicobar a wicker-work cover is used for the purpose.
- 62 (f). **Enrung.** *Pandanus*-leaf receptacle, used at Car Nicobar for holding chewing materials, when making distant trips in a canoe, or on feast days.
- 63 (f). **Hannāh-lāh.** Foot-brush, used in the Central and Southern Islands for wiping the feet on entering a hut: consists of *Pandanus*-drupe from which the pulp has been extracted. One or two are usually kept at the entrance of every hut for the use of visitors and others. At the Northern Islands the hut-broom (*vide* No. 96) is employed for wiping the feet.
- 64 (m). **Kentain** (*Car Nic.* **Kensach**). Fire-sticks, used at all the islands, but chiefly at the Central and Southern Groups, for producing fire. Both the upper and the lower (styled *male* and *female* respectively) are sticks cut from the *Melochia velutina* (*vide* No. 144). The working-end of the upper stick is rounded, and a splinter inserted in the fine hollow space in the centre, which would otherwise wear away before the necessary amount of friction had been produced. Instead of this, the end of the stick is sometimes slightly cross-split, which causes increase of friction when in use. The lower stick is notched near one end and a small hollow formed in its centre, into which the prepared end of the upper stick is placed and twirled with both hands, during which the lower stick is held firmly down by one or both feet. A blade, or peg, is also sometimes stuck into the side of the lower stick to keep it in position during the operation. On the part to which friction is applied fine ash is sprinkled and, beneath this, dry cocoanut-husk fibre, or paper, is placed as tinder.

(To be continued.)

### A VERSION OF THE GUGA LEGEND.<sup>1</sup>

BY W. CROOKE, C.S.

DURING the reign of Prithivī Rāja, Chauhān of Dehlī, there ruled in Mārūdēsa, now Bāgarā,<sup>2</sup> of the Hissār District, a Rāja named Nār Siñh, or Mār Siñh, to whom was born a son named Jēwar. When the boy grew up he was married to the Rānī Bāchhal, daughter of Kañwar Pāl, who ruled at Sirsā Patan, now a mass of ruins near the town of Rēhār, in Pargana Afzūlgarh of the Bijnōr District. The marriage was performed with great magnificence, and much money was spent by the father of the bride in the dowry and in entertaining the marriage guests. The bride accompanied her husband to his house, and they lived together for some years, but the Almighty did not bless them with offspring. In despair the prince Jēwar went into the forest and began to practise austerities. Meanwhile the Rānī Bāchhal occupied herself in fasting and deeds of charity at home. After some time the great saint Gurū Gōrakhnāth with fourteen

<sup>1</sup> Told by Bhōlā Bhagat of Rēhārā, Bijnōr District, and literally translated.

<sup>2</sup> Bāgarā is the Bāgar or prairie of the Eastern Panjāb and Northern Rājputānā.

hundred disciples, in a course of pilgrimage to various shrines and holy places, came to Bāgarā. When she heard of his arrival, the Rānī Bāchhal presented herself before him, and begged him to take up his residence in her city, where she promised to attend upon him. The Gurū replied that he was a saint and could not make a long stay there. The Rānī when she heard this fell at his feet and wept, and Kānī Pawā, who was the senior of his disciples, begged him to stay there and practise *yōga*.

Gōrakhnāth agreed and halted with his disciples in a garden near the city. The Rānī Bāchhal placed her treasury at his disposal and every day presented him with a golden dish filled with the choicest food. When a year had passed in this way and the Rānī ceased her daily visit, Gurū Gōrakhnāth made preparations for his departure. Kānī Pawā went to the Rānī and told her that Gōrakhnāth would start very early next morning, and he advised her to be in attendance. Her sister Āchhal overheard this conversation, and in the night she went to the Rānī Bāchhal and asked her to lend her some choice clothes and jewellery, as she wished to receive some guests. The Rānī Bāchhal answered: — "My clothes and jewels are pure because I wear them when I do worship. You can have any other clothes and jewels but these." Āchhal refused to accept any other clothes and jewels, and promised to return them before her sister would want them for worship. So Bāchhal lent them and the gold dish to her. Next morning Āchhal, wearing the clothes of Bāchhal and covering her face, appeared before Gurū Gōrakhnāth who, when he saw her, said:—

"My daughter! Why dost thou cover thy face?"

She answered: — "Since the saints have come here I daily prepare food for them with my own hands. My eyes have in this work become affected by the smoke and I am compelled to wear a veil."

Gōrakhnāth took the dish from her hands and ate the contents. Then he took out from his bag two grains of barley and handing them over to Āchhal said:—

"Wash them and then eat them at once."

She did as he directed and returned home.<sup>3</sup> She returned the dish and the dresses to Rānī Bāchhal.

Meanwhile Gurū Gōrakhnāth blew his horn and marched with the body of his disciples. But the disciple, Kānī Pawā, knew that the Rānī Bāchhal had been deceived by her sister; so he began to cry and roll on the ground, pretending that he was attacked by a violent colic. As Kānī Pawā was very dear to Gōrakhnāth, the saint stopped and began to smear his body with consecrated ashes as a remedy.<sup>4</sup> In the meantime Rānī Bāchhal arrived and, after saluting Gōrakhnāth, began to pray to him. She then laid the dish before him. Gōrakhnāth cried:—

"Turn out the impostor and beat her soundly. She has just received from me two grains of barley and she has come again."

The disciples began to beat the Rānī Bāchhal; but Kānī Pawā said:—

"You have devoured the whole of her treasure and are now beating her. What justice is this?"

Gōrakhnāth then enquired from the chief disciple what the truth of the matter was, and he told him the whole case. Gōrakhnāth asked what he was to do. Kānī Pawā answered:—

"O Mahārāj! On this matter being known, the saints will be held in contempt. You must bless the Rānī Bāchhal also."<sup>5</sup>

Then Gōrakhnāth spread a sheet and lay down upon it. On this he ascended to the throne of Bhagwān, and when he saluted Bhagwān the god asked:—

"O saint, what has caused you to come here?"

Gōrakhnāth replied:— "Give a son to Rānī Bāchhal of Bāgarā."

<sup>3</sup> For instances of such charms in barrenness see my *Introduction to Popular Religion and Folklore*, p. 148.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid* op. cit. p. 210.

<sup>5</sup> With this part of the legend compare the story of Jacob and Esau.

Bhagwân answered : — "To have a son is not written in the fate of the Râni."

Gôrakhnâth replied : — "Had a son been written in her fate, I would not have come to you."<sup>6</sup>

Hearing this Bhagwân rubbed some of the dirt out of his head and gave it to Gôrakhnâth, and the saint brought it back to the Râni and gave it to her. The Râni mixed it in water and shared it equally between a gray mare, a Brâhmani, a sweeper's wife, and herself. All of those had been hitherto barren, but immediately they all conceived.

Now those who were her enemies went to Amar Siñh and poisoned his heart against the Râni Bâchhal and said : —

"O Râja! Your daughter-in-law has become in child by one of the saints. So if you wish to save her honour you must send her at once to the house of her mother."<sup>7</sup>

The Râja believed their words and sent the Râni Bâchhal to the house of Kumâr Pâl, who was usually called Kaiwar Pâl.

When the embryo was seven months old it spake from the womb of its mother and said : — "Take me from the house of my grandfather and remove me to the house of my father, for if I am born here I shall be called Nanwar."<sup>8</sup>

The Râni Bâchhal was in child and she had no means of conveyance. So she had much hesitation in complying with the orders of the coming child.

But the embryo spake again and said : — "Mother! Hesitate not, but go to the crippled carpenter and he will make a cart for you."

The Râni went to the carpenter and asked him to do this for her.

He answered : — "I am a cripple. How can I do this for you?"

But the embryo spake and ordered him to arise from the seat, from which he had not moved for many years. He arose at once and made the cart as Râni Bâchhal desired.

Even in the womb the child began to work wonders and trying up his mother's father, hand and foot, they started for Bâgarâ. On the way he forced Râja Vâsuki, the lord of the snakes, to do him homage and acknowledge his power by doing the worship known as *kandûri*.<sup>9</sup> He made his mother's father also confess his power and do the same worship to him. And when he reached his home, his father's father was forced to do homage.

Finally, at the due time, he was born under the title of Zâhir Pir.<sup>10</sup> At the same time to the Brâhmani woman, who had eaten the dirt of Bhagwân, was born Nara Siñha Pânṛê; to the sweeper's wife Patiya Chamâr; and to the gray mare was born Bachhrâ, or the Colt. All three began to grow by leaps and bounds. Zâhir Diwân began to hunt in the jungle. One day in the course of his hunting he happened to go to Bândi, and halted in the garden of Râja Sanjai. The Râja's daughter, the Râni Surail, happened to be in the garden with her companions. Zâhir Diwân entered into conversation with her and began to play at dice with her.<sup>11</sup> At first the Râni won all the goods, and finally even the person, of Zâhir Diwân. He asked her leave to go and bathe, as he was her slave. While he was bathing, he remembered the name of Gôrakhnâth, and then the seat on which the saint rested was moved. Some one came and put some dice in the waist-cloth of Zâhir Diwân unawares. When Zâhir Diwân was putting on the cloth he felt the dice. In great delight he went back to the Râni and asked her to play a second game with him. She agreed and this time Zâhir Diwân won back all his goods and the Râni as well. On this he commenced to start for his home, but the Râni Surail begged him to take her with him.

<sup>6</sup> The ascetic shews his superiority over, and even contempt for, the greater gods.

<sup>7</sup> In the original *nânḥâl*, grandmother's house, to which women who stray from virtue are sent.

<sup>8</sup> Apparently because he would be born in his *nânḥâl*.

<sup>9</sup> Here we find signs of Muhammadan influence. *Kandûri* is a special worship of Bîbî Fâtima, in which males are not allowed to take a share.

<sup>10</sup> The Saint Apparent.

<sup>11</sup> This is a stock incident in the folktales: see *Introduction to Popular Religion and Folklore*, p. 291.

He answered : — “ If I take thee unmarried both thou and I will come to shame.”

“ But,” she said, “ If the signs of betrothal be sent, I trust thou wilt not refuse them.”

He promised that he would accept them. So Zâhir Diwân returned home, but he did not forget the Rânî Surail.

To the Rânî Âchhal, who had received the two grains of barley from Gurû Gôrakhnâth, two sons were born at the same time — Surjan and Arjun. They were of the same age as Zâhir Diwân. Now when the Râja of Bûndî sent his Brâhman and barber to perform the betrothal rite between his daughter and Zâhir Diwân the brothers forbade the rite, as there was an old grudge between their family and that of the Râja of Bûndî. But before they left the Rânî Surail had strictly warned the Brâhman and barber that they should on no pretence betroth her to any but Zâhir Diwân. So they went to the Râja Amar Siñh, who treated them with great kindness and asked the cause of their coming. They said that they had come to betroth his grandson to the daughter of the Râja of Bûndî. On hearing this Amar Siñh put his hands to his ears<sup>12</sup> and said : —

“ I regret that I cannot betroth my grandson to the Bûndî Rânî, because I have an hereditary enmity with her father.”

The Brâhman and the barber left the place at once and on the way they met Zâhir Diwân. When they told him the result of their mission he said : —

“ I am the grandson of Amar Siñh it is true; but what have I to do with that old dotard ? Give the signs of betrothal to me.”

The Brâhman hesitated, but the barber spake out : — “ O Kanwar Sâhib ! betrothal is not performed in this fashion.”

At this Zâhir Diwân smote the barber on the back with his whip and he rolled on the ground.

The Brâhman then said : — “ Mahârâj ! The barber was not altogether wrong. At the least some of your kinsfolk are needed for the betrothal.”

Then Zâhir Diwân invoked the saint Gôrakhnâth, and, as he prayed, the seat of the Gurû was shaken, and he at once started with a troop of his followers and reached the place.

But the Brâhman spake : — “ Sâdhus are not recognised as due witnesses of the rite of betrothal.”

So Zâhir Diwân invoked the aid of Mahâdêva and Indra and they at once appeared, and there, even in the jungle, the rite of betrothal was duly accomplished. Gôrakhnâth gave to the Brâhman and the barber his consecrated ashes, and Zâhir Diwân informed them that his marriage procession would start on the ninth of the dark fortnight of Bhâdôn. The Brâhman and the barber then started and the gods returned to their heaven.

When the Brâhman and the barber reached Bûndî they opened the parcel of consecrated ashes which Gôrakhnâth had given them, and found that the ashes had been turned into gems. When the Râja of Bûndî heard that the betrothal had been performed he was wroth and beat the Brâhman and the barber almost to death. Hearing their cries, the Rânî Surail came into the Court, and seizing her father by the hand said : —

“ Father, it is a deadly sin to kill a Brâhman. Do not kill him. What has been done cannot be undone even by Paramêswar himself.”

The Râja came to his senses and the Rânî Surail took the Brâhman into her private apartments and loaded him with presents. Next day the Brâhman and the barber explained to the Râja all that had happened in the jungle, and informed him that the marriage procession would arrive on the ninth night of the dark fortnight of Bhâdôn. The Râja hearing this was filled with anxiety, reflecting what arrangements he could make in the rainy season. But his ministers comforted him by saying that where wealth abounded all was possible.

<sup>12</sup> A sign of dissent or disagreement.

Meanwhile Zâhir Diwân took all the articles he had received at the time of betrothal and gave them to his mother, the Râni Bâchhal, and informed her of the date of the wedding. The Râni in her turn went to her father-in-law, the Râja Amar Siñh, and informed him of all she had heard from her son, and laid the presents of betrothal before him.

He answered : — “ I cannot perform this marriage at this time. I will not go to the house and therefore I rejected the betrothal.”

Hearing this the Râni Bâchhal wept and returned to her own apartments. She then called Nara Siñha Pânřê and sent him to tell her father to attend the wedding. He went to Sîrsâ Patan and placed the invitation, which consisted of a letter, gold coins, a cocoanut, red powder, holy rice and sweetmeats before the Râja Kaiwar Pâl, and to him the Pânřê said : —

“ The marriage of your grandson will take place on such and such a day. Your daughter has sent me to inform you that her father-in-law has refused to take any part in the ceremony. Everything then depends on your generosity. So you must go and get the marriage of your grandson duly performed.”

Kaiwar Pâl replied : — “ I will send all that is needful, but I will not take part in the procession.”

Then Nara Siñha Pânřê returned to the Râni Bâchhal and said : — “ No one agrees to take part in the marriage. Your father has also refused to join the procession. Now except yourself there is none to help your son.”

The Râni Bâchhal then began to weep and said : — “ Alas for my dear husband ! Had he been here he would have arranged everything, and I should have been spared the trouble which has now fallen upon me.”

Then Zâhir Diwân answered and spake : — “ Mother ! Why dost thou weep ? If the Gurû Gôrakhnâth is still alive I shall bring my bride not alone without disgrace, but with all due honour.”

He then went out of the city and was absorbed in reflection on his Gurû, and on this the seat of the Gurû Gôrakhnâth was shaken.

And he said to his disciple Kânî Pawâ : — “ Let us go and complete the marriage of thy brother Zâhir Diwân.”

Then Gurû Gôrakhnâth came with fourteen hundred disciples to Bâgarâ. Zâhir Diwân went out to receive them and told Gôrakhnâth all that had occurred.

Gurû Gôrakhnâth said : — “ Be not troubled in your mind. I will make all the arrangements.”

Then he took a pinch of ashes from his bag and rubbed it, and lo ! all the articles and supplies required for the marriage — food and clothes and jewelry and equipage such as the eye of man had never seen, — were prepared. Also Gôrakhnâth invited the Râja Indra, who came with all his sons. With him came Pârvatî and Râja Vâsuki.

When the procession was arranged Gôrakhnâth said to the Râni Bâchhal : — “ My daughter ! It is now thy part to decorate thy son with clothes and jewels, as it is time for us to start for the house of his father-in-law.”

Then for the bathing of the bridegroom there came a golden pitcher from Indrâsan, the home of the fairies. The youth was bathed and dressed with all magnificence. And the Râja Vâsuki with his own hands invested him with the marriage robes, and the wedding crown was placed upon his head. Then came all the fairies of the court of Râja Indra<sup>13</sup> and danced before him. The heavenly musicians began to play, and when Râja Amar Siñh saw these divine arrangements he was smitten with shame, and he, too, came and joined in the marriage, and Râjâ Kaiwar Pâl also arrived with all his equipage. So the marriage procession started and in a few days reached Bûndî.

<sup>13</sup> See *Introduction to Popular Religion and Folklore*, p. 38.

Now near the city of Bûndî there was a lake, which was swollen by the rains of Autumn, and they were considering how the procession was to cross it, when Hanumân arrived and said that he would lie down over it and all could cross on him.

But Râja Vasuki said:—"Why should you take all this trouble? I will prepare a bridge at once."

So saying he called all his mighty snakes and, twining them together, made a bridge across the water. The people of Bûndî came out to see the procession, and those who were envious of Zâhir Dîwân said that none but Sâdhus were in his party. When he heard this the Râja of Bûndî was wroth and he paid no respect to the procession. Then Zâhir Dîwân ordered the Râja Vâsuki to surround the city and lo! an army of snakes appeared and surrounded the walls and every house in the city of Bûndî. They were ordered to hurt no one, but the people of the city were sore afraid. They all raised cries of terror. Then the Râja of Bûndî with all his ministers and priests went to Zâhir Dîwân and fell at his feet. On this Zâhir Dîwân made a sign to Râja Vâsuki to recall his snakes and they forthwith disappeared. On this the fears of the people ceased.

The wedding guests were invited to the marriage feast. With the guests came Sukra and Sanischara,<sup>14</sup> and the Râja took them to his palace and ordered food to be served. The servers of the dishes could not satisfy their hunger with the cooked provisions, all of which they consumed. Then they said:—"Take us to the store-rooms," and there they devoured all the supplies collected for the wedding. Nay they even ate the earth of the place two fingers deep. Even then they cried for more and the Râja of Bûndî was smitten with shame because he could provide no more.

Then he came and fell before Zâhir Dîwân and said:—"Pardon me, my Lord! I can no longer vie with thee."

So Gôrakhnâth gave the Râja a pinch of his ashes and told him to place it in his store-rooms and lo! they were again filled with all manner of commodities. So the wedding guests were fed and none lacked aught.

The wedding party stayed there many days and the Râja of Bûndî gave Zâhir Dîwân as dowry many valuables and costly jewels. So they returned home and came to Bâgarâ.

One day, after the marriage was over, Zâhir Dîwân went into the jungle to hunt and for the same purpose Sarjan and Arjun also came there. Zâhir Dîwân and the two brothers shot at the same deer. The animal fell on the ground.

Zâhir Dîwân took possession of the game, but the brothers said:—"It is we who have shot the deer."

But Zâhir Dîwân would not give them even a share of the deer.

Then they said:—"We will take half of the kingdom because your mother and ours are sisters, and your wife we shall also seize, because it was to us that her father sent the signs of betrothal. You are a mere usurper."

When he heard these threats Zâhir Dîwân grew wroth, and it came into his mind to get rid of the brothers once for all. But they fled from before him and went and laid a complaint against him before the king of Dehli. When he heard their charge Prithivî Râja attacked Zâhir Dîwân with a mighty army. The cattle of Zâhir Dîwân were returning from the jungle and Prithivî Râja ordered his men to seize them. They did so and the cowherds came to Zâhir Dîwân and told him what had happened.

When she heard of these events the Râni Bâchhal hastened to Zâhir Dîwân and entreated him not to face the enemy. But he was filled with wrath. At once he bathed and saddled his horse and put on his arms and armour.

<sup>14</sup> Venus and Saturn.

Then he rose up and he said to his horse : — “Thou gray one ! This is not the day to turn thy back on the foe.”

The Râni Bâchhal rushed on the battlements and cried : — “My Zâhir is going alone to face the enemy !”

Then many a brave warrior hastened to help him, but he turned them all back save Nara Sinhâ Pânṛê and Patiṽâ Chamâr. When he saw them behind him, Zâhir Diwân said : —

“Even you I cannot take with me till I test your prowess. I will fix my spear in the ground and he that can take it out may follow me.”

Both of them succeeded in taking out the spear and they followed their master. As a lion in a pack of jackals, so they fell upon the foe. Nara Sinhâ Pânṛê and Patiṽâ Chamâr killed many of the enemy, but at last they fell. Then Zâhir Diwân commenced to cut down the enemy and at last they took to flight. Zâhir Diwân transfixes Surjan with an arrow and he died, on which Arjun began to cry like a child. Him, too, Zâhir Diwân killed. Then he pursued Pṛithivî Râja and seized him by the scalp-lock. He turned his saddle round and tied him on his horse with his face towards the tail, and so he dismissed him with contempt. Then he cut off the heads of the twin brethren and tied them in his handkerchief and took their gem necklaces. Thus he returned in triumph.

When he arrived, the Râni Bâchhal his mother appeared with a golden dish, on which was a lamp with four wicks and moving it over his head<sup>15</sup> asked the result of the fight.

Zâhir Diwân answered : — “The twin brethren have won and I am worsted.”

Again the Râni said : — “Tell me the plain truth.”

He replied : — “No battle was fought and still the quarrel was decided.”

On this he took out the necklaces of gems and shewed them to her. Her heart began to beat. Next he opened the handkerchief and shewed her the severed heads. She threw the golden dish on the ground, and he said : —

“Mother, now recognise which is the head of Sarjan and which that of Arjun.”

She recognised the heads and said : — “Dost thou shew thy pride by killing thy brethren ? Dost thou not feel ashamed and disgraced ?”

When he heard these words, Zâhir Diwân turned his back upon his mother and went into the jungle.

Then came the month of Sâwan, when newly married brides put on gorgeous apparel and swing beneath the trees. But the Râni Surail, wife of Zâhir Diwân, did naught but weep and lament, being separated from her beloved. Then Zâhir Diwân said to his horse Nîla : —

“Let us go and see thy brother’s wife, who is weeping for thy brother.”

He came to the gate at night and called to the guards : — “Open.”

The guard replied : “Who art thou — a thief or a demon ?”

He answered : — “Open the door. I am the house-master.”

The guard replied : — “I will not open the door at night.”

“One day,” answered Zâhir Diwân, “I will cut thy flesh from off thy bones.”

And so he returned to the forest.

At this time the Râni Surail saw in a dream that her husband had arrived, and that her watchman would not open the door. In the morning she told him her dream and the watchman wept : —

“How could I know that he would come ? A man came at night and I dared not open the door. Alas for me !”

On this the Râni wept and next night she sat close to the door, and at the same hour her husband came as before and called to the guard.

<sup>15</sup> For the wave rite, see *op. cit.* p. 199.



The Rānī cried : — “ Who art thou that comest in the dead of night ? ”

Zāhir Dīwān answered : — “ I am the house-master.”

She said : — “ If you are the house-master come in by making your horse jump over the roof.”

Hearing these words he spurred his horse and jumped over the roof, and alighted in the courtyard. The maid-servant tied up the horse and gave food to her master. The Rānī Surail fell at his feet and wept, and brought water to bathe him. Then they began to play at dice. When the night was far spent Zāhir went away, promising to return soon.

In this way for some time he used to visit his Rānī by night.<sup>16</sup> The Rānī used to sleep by day, and at night she decorated herself to receive him. Then the news spread in the city that some one used to visit the Rānī Surail by night. So the Rānī Bāchhal went to the Rānī Surail, and found her daughter-in-law in child.

She said : — “ Why hast thou committed so great a wrong to my son ? ”

She answered : — “ I have done no wrong. My husband is alive.”

But the Rānī Bāchhal would not believe her. Then the Rānī Surail said : —

“ Why do you not believe me ? Your son is alive and he visits me every night.”

The Rānī Bāchhal prayed : — “ Let me see him once.”

She answered : — “ Come here at night and you shall see him.”

So the Rānī Bāchhal came by night to the house of the Rānī Surail and saw her son ; but when his eye fell upon his mother he veiled his face and mounting his horse departed.<sup>17</sup> His mother and wife followed him crying—

“ Why art thou leaving us ? ”

But he turned a deaf ear to their voice. The Rānī Surail, however, soon overtook him and seized the rein of his horse. Zāhir Dīwān then thought of his Gurū Gōrāknāth and descended below the earth. The wretched women returned home and lamented him bitterly.

Now the place where Zāhir Dīwān descended below the earth is at a distance of nine kōs from Nūr and twenty-seven kōs from Hissār. And many pilgrims visit the place where his tomb is erected. It is known as Zāhir Dīwān kē nānā kā ujārā khērā — The deserted mound of the grandfather of Zāhir Dīwān. There multitudes of men assemble in the month of Bhādoṇ. Besides this, in many villages, are platforms raised in his honour.

#### Note.

This is a very complete and interesting legend of the life of Zāhir Dīwān and shews all through a good deal of fine, natural, chivalrous feeling. The high position women take in it is noticeable. It runs on different lines from that given by Major Temple in *Legends of the Panjāb*, Vol. I. p. 121, ff. I have given a short account of Gūgā and quoted some of the literature on the subject in my *Introduction to Popular Religion and Folklore*, p. 133 sq. [In Vol. III. p. 261 ff. of the *Legends* I give a long version of the Gūgā story, which runs much on the lines of Mr. Crooke's valuable version. I also recognize many bits of stories in the above legend, which are often fastened on to other heroes. E. g., Vāsuki is connected with Ghāzī Sālār in the *Legends*, Vol. I. p. 117 ff., and the doings of the serpents at Būndī may be compared with their doings at Safīdōṇ in connection with the modern version of the story of Parikshit and Janamējaya (*Legends*, Vol. I. p. 418 ff.) The conversation of Gūgā with Surail is comparable with that between Rāja Rasālū and various women he is mixed up with (*Legends*, Vol. I. p. 50 ff., 209 ff., etc., *vide index*). In the *Legends*, Vol. I. p. 166 ff., I give another version of the story of Gūgā and the Brahmanī. — Ed.]

<sup>16</sup> On this custom of a husband visiting the bride by stealth, see Lubbock, *Origin of Civilisation* (p. 81 sq.)

<sup>17</sup> Apparently some breach of a primitive marriage taboo, as in the case of Urvashi: see Lang, *Custom and Myth*, pp. 64 sqq.

## NOTES ON THE SPIRIT BASIS OF BELIEF AND CUSTOM.

BY J. M. CAMPBELL, C.I.E., I.C.S.

(Continued from p. 32.)

## (c) Metals.

THE class of articles, which, next to fire and water, have special power over spirits, are metals. Among the metals which have power over spirits, copper, lead and gold, are noticed, but the most important is iron.<sup>100a</sup> In all cases of seizures and swooning iron is of great value, either applied hot, or as a lancet to let blood. This seems to be the base of the almost universal belief that iron has great power over spirits. So the Vaishṇavas stamp their bodies with red-hot iron seals, and when the body of a pregnant woman is carried out of a Hindu house, a nail or a horse-shoe is driven into the threshold to bar the spirit from coming back. Among the Prabhūs of Bombay, after the birth of a child, an iron bar is thrust across the door of the lying-in room, and a pen-knife is placed under the mother's bed to ward off evil spirits.<sup>100b</sup> The first thing a Bombay Prabhū looks at after waking is a gold ring.<sup>1</sup> The Kunbīs of Kōlābā put an iron hook, or poker, under the cot of a lying-in woman to keep off evil spirits.<sup>2</sup> The belief that spirits are afraid of iron is so strong among the Kōlīs, Vādvals and other lower classes of Thānā, that whenever they go at night to their fields or gardens they keep with them a stick with loose iron rings to frighten evil spirits.<sup>3</sup> Among the Vādvals, or gardeners of Thānā, an iron bar is laid across the threshold of the lying-in room, in order that the evil spirits may not come inside.<sup>4</sup> When a Hindu child is taken to visit a relation, copper or silver coin is put into its hand at the time of leave-taking.<sup>5</sup> During a thunder-storm Kōnkanī Marāṭhās throw their axes and sickles out of doors to scare the lightning.<sup>6</sup> Among the Bombay Pārsīs, women in child-bed are made to lie on an iron bed-stead for forty days, and the dead are carried on an iron bier.<sup>7</sup> The Pārsī women in their monthly sickness are fed from an iron dish.<sup>8</sup> In Gujarāt Mātīā Kunbī women, for a fortnight after a birth, never go out without carrying a knife or a sickle. The Bhāts of Gujarāt set a dagger near the new-born child on the fifth evening when the *chhutī* spirit is believed to come. A dagger and a sword are laid in the Bhātīā woman's lying-in room. Among Gujarāt Śrāvaks the bridegroom carries, for fourteen days before the wedding, a sword.<sup>9</sup> In Kāṭhāwār gold and curds are put into the dying Rājput's mouth.<sup>10</sup> In Gujarāt the Musalmān bridegroom carries a poignard and the Musalmān bride a knife.<sup>11</sup> The Dekkan Rāmōśīs, after a birth, set up in the lying-in room a needle or an arrow in a millet stalk, and at their weddings the bridegroom holds a dagger in one hand and a friend holds a sword over his head.<sup>12</sup> The Kunbīs of Poona on the Dasahra day worship iron tools,<sup>13</sup> and they use hot iron as a cure in certain complaints.<sup>14</sup> The Pardēśī Bhādbhujās of Poona tie a piece of iron, about the size of a shilling, to the boy's and the girl's wrists at the time of marriage.<sup>15</sup> The Telugu Nhāvis of Poona lay the new-born child by its mother, and at the head of the bed set a dagger, a lemon, and a cane.<sup>16</sup> Among the Nāsik Mālīs if a woman dies in child-bed, as the body leaves the house, a horse-shoe is driven into the threshold, and while carrying the bier *ralā* grain is strewn on the ground that the spirit may not come back.<sup>17</sup> In the possession of the Mahārājā of Kōlhāpur is a gold *moḥar*, and when a woman is in labour, water is poured over the *moḥar* and given her to drink.<sup>18</sup> The Kōlhāpur Līngāyats, on the way to the burial-ground, at intervals

<sup>100a</sup> The Pārsīs in some cases purified a man from a lead ladle (*Vendidad*, Vol. IV. pp. 40-42). Burton (166, *Anatomy of Melancholy*, p. 435) says gold is an antidote to spirits, and gold rings are worn to keep spirits away. Of the use of copper coins and of bells examples are given below.

<sup>100b</sup> Mr. K. Raghunāth's *Pātānē Prabhūs*, p. 45. <sup>1</sup> From MS. Notes. <sup>2</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XI. p. 56.

<sup>3</sup> Information from Mr. P. B. Joshi.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*

<sup>5</sup> Information from Mr. Govindrao Pandit.

<sup>6</sup> Information from the peon Bābājī.

<sup>7</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XIII. p. 270.

<sup>8</sup> *Vendidad Fargard*, Vol. XVI.; Bleek's *Khordah Avesta*, p. 121.

<sup>9</sup> Information from Mr. Bhimbhāi.

<sup>10</sup> Information from Colonel Barton.

<sup>11</sup> Information from Mr. Fazal.

<sup>12</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XVIII. p. 419.

<sup>13</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XVIII. p. 294.

<sup>14</sup> *Trans. By. Lit. Soc.* Vol. III. p. 247.

<sup>15</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. III. p. 321.

<sup>16</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. III. p. 381.

<sup>17</sup> From MS. Notes.

<sup>18</sup> Information from Mr. Barvé.

scatter betel leaves and copper coins.<sup>19</sup> Among the Dhârwâr Liṅgâyats, before the body is buried, twenty-one small pieces of copper with some religious words written on them are laid on the body.<sup>20</sup> That the origin of iron as a spirit scarer lies in its value in cases of actual cautery finds support in the practice prevalent among the Dhârwâr Māsâlers of branding new-born children with a red-hot needle in the form of a cross.<sup>21</sup> Among the Mâdhav Brâhmans of Dhârwâr, when a woman suffers much during child-birth, old gold coins are washed, and the water is given her to drink.<sup>22</sup> The Bijâpur Radîs lay copper coins on the spot where the funeral pyre is built.<sup>23</sup> The Beni-Isrâ'îls of Western India lay a knife under a babe's pillow to keep off spirits.<sup>24</sup> The Gonds have a god called Chuda Pen in the form of an iron bracelet.<sup>25</sup> At Gond marriages copper coins are waved round the bridegroom's head and coins are worshipped by the Gaitî Gonds.<sup>26</sup> The Orâôis lay a coin in the mouth of the dead,<sup>27</sup> originally to keep the spirit from leaving the body.<sup>28</sup> The Greeks and Romans continued the practise, explaining it by saying the coin was to pay Charon.<sup>29</sup> In Bengal, when the father sees the new-born child for the first time he puts money in its hands.<sup>30</sup> The arrow heads and other iron weapons, found in rude stone tombs in the Nilgiris, seem placed there with the object of keeping off evil spirits, not for the use of the dead.<sup>31</sup>

The Cannii, an ancient nation of Lesser Asia, at certain seasons met in armour and beat the air with lances and went to the boundary to drive away foreign spirits.<sup>32</sup> When an Arab sees a whirlwind he says:—“*Hadid, hadid, yâ mash um,*”—that is, “Iron, iron, oh thou vile one!”<sup>33</sup>

Among the Burmans, if a woman gives birth to a still-born child, a piece of iron is placed in the cloth in which the body is wrapped, and at the burial a member of the family says:—“Never return to thy mother's womb till this metal becomes soft as down.”<sup>34</sup> The ascetics or hermits in Burma carry an iron staff hung with rings.<sup>35</sup> The Burmans put pellets of gold under the skin to be wound-proof.<sup>36</sup> The Siam king's sword is dipped into holy water, and the water is drunk by the king at the time of coronation.<sup>37</sup> The Chinese authorities objected to the Shanghai-Woosung Railway because it would disturb the spirits of the earth and the air, and so lower the value of property.<sup>38</sup> When a Chinese child is sick, it is carried along the street by the mother, who drops coins at every ten paces, or, if the child is very bad, its body is rubbed with the coins and they are thrown into the street.<sup>39</sup> In China, when a person is sick of a devil-sent epidemic, a sword, if possible a sword which has cut off a criminal's head, is hung over his bed,<sup>40</sup> and coins, generally pierced coins, are worn as charms.<sup>41</sup> A sword is a sacred emblem in Japan kept in the temple of Atsuta.<sup>42</sup>

In North-West Africa Musalmân women, when pregnant, often sit on an old iron gun to be relieved of dangers of child-birth.<sup>43</sup>

A queen in South Africa, says Dr. Livingstone, had a number of iron rings on her ankles with little bits of sheet iron fixed to them.<sup>44</sup> In North Africa, the fire doctor generally keeps

<sup>19</sup> From MS. Notes.

<sup>20</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XXII. p. 115.

<sup>21</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XXII. p. 211.

<sup>22</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XXII. p. 74.

<sup>23</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XXIII. p. 155.

<sup>24</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XVIII. p. 536.

<sup>25</sup> Hislop's *Aboriginal Tribes of the Central Provinces*, App. III.

<sup>26</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 18.

<sup>27</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 22.

<sup>28</sup> Dalton's *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 261.

<sup>29</sup> The great god of the Central Province Gaitî Gonds is a pice in a hollow piece of bamboo. A space, a foot square, is cleared at the foot of some holy tree, the pice is brought in its bamboo case, taken out and laid on the ground. Heaps of rice, a heap for each deity they worship, are arranged round the pice: chickens and goats (formerly cows were offered) are fed on the rice, killed, and their blood sprinkled between the pice and the rice. On the blood liquor is poured. The pice is then put in the case (Hislop's *Aboriginal Tribes of the Central Provinces*, p. 22).

<sup>30</sup> Ward's *View of the Hindus*, Vol. III. p. 156.

<sup>31</sup> *Jour. Ethno. Soc.* Vol. I. p. 161.

<sup>32</sup> *Herod. I.* in *Home*, Vol. II. p. 399.

<sup>33</sup> From MS. Notes. <sup>34</sup> Shway Yoe's *The Burman*, Vol. I. p. 3.

<sup>35</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 169.

<sup>36</sup> Yule's *Cathay*, Vol. I. p. 94. [And of silver. — Ed.]

<sup>37</sup> Jones' *Crowns*, p. 436. [This belongs apparently to the section on Water. — Ed.]

<sup>38</sup> Captain H. O. Selby, R. E.

<sup>39</sup> Gray's *China*, Vol. II. p. 30.

<sup>40</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 31.

<sup>41</sup> *Jour. Ethno. Soc.* Vol. I. p. 39.

<sup>42</sup> Reed's *Japan*, Vol. II. p. 269.

<sup>43</sup> Hay's *Western Barbary*, p. 117.

<sup>44</sup> Dr. Livingstone's *Travels in South Africa*, p. 273.

with him a small charcoal fire, a pair of bellows and some iron rods. When a patient thinks himself bewitched, the doctor makes him lie down, pulls aside the clothes from his back, and, making his rod of iron red-hot, draws it with a hissing sound across the back and loins of the sick person in the name of God.<sup>45</sup> Actual cantery with a red hot iron is a favourite remedy with the Moors.<sup>46</sup> In Madagascar the chief post of the house has a silver chain fastened to it.<sup>47</sup>

So great is the power of iron over spirits, that the guardian spirit in fire must not be touched with a sword or iron. So the Tartars would not (1246) touch fire with a knife. Pythagoras (B. C. 600) said that fire should not be stirred with a sword.<sup>48</sup> The same belief occurs in North-East Asia and North America. In Russia to break faggots with a poker might cause an ancestor to fall into hell, — that is, might drive away the guardian ancestral spirit from his hearth-home.<sup>49</sup> A similar reason may explain why the Romans would not cut certain plants with a knife, and why religious monuments were long made of undressed stone. The Romans believed that if an iron spike was driven in the ground, where a person was attacked by the falling sickness, he would never be again seized.<sup>50</sup> The Romans kept a javelin in a lying-in room to give the mother easy delivery,<sup>51</sup> and drove large coffin nails in the side-posts of doors to drive off spirits.<sup>52</sup> Any one finding a cast horse-shoe in the road, and laying it up, will be cured of the *yoze*, or hiccup, by thinking of the place where the shoe was put.<sup>53</sup> In the Roman tombs opened at Mayence, in women's coffins, bracelets, rings, needles and censers for burning incense were found.<sup>54</sup>

The Danish women, before putting a child in a cradle, to prevent evil spirits from hurting the child, fasten garlic, salt and steel to the cradle.<sup>55</sup> In Sweden a knife, or other steel implement, is laid in the cradle of an unbaptized child to keep off spirits. Bathers throw steel into the water, and say:—"Neck, Neck, steel in strand, thy father was a steel-thief, thy mother a needle-thief, so far shalt thou be hence as this cry is heard."<sup>56</sup> The young German warriors (A. D. 100) wore an iron chain,<sup>57</sup> and the British mothers gave their children their first food off the father's sword.<sup>58</sup> The Germans used to lay three knives for the Three Mothers,<sup>59</sup> probably at first to drive them away, though they afterwards seem to have laid offerings on the blades.

In 1691, in the Scotch Highlands, cold iron was put in a lying-in woman's bed to keep off the fairies, the reason being that, as iron mines lay near to hell, iron had an unpleasant savour to those fascinating creatures.<sup>60</sup> In Suffolk (1780) it was believed that an old horse-shoe buried under the threshold of a witch kept her in at night.<sup>61</sup> That no elf or nightmare should ride on a woman in childbirth, and that an infant may not be carried away by an owl, a knife should be kept on the couch.<sup>62</sup> In early England the fiend-sick patient had to drink out of a church bell.<sup>63</sup> Middle-Age Europe believed that spirits could be hurt by swords and lances.<sup>64</sup> The belief that a horse-shoe keeps off spirits, is

<sup>45</sup> Rohlf's *Morocco*, p. 82. *Of. ante*, p. 20.

<sup>46</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 81.

<sup>47</sup> Sibree's *Madagascar*, p. 287.

<sup>48</sup> *Early History of Man*, p. 277. Compare (Macgregor's *Sikhs*, Vol. I. p. 91) when the Sikh leader Guru Góvind (1680) was forced to eat beef he first turned over the flesh with a knife. The sense seems to be that the iron drove out the divine cow-spirit. What Góvind ate was therefore no longer cow's flesh.

<sup>49</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 277.

<sup>50</sup> Pliny's *Natural History*, Book xxviii. Chap. 6.

<sup>51</sup> *Op. cit.* Book xxviii. Chap. 4.

<sup>52</sup> *Op. cit.* Book xxxiv. Chap. 15.

<sup>53</sup> Pliny's *Natural History*, Book xxviii. Chap. 20. (Wright's *Celt, Roman and Saxon*, pp. 302, 304, 306, 310). Perhaps the object, as among the Cheremiss Indians, was to secure the body in the coffin (Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. I. p. 29).

In some Roman British tombs large nails have been found to secure the object, as among the Cheremiss Indians, was to secure the body in the coffin (Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. I. p. 29).

<sup>54</sup> *Bombay Gazette*, 5th February, 1884.

<sup>55</sup> Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, Vol. II. p. 73.

<sup>56</sup> Henderson's *Folk-Lore* (2nd Edition), p. 231.

<sup>57</sup> Tacitus *Germania*, Chap. p. 31.

<sup>58</sup> Tacitus' *Oxford Trans.* Vol. II. p. 356.

<sup>59</sup> Wright's *Celt, Roman and Saxon*, pp. 283-287.

<sup>60</sup> Scott's *Demonology and Witchcraft*, p. 164.

<sup>61</sup> Moore's *Oriental Fragments*, p. 455.

<sup>62</sup> Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, Vol. III. p. 250.

<sup>63</sup> Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II. p. 140.

<sup>64</sup> Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*, p. 738.

common in England and Scotland.<sup>65</sup> A horse-shoe keeps off spirits and witches, according to the couplet:—"Straw laid across her path, the witch retards. The horse-shoe nailed, each household guards."<sup>66</sup> In England (about 1612) it was considered lucky for a man to find a piece of iron.<sup>67</sup> In North-West Scotland, gold and silver cured the effects of the evil eye.<sup>68</sup> In England, it is bad luck to make a present of a knife, and in North England, unless a nominal price is given, no one should take a present of a knife, for a "knife severs love."<sup>69</sup> Pins are used in England in many cures. To cure warts prick them with a pin and drive the pin into an ash tree.<sup>70</sup> In England, a child afflicted with an eruption is cured by being rubbed with a half sovereign,<sup>71</sup> and in Dumfriesshire the Locherby penny cures cow-madness.<sup>72</sup> In Northumberland pins are thrown into the wishing well at Wooler.<sup>73</sup> On New Year's Eve you should have money in your pocket,<sup>74</sup> and it is unlucky to have no money in your pocket when you first hear the cuckoo.<sup>75</sup>

The belief that spirits fear iron and a ring is perhaps the origin of the sacredness of the key. In England a key was used in divination. A key is heated and laid on the back to cure lumbago, and is put down the back of the neck to stop bleeding at the nose. With the house-key and a frying pan fiends are scared and bees tempted to alight.<sup>77</sup> After a death the hive is tapped thrice with a door key.<sup>78</sup> In some parts of Scotland, when a bride and bridegroom enter their home, each carries a key—the husband a door key and the woman a bunch of keys.<sup>79</sup>

In Wiltshire (1874) a labourer's wife asked a clergyman for a sacrament shilling to tie round her child's neck to cure fits.<sup>80</sup> A "heart-grown,"—that is, a fairy-witched, child in England is laid naked on the blacksmith's anvil. The blacksmith lifts his hammer as if to strike hot iron, but brings it down gently. Three taps of the hammer cure the child.<sup>81</sup>

**Urine.**—The next most important power over spirits is urine. Urine is a widely used medicine.<sup>82</sup> From the ammonia it contains, urine is useful in two ways: in recovering from swooning, fainting, nervous and other seizures, and in staunching bleeding. Both of these properties shew power over spirits. In restoring consciousness the power over the oppressing evil spirit is evident, and in staunching blood urine drives away a spirit, in accordance with the early belief that wounds bleed because they are sucked by spirits.<sup>83</sup> The use of cow's urine, as a purifier, is common among all higher class Hindus. It is the regular means of getting rid of the ceremonial impurity which a birth or a death in a family causes,<sup>84</sup> and it ought to be taken on certain festivals and highdays. The importance of cow's and bull's urine, as a purifier among the Hindus and still more among the Persians, seems to shew that cow

<sup>65</sup> In London, in 1693, most West-End houses had a horse-shoe nailed in the threshold, because it laid evil spirits. The practice was universal in Wales in 1812 (Leslie's *Early Races of Scotland*, p. 423). Horse-shoes were formerly (1600) cut in the doors of British Christians, and they were fixed in boats and ships to guard them against storms (*op. cit.* p. 424). Nelson had a horse-shoe nailed to the *Victory's* mast (Dyer's *Folk-Lore*, p. 113). The ends of the horse-shoe ought to be turned up. Compare Reginald Scott on the cure by sympathy,—that is, treating the weapon, not the wound. If they stroke the sword up, the party feels no pain: if they draw the fingers down, the pain is intolerable. See Note 2, Reginald, in *Scott's Lay*.

<sup>66</sup> Dyer's *Folk-Lore*, p. 112.

<sup>67</sup> Mitchell's *Highland Superstitions*, p. 37.

<sup>68</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 167.

<sup>69</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 72.

<sup>70</sup> Dyer's *Folk-Lore*, p. 124.

<sup>71</sup> Dyer's *Folk-Lore*, p. 146.

<sup>72</sup> Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, Vol. III. p. 251.

<sup>73</sup> Henderson's *Folk-Lore*, p. 118.

<sup>74</sup> *Op. cit.* pp. 163, 164.

<sup>75</sup> Dyer's *Folk-Lore*, p. 57.

<sup>76</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 128.

<sup>77</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 139.

<sup>78</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 230.

<sup>79</sup> Henderson's *Folk-Lore*, p. 233.

<sup>80</sup> Henderson's *Folk-Lore*, p. 33.

<sup>81</sup> Henderson's *Folk-Lore*, p. 187.

<sup>82</sup> In the Kōnkan, near Bombay, no medicine is so largely used in child-diseases as is the urine of the cow (Information from Mr. P. B. Joshi). According to Pandit Narsinha (*Nighānturāj*, pp. 174, 175) nine kinds of urine are considered medicinal by Hindu physicians—the urine of a man, a cow, a she-buffaloe, a horse, an ass, a she-goat, an ewe, an elephant and a camel. Human urine destroys worms and removes phlogm, wind, insanity and poison (Information from Mr. Nārāyan V. Purandharé). That urine stops bleeding, explains the Marāṭhī test of a disobedient man: "To *kāpalya karāṅgi var mūnār nīhi*"; He will not even make water on a cut finger. For the many healing properties of urine in Roman Folk Medicine compare Pliny's *Natural History*, Book xxviii. Chap. 6.

<sup>83</sup> Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II. p. 126.

<sup>84</sup> The idea of the ceremonial impurity which attaches to birth, monthly sickness, and death, seems to have its root in the fact that those are the three times in life when the chances of spirit-possession are greatest. The point is noticed under "spirit times."

and bull worship are greatly due to the healing value of their urine. Human urine is also believed to have a great power over spirits.

Among Ratnāgiri Marāṭhās human urine is used to cure cough and snake-bite.<sup>85</sup> Among lower class Muhammadans, Hindus and Portuguese in Gujarāt and Bombay, people, when they have had a bad fall, or when they are severely beaten, drink their own urine. They say that it has the same intoxicating and reviving power as brandy.<sup>86</sup> In Sind and other parts of India, to bathe it with urine is a common cure for a bleeding wound. In the East Dekhan, the exorcist keeps urine in a bottle and threatens to make the spirit drink it, if he does not tell who he is. The filthy food which spirits eat shews that it is not its nastiness which makes the spirit fear urine. A Hindu in a haunted place will make water in a circle and sit secure in the middle: or, if he must move on, he will make water on his left foot, and the spirits will fly.<sup>87</sup>

Among the Persians and the Pārsīs the use of urine is still commoner, because their fear of spirits is greater. After the thread-prayer the Pārsī every morning should drink and wash his hands in cow's urine. It is a sin to wash the hands in water till they have been washed in urine.<sup>88</sup> That the urine of an ox or of a bull is equally cleansing as the urine of a cow,<sup>89</sup> supports the view that the cow was worshipped, rather because of the value of its urine, than because of the value of its milk. So also the fifth most acceptable place in the (Pārsī) universe is where cattle and beasts of burden leave their urine.<sup>90</sup> Among Pārsīs defiled garments are washed in cow's urine.<sup>91</sup> Corpse-bearers should wash their bodies and hair with urine.<sup>92</sup> Any one who touches a dead body should wash his hands in cow's urine, and the spirit of corruption will be driven out.<sup>93</sup> In some cases it is enough to sprinkle the clothes with urine, but a woman who gives birth to a dead child must drink cow's urine and ashes, and wash her body with urine.<sup>94</sup> Besides, in their religious services, urine is commonly used and highly valued as a medicine by Pārsīs.

Urine was greatly valued as a medicine by the Romans. Pliny<sup>95</sup> notices asp's urine as a cure for the drowsiness which follows an asp sting. He mentions the urine of camels, apes, wild boars, asses, and horses as curing many diseases.<sup>96</sup> The examples are valuable as shewing one of the grounds on which these animals were worshipped. A boy's urine cured fever,<sup>97</sup> a man's urine cured gout,<sup>98</sup> and whoever dropped his urine on his foot in the early morning, was safe from any charm.<sup>99</sup> The use of urine is seldom recorded in books of travels or of customs. This is probably from an idea that the habit has no special meaning or interest, rather than that it has not been noticed.<sup>100</sup> Even where no reference has been made to the use of urine, cases are recorded of the tails of cattle being used to sprinkle holy water.<sup>1</sup> This suggests that the yak or Tibet ox tails, which were so commonly borne close to Hindu kings and which appear in old Buddhist and other sculptures and paintings, were valued as spirit-scarers rather than as fly-whisks.

<sup>85</sup> Information from the peon Bābājī.

<sup>86</sup> Information from Mr. Fazal Lutfulla.

<sup>87</sup> Compare Pliny (*Natural History*, Book xxviii. Chap. VI). He who every morning droppeth his own urine on his feet shall be secure from every charm and poison.

<sup>88</sup> Bleek's *Khordah Avesta*, p. 166.

<sup>89</sup> *Vendidad Fargard*, Vol. XIX. pp. 70-75; Bleek's *Khordah Avesta*, Vol. I. p. 140.

<sup>90</sup> Bleek's *Khordah Avesta*, Vol. I. p. 21.

<sup>91</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 58.

<sup>92</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 70.

<sup>93</sup> Bleek's *Avesta*, *Vendidad*, p. 84.

<sup>94</sup> Bleek's *Khordah Avesta*, pp. 46, 48, 64.

<sup>95</sup> Pliny's *Natural History*, Book xxix. Chap. 4.

<sup>96</sup> *Op. cit.* Book xxviii. Chaps. 8, 11, 12, 17, 19.

<sup>97</sup> *Op. cit.* Book xxviii. Chap. 11.

<sup>98</sup> *Op. cit.* Book xxviii. Chap. 6.

<sup>99</sup> Pliny's *Natural History*, Book xxviii. Chap. 6. This seems to explain why the *fascinus* was hung round children's necks and under warrior's triumphal cars (*op. cit.* Book xxviii. Chap. 4). The Hindus have the same belief that spirits fear the private parts of a man.

<sup>100</sup> Tylor's (*Primitive Culture*, Vol. II. p. 433) reference to the Hottentots smearing mother and child with urine in their unclean way seems a case in point. It is doubtful whether he intentionally left out other references, as he mentions the Pārsī practice in detail (*op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 438).

<sup>1</sup> Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II. p. 533.

Bombay Hindus use cow's urine as a medicine as well as a purifier. In the Kônkan, cow's urine is considered a specific for worms, from which young children are apt to suffer. The Brâhman and Prabhûs of Bombay, on the eleventh day after a death, become purified by drinking cow's urine. The Brâhman in Bombay, after a child is born, keep cow's urine, with *nîm* leaves floating in it, at the entrance of the lying-in room, and no one is allowed to enter the room without first sprinkling the urine on his feet with the *nîm* leaves. Among the Prabhûs of Bombay, on the tenth day after child-birth, cow's urine is sprinkled all over the house; and, to free them from all impurity, each member of the household thrice drinks about a teaspoonful of the *pañchagavya*,—that is, clarified butter, curds, milk, honey and cow's urine.<sup>2</sup> In Poona, drops of urine and Ganges water are poured into the dying Râul's mouth.<sup>3</sup> The Dhôrs of Ahmadnagar spill a pot of cow's urine on the grave,<sup>4</sup> and the Nâmdêv Shiimpis of Ahmadnagar, on return from a funeral, dip a *nâm*<sup>5</sup> twig in cow's urine and sprinkle their heads with it.<sup>6</sup> Among the Dhârwar Lûgâyats the holiest of the holy water which is drunk by laymen is that in which the stone *lîng* of the high priest has been bathed.<sup>7</sup> The Gôsavîs of Belgaum, after a death, are purified by drinking the five products of the cow.<sup>8</sup> On one fast nothing but cow's urine is drunk by Hindus.<sup>9</sup> Fryer<sup>10</sup> (1673) notices how the Banias of Sûrat "take delight in the stale urine of a cow, besprinkling themselves with it, as a Christian with holy water, or a Musalmân with rose water: nay, more, they even use it as a potion or filer, and after it bid the devil do his worst." The Nâirs of Malabâr consider urine to be a purifier, and have water, cow's milk and cow's urine poured over them on the fifth, tenth and fifteenth days after a death.<sup>11</sup> Oderic (1320) says:—"In Malabâr the people take two basins, one of gold, the other of silver, and when the ox is brought from the stalls they put these under him and catch urine in one and dung in the other. With the urine they wash their face and with the dung they daub themselves on the middle of the forehead, on the balls of the cheeks, and on the middle of the chest."<sup>12</sup> According to the *Dâbistân*<sup>13</sup> human urine was drunk by some *yôgîs*.

The Burman priests use as medicine the urine of a cow or a black bullock, on which the juice of the lemon or other sour fruit has been poured.<sup>14</sup> In China cow and horse urine are considered an excellent lotion for skin disease, and also for destroying white ants.<sup>15</sup> In the Philippine Islands the first excrements of a new-born babe are a cure for snake and dog bites.<sup>16</sup>

The Dinkas of the White Nile make their hair a foxy red by continual washing with cow's urine.<sup>17</sup> The Shillooks of the White Nile, if fairly off, cover their body with a rusty coating of cowdung ashes: with them dry ashes and cow's urine are indispensable articles of toilet. According to a widespread African practice, milk vessels are washed with cow's urine instead of with salt.<sup>18</sup> The Dinkas of the White Nile burn cow-dung and smear themselves with the ashes; they also use cow's urine in washing dishes.<sup>19</sup> Hottentot sorcerers or rain bringers procure rain by scattering their urine over a fire.<sup>20</sup> At a Moor wedding in West Africa a present of urine from the bride's person is sent as a special compliment, and is dashed in the receiver's face.<sup>21</sup> Child's urine painted on the affected spot is considered a cure for sores in Central Africa.<sup>22</sup>

The Indians of Peru, in South America, wash their hair in urine, and the Spanish American women do the same.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>2</sup> K. Raghunâth's *Pâtâne Prabhus*, p. 48.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XVII. p. 169.

<sup>6</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XVII. p. 127.

<sup>8</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XXI. p. 184.

<sup>10</sup> *Voyages*, p. 92.

<sup>12</sup> Yule's *Cathay*, Vol. II. p. 73.

<sup>14</sup> Shway Yoe's *The Burman*, Vol. I. p. 141.

<sup>16</sup> *Jour. Ethno. Soc.* Vol. II. p. 174.

<sup>18</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 88.

<sup>21</sup> Park's *Travels*, Vol. I. p. 186.

<sup>3</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XVIII. p. 361.

<sup>5</sup> *Melha azadirachta*.

<sup>7</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XXII. p. 190.

<sup>9</sup> Maurice's *Indian Antiquities*, Vol. V. p. 988.

<sup>11</sup> Buchanan's *Mysore*, Vol. II. p. 409.

<sup>13</sup> *Dâbistân*, Vol. II. p. 129.

<sup>15</sup> Gray's *China*, Vol. II. p. 123.

<sup>17</sup> Schweinfurth's *Heart of Africa*, Vol. I. p. 150.

<sup>19</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 168.

<sup>20</sup> Hahn's *Tsuni Goam*, p. 88.

<sup>22</sup> Stanley, Vol. II. p. 369.

<sup>23</sup> *Jour. Ethno. Soc.* Vol. II. p. 206.

The Highlanders in the seventeenth century used to sprinkle their cattle with urine on the first Monday in every quarter.<sup>24</sup> In Scotland, in Perthshire, urine is used as a cure for wasp-stings.<sup>25</sup> In the South of Ireland, especially in the outlying parts, among the lower orders, the drinking of human urine is a not uncommon cure for diseases.<sup>26</sup> In England, in the seventeenth century, urine was considered to be a book of fate.<sup>27</sup> In the Highlands of Scotland water and oil of human dung were believed to be very effective against madness,<sup>28</sup> and the urine of the bear mixed in vinegar was said to cure epilepsy.<sup>29</sup>

The less important articles which are believed to have power over spirits, because they have been found to cure diseases, may be shortly noted in alphabetic order:—

Ashes, called by Hindus *rakshā* or protection and *vibhūti* or prosperity, are much used by them as purifiers, that is, as spirit-drivers. Though ashes are sometimes taken internally as a medicine, the reason why they are considered specially potent against spirits seems to be their power of staunching blood and of healing sores. The following illustrate the common Hindu use of ashes to keep off spirits. The Liṅgāyat rubs his brow with cow-dung ashes, and ascetics cover their whole bodies with ashes. The Vaidus of Poona get purified by rubbing their bodies with ashes,<sup>30</sup> and a Dekhan medium surrounds a possessed man with a circle of ashes. In Dhārwar, as a cure for head-ache, ashes are thrown on the head or applied to any other part of the body that pains.<sup>31</sup> In Belgaum, among the Bhāts, a person excommunicated from the caste is re-admitted on swallowing ashes given him by the caste teacher.<sup>32</sup> In Bījāpur, ashes from the censer of Māruti, or other guardian deity, is one of the chief means of scaring spirits. When an Ambig, or fisherman of Bījāpur, is possessed, he is set before a god, and his brow is rubbed with ashes.<sup>33</sup> The Kōṅgāris of Kānara get from the washerman, on the third day after a death, wood-ashes and water, and the Dhōrs get cow-dung ashes once a year from the head of the Liṅgāyat monastery of Chitradrūga in Mysore.<sup>34</sup> Among the Halvākkī Vākkals of Kānara, on the third day after a birth, the people and their house are purified by the washerman sprinkling on them, and in the house, water mixed with ashes and potash.<sup>35</sup> High-class Hindu females in Western India, during the Divālī holidays, draw lines of *rāṅgōlī* (husk-ashes) in front of their houses. Among the Hindus, *bhasma snāna*, or ash bathing, is considered as good and purifying as bathing in water.<sup>36</sup> The Hindu religious book, *Brahmōttarakhaṇḍ*, states that a great ascetic applied ashes to the body of a king named Bhadrāyu, and from that time the king became famous for strength, glory, courage, and power of memory.<sup>37</sup> The Beni-Isrā'īls of Bombay, at a birth, to keep off evil spirits, draw lines of ashes outside of the mother's room. A Pārsi woman after child-birth drinks ashes mixed with cow's urine.<sup>38</sup> The Pārsis strew their fields with the ashes of the sacred fire.<sup>39</sup>

The Jews in grief covered themselves with ashes and sackcloth.<sup>40</sup> In Central Asia ashes are used to staunch bleeding in cases of circumcision.<sup>41</sup>

The Papuans, when they see a stranger, throw ashes, lime, and sand over their own bodies.<sup>42</sup> In consequence of their belief that spirits enter by the hair, the people of the Arru Islands, west of Guinea, wash their hair with ashes and lime.<sup>43</sup>

According to Pliny, horse-dung ashes, used with egg-shells, are good for staunching blood.<sup>44</sup> The Romans believed that the ashes of a calf purified.<sup>45</sup> They considered ashes soveran

<sup>24</sup> Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 13.

<sup>25</sup> Information from Dr. H. Greany.

<sup>26</sup> Mitchell's *Highland Superstitions*, p. 31.

<sup>27</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XXII. p. 51.

<sup>28</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XV. pp. 373, 374.

<sup>29</sup> Information from Mr. P. B. Joshi.

<sup>30</sup> Bleek's *Khordah Avesta*, Vol. I. pp. 46, 48.

<sup>31</sup> Schuyler's *Turkestan*, Vol. I. p. 142.

<sup>32</sup> Pliny's *Natural History*, Book xxx. Chap. 13.

<sup>33</sup> Ovid's *Fæsti*, Book IV. chap. 728.—Compare Moses giving the children of Israel the ashes of the golden calf to drink; also the ashes of the red heifer (Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II. p. 400).

<sup>34</sup> Information from Mr. J. Davidson, Indian Civil Service.

<sup>35</sup> Broome's *Fulgar Errors*, Vol. I. p. 3.

<sup>36</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 31. <sup>37</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XVIII. p. 478.

<sup>38</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XXI. p. 179. <sup>39</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XXIII. p. 114.

<sup>40</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XV. p. 211.

<sup>41</sup> Information from Mr. B. B. Vakhārkar, B.A.

<sup>42</sup> *Dōbistōn*, Vol. I. p. 381.

<sup>43</sup> Dubois, Vol. II. p. 263.

<sup>44</sup> Earl's *Papuans*, p. 38.

<sup>45</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 97.



for staunching blood. The ashes of a sacred pregnant cow were preserved in the temple of Vesta at Rome, with bean stalks, as a means of expiation.<sup>46</sup>

In a Russian story, cow-ashes mixed with excrement, bring good luck.<sup>47</sup> In Russia wine and water are used in extreme unction, and incense ashes are laid with the dead.<sup>48</sup> In Poland, when "the white folk" torment a sick man, a bed of pease-balm is made, a sheet spread over it, and the patient is laid thereon. A person walks round him carrying on his back a sieve full of ashes, and letting the ashes run out till the floor all round the bed is covered with them. The first thing next morning is to count all the lines in the ashes, and some one goes silently, greeting no one on the way, and reports the number to the wise woman, who prescribes accordingly. Spirits are believed to leave their tracks in the ashes, which are thus strewn.<sup>49</sup> In France, in some religious houses, the dying breathed his last lying on ashes.<sup>50</sup> In Roman Catholic Europe, people are marked with a cross of ashes.<sup>51</sup> With ashes of palm-leaves the Roman Catholic priest signs the foreheads of his people in the form of a cross.<sup>52</sup> Ash-Wednesday, which is the first day of Lent, is called so from the ancient ceremony of blessing ashes on that day.<sup>53</sup> Ashes of box-tree leaf were used in the same way as palm ashes, and on Palm Sunday were given by the priests as an exorcism against ague and worms.<sup>54</sup> In England, it was believed that any person who is to die within the year will have his footprints marked in ashes on St. Mark's Eve, April 25th.<sup>55</sup> In England, people used to examine ashes to see the foot-prints of a future husband or wife,<sup>56</sup> and ring-worm was cured by dropping ashes on the affected place.<sup>57</sup>

**Beating. — Spirits fear beating.** So St. Francis flogged himself to keep off the devil,<sup>58</sup> and Merlin ordered a weekly whipping to disenchant Dulcinea.<sup>59</sup> At Târâpur, in the Kônkan, in 1673, M. Dellon saw, in the cloister of the Church of Misericordia, penitents with covered faces and bare shoulders wounding themselves with whips containing bits of iron.<sup>60</sup> The practice of self-flogging for the removal of sins seems to have been introduced into the Kônkan by the Jesuits. In 1551 a Jesuit named Gaspar established a society of penitents, who, when the preacher aroused a feeling of sorrow and shame, lashed themselves with thongs, and cut themselves with iron blades till the blood flowed.<sup>61</sup>

Among the Dekhan Mhârs, when a man is possessed by a spirit, and the spirit does not tell his name, the possessed man is slapped with a shoe, his fingers are pinched, and he is caned.<sup>62</sup> In Shôlâpur, among the Lîngâyats, the woman who names the child has her back beaten with gentle blows,<sup>63</sup> and, among the Mângs of Shôlâpur, at their wedding, the bride and bridegroom beat each other on the back with a twisted waistcloth.<sup>64</sup> Among the Dhârwâr Mâdhava Brâhmanas, when the father's sister names the child, the women of the house give her some blows on the back.<sup>65</sup> In Dhârwâr some Brâhmanas, who live by begging, refuse to take alms, and threaten to curse the giver, unless he beats them.<sup>66</sup> Gemelli Careri (1695) mentions that when the lower classes in Goa marry, the couple lie on a hard bed, and the kindred come and thrash them, shewing them so much of this brutal kindness that they are for a long time unfit for work.<sup>67</sup> At the yearly festival of the goddess Dayamava in the Southern Marâthâ Country, one of the performers, the priest of the Pôtrâj, has a long whip, which he cracks, and to which divine honours are paid.<sup>68</sup> In Dhârwâr the pious worshippers of the goddess Dayamava wave a lighted lamp round the goddess and beat their cheeks in token of atonement for sins.<sup>69</sup>

<sup>46</sup> Gubernati's *Zool. Myth.* Vol. I. p. 276.

<sup>47</sup> *Op. cit.*, loc. cit.

<sup>48</sup> Schnuyler's *Turkestan*, Vol. I. p. 152.

<sup>49</sup> Grimm's *Teuto. Myth.* Vol. III. pp. 1165, 1163.

<sup>50</sup> Dubois, Vol. II. p. 263.

<sup>51</sup> Chambers's *Book of Days*, p. 240.

<sup>52</sup> Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 94.

<sup>53</sup> *Op. cit.*, loc. cit.

<sup>54</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 126.

<sup>55</sup> Chambers's *Book of Days*, p. 550.

<sup>56</sup> Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 3.

<sup>57</sup> Dyer's *Folk-Lore*, p. 170.

<sup>58</sup> Moore's *Fragments*, p. 53.

<sup>59</sup> *Quart. Rev.* October 1883, p. 423.

<sup>60</sup> *Portugal e os Estrangeiros*, Vol. I. p. 291.

<sup>61</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XIII. p. 208.

<sup>62</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XVIII. pp. 441, 442.

<sup>63</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XX. p. 88.

<sup>64</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XX. p. 174.

<sup>65</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XXII. p. 75.

<sup>66</sup> Information from Râv Bahâdur Tirmalrâv Venkatesh.

<sup>67</sup> Careri in *Churchill*, Vol. IV. p. 108.

<sup>68</sup> Sir W. Elliot in *Jour. Ethno. Soc.* Vol. I. p. 97.

<sup>69</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XXII. Appendix A.

The Kirghiz of Central Asia beat a woman in child-bed, because they believe her to be possessed.<sup>70</sup> Beating with a leather lash is a common Japanese application as a remedy for rheumatism, and to promote circulation.<sup>71</sup> The Arawaks, when a man dies, cut thorny twigs and beat the body to try and bring him back.<sup>72</sup> Careri<sup>73</sup> notices a disease in the Philippine Islands, which can be cured only by beating the patient black and blue. The South Africans have a ceremony, called *sechu*, in which the men beat the boys with wands, drawing blood, to harden them.<sup>74</sup> When the king of Tahiti, on his crowning day, is bathing, the priest strikes him on the back with a sacred branch: this purifies the king from blood and other guiltiness.<sup>75</sup>

In the mysteries of Adonis, in the funeral ceremony mourners pass along the streets, scourging themselves and uttering frantic cries.<sup>76</sup> In chivalry the knight struck the candidate on the neck with a sword, kissed his cheeks and forehead, and with his open palm gave him a gentle slap.<sup>77</sup> Among the Romans, during the Lupercalia, matrons were lashed by the priests with leather thongs, and they became pregnant.<sup>78</sup>

When St. Teresa of Spain (1540) began to suffer from trances and fits she was said to be possessed by a devil, and Francesco Borgia, Jesuit Provincial General for Spain, advised her to scourge herself with a whip of nettles.<sup>79</sup> In Germany, if your milk is bewitched, whip it in a pot, or stir it with a sickle: every lash or cut makes the witch wince.<sup>80</sup> The Duke of Carinthia, in Austria, gets a slight slap on the face from a peasant when he succeeds.<sup>81</sup> In the thirteenth century the Italian sect, called the Flagellants, held that scourging was equally important as Baptism and the Sacrament. Among Roman Catholics the communicant is patted on the cheeks,<sup>82</sup> and the Roman Catholic priest in the Sacrifice of the Mass on several occasions strikes his breast.<sup>83</sup> Beating with nettles was, in England, considered good for consumption.<sup>84</sup>

Similarly with men, flower and fruit trees and animals were whipped, if believed to be worried by spirits. The Hindus have a belief that the *kadam* tree when beaten by a pregnant woman with her left foot bears plenty of flowers.<sup>85</sup> According to the Spanish proverb "a woman, a spaniel, and a walnut tree, the more you beat them the better they be."<sup>86</sup> In Hull and York dogs are whipped once a year.<sup>87</sup>

(To be continued.)

## BULLETIN OF THE RELIGIONS OF INDIA.

BY A. BARTH OF THE INSTITUT DE FRANCE.

(Translated from the French by Dr. James Morison.)

(Concluded from p. 41.)

I SHALL finish this review of works on the ancient philosophy of India, by mentioning a short Jaina work, the *Shaddarsanasamuchchaya*, "the Epitome of the Six Systems," of Haribhadra, of which we have a good edition from Prof. P. L. Pullé, of Padua.<sup>88</sup> Haribhadra, who according to tradition, died in 529 A. D., but by more exact testimony lived in the ninth century, and who had several homonyms, was a Brâhmaṇ converted to Jainism. He is famous still as the author of 1,400 *prabandhas* (chapters of works), and seems to have been one of the

<sup>70</sup> Spencer's *Principles of Sociology*, Vol. I. p. 245.

<sup>72</sup> Spencer's *Principles of Sociology* Vol. I. p. 168.

<sup>74</sup> Dr. Livingstone's *Travels in South Africa*, p. 146.

<sup>76</sup> Mackay's *Freemasonry*, p. 8.

<sup>78</sup> *Quart. Rev.* October 1883, p. 403.

<sup>81</sup> Jones' *Crowns*, p. 399.

<sup>84</sup> Dyer's *Folk-Lore*, p. 22.

<sup>86</sup> Dyer's *Folk-Lore*, p. 30.

<sup>88</sup> In the *Giorn. della Società Asiatica Italiana*, I. (1887).

<sup>71</sup> Silver's *Japan*, p. 12.

<sup>73</sup> Careri in Churchill, Vol. IV. p. 430.

<sup>75</sup> Jones' *Crowns*, p. 453.

<sup>77</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 53.

<sup>79</sup> From MS. Notes.

<sup>80</sup> Grimm's *Teuto. Myth.* Vol. III. p. 1072.

<sup>82</sup> *Golden Manual*, p. 690.

<sup>83</sup> *Op. cit.* pp. 269-271.

<sup>85</sup> Information from Mr. P. B. Joshi.

<sup>87</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 104.

first to introduce the Sāṅskṛit language into the scholastic literature of the Svetāmbara Jains.<sup>40</sup> By the "Six Systems" the Brahmins understand those we have just passed under review, the two Mīmāṃsās, the Sāṅkhya and the Yoga, the Nyāya and the Vaiśeṣhika. Haribhadra, on the other hand, if indeed the treatise be by him,<sup>41</sup> expounds under this title very curtly (in 87 *ślokas*), but quite impartially, the essential principles of the Buddhists, the Jainas, the followers of the Nyāya, the Sāṅkhya, the Vaiśeṣhika, and the Mīmāṃsā. He thus selected his own school and those with whom the Jainas have had the closest affinities, and puts them in between the schools of their greatest enemies, the Buddhists and the ritualists of the school of Jaimini. These last he couples with the Lokāyatikas, the atheistic materialists, not simply from sectarian fanaticism and on his own judgment, but following an opinion that was then prevalent even among the Brahmins.

The bridge between speculation on the one hand, and ritual and custom on the other, is not so long in India as it is with us. Both disciplines make the claim to be founded on the Veda, with nearly the same justice in either case. On the *Śrauta Sūtras*, the texts which deal with the great solemn sacrifices, notices have been given above, under the Vedas to which they are connected. I have only now to mention, under this head, two works which have as their aim the comparative study of single points of this ritual according to the texts as a whole. Professor Hillebrandt, who takes up a clue, which he has followed before, has looked out for the traces, which the ancient festivals at the solstices have left in certain great ceremonies of Brahmanism, the *Sattras*.<sup>42</sup> These festivals must have been common to the Indo-European peoples, and this primitive community of origin may yet be discovered in several characteristic points where Germanic and Slavonic usages appear to coincide with Brahmanic prescriptions. As a general proposition Prof. Hillebrandt's argument is quite worthy of acceptance. It may very well be that the Brahmins have embodied ancient popular solemnities of this kind with their cyclic ceremonies, whatever doubt we may have as to the more theoretic than real existence of these long ceremonies. But, in detail, we think he has gone too far, and that we will do well to bear in mind the strictures passed in the *Revue de l'histoire des Religions*<sup>43</sup> by M. Sabbathier on some points of his theory. Apart from this theory, Prof. Hillebrandt's essay abounds in details of every kind on the constitution of the ancient ritual of the Brahman. Fuller still, and completer, but giving less room for hypothesis, is the monograph of Prof. Weber on the *Vājapeya*, a ceremony which included games, chariot races, and the drinking of *surā*, a highly intoxicating beverage, which even the highly developed ritual ordinances were obliged to retain on this occasion, in spite of its prejudice in favour of temperance.<sup>44</sup> Here, again, we have to do with a popular custom admitted into and modified by the sacerdotal *Sāstra*, and Prof. Weber has admirably shewn, how, from being a festival originally accompanying the election of a chief, it has finally become simply one of the forms of the *soma* sacrifice.

Under the rubric of domestic ritual and customary law, I must mention, first of all, the new edition of the *Dharmasūtra* of Āpastamba<sup>45</sup> by Prof. Bühler, and that of the *Grihya Sūtra* of Hiranyakeśi,<sup>46</sup> by his pupil Prof. Kirste. These two works are a part of the *sūtras* of two very

<sup>40</sup> On Haribhadra see *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, XLVI. (1892), p. 582.

<sup>41</sup> The *Śaṅkharānandasamacharya* of Haribhadra Śūri, mentioned in the *vijñāna* of the *Vaiśeṣikadarśana* (Benares Sanskrit Series, p. 13), seems to be a different work.

<sup>42</sup> Alfred Hillebrandt, *Die Sonnenwendfeste in Alt-Indien*. Eine Untersuchung, Erlangen, 1889.

<sup>43</sup> Tome XXIII. p. 221.

<sup>44</sup> Albrecht Weber, *Ueber den Vājapeya*, from the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Berlin Academy, July 1892. Professor Weber has been kind enough to honour me by dedicating this essay to me, for which I beg to tender him this public expression of my warmest thanks.

<sup>45</sup> G. Bühler, *Aphorisms on the Sacred Law of the Hindus by Āpastamba*, edited with Extracts from the Commentary, Second edition, revised, Part I, containing the Text, with critical Notes, an Index of the Sūtras and the Various Readings of the *Hiranyakeśi-Dharmasūtra*, Bombay, 1892, forming No. XLIV. of the Bombay Sanskrit Series. The first edition appeared 1868-1871.

<sup>46</sup> J. Kirste, *The Grihyasūtra of Hiranyakeśin, with Extracts from the Commentary of Mātṛpāṇṭya*, Vienna, 1889, published by the Academy of Sciences of Vienna. Compare, by the same editor, *Ein Grantha-Manuscript des Hiranyakeśigrihyasūtra* in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Academy of Vienna, 1891.

nearly allied schools connected with the *Black Yajus* of the *Taittirīyas*. Large parts of their *sūtras* are common. By noting the variants, for example, Prof. Bühler has been able to make his edition of the *dharmasūtra* of the one school at the same time serve as an edition of that of the other school. In his preface the reader will find new information as to important readings in the text of Āpastamba and the commentaries. To these texts may be added the *Karmapradīpa*, the first chapter of which Dr. Schrader has published and translated.<sup>47</sup> This is a *Gṛihya* ritual in general, but following more particularly the *sūtra* of Gobhila (Śāmaveda), though it has also been assigned to the Ṛik and more especially to the White Yajus. It has even been attributed to Kātyāyana, the author of the *Śrautasūtras* of that Veda. Dr. Knauer had before supplied some useful information on this treatise, and it seems to be older than the supplement to the *sūtras* of Gobhila mentioned above.

Professor Oldenberg has published a second volume of his translation into English of the *Gṛihyasūtras*, containing Gobhila, Hiranyakeśin, and Āpastamba.<sup>48</sup> The collection now embraces all the texts that have been published, and the translator has been in a position to add his general introduction. Up to the end of his task the translator has managed to combine exactness, completeness, and, what is more, originality in a theme that has been so often treated before. In the introduction, for instance, the reader will hardly find a single instance of mere repetition of old facts, and yet no essential point has been omitted, and though in his results the author arrives at the same conclusions as his predecessors he has done so by his own methods. For example, by examining the metre, he has been enabled to fix precisely in a novel and ingenious manner the place of these *sūtras* in Vedic literature. The practices which they prescribe are, in great part, clearly of very great antiquity, since we meet with them in many instances and with striking resemblances in their details among other Indo-European peoples. Several of them are mentioned even in the *Brāhmaṇas*. But, before these *sūtras*, there were no hand-books for this part of the ritual, as there were for the more complicated ritual of the great sacrifices. Till then these usages had been handed down by tradition, not by formal instruction. In other terms, the *Gṛihyasūtras* are *smṛtas* not *śrautas*, and deal with custom and not with doctrine. A very complete synoptical table of the subjects treated of in these texts is added to the volume, which ends with the translation of the *Yajñaparibhāṣāsūtras* of Āpastamba made by Prof. M. Müller and mentioned before. Drs. Caland and Winternitz deal with special points of this ritual, the former with the worship of the dead,<sup>49</sup> and the other with the marriage ceremonies,<sup>50</sup> and they have studied them from the comparative point of view, by bringing them into connexion with analogous customs which have been observed among other peoples. Professor Kirste has also made a comparative study of one of these points, by putting the ceremony of shaving the head of children among the Hindus alongside of a very similar practice still observed by the South Slavonic nationalities.<sup>51</sup> The resemblance may be close, but I doubt if the explanation of the usage proposed by Prof. Kirste is convincing.

<sup>47</sup> Friedrich Schrader, *Der Karmapradīpa, I. Prapñihaka mit Auszügen aus dem Kommentare des Asārka*, herausgegeben und übersetzt. Halle, 1889.

<sup>48</sup> Hermann Oldenberg, *The Gṛihya-sūtras, Rules of Vedic Domestic Ceremonies, translated, Part II. Gobhila, Hiranyakeśin, Āpastamba. Yajñaparibhāṣā-sūtras, translated by F. Max Müller, Oxford, 1892, forming Vol. XXX. of the Sacred Books of the East.*

<sup>49</sup> W. Caland, *Ueber Totenverehrung bei einigen der Indo-germanischen Völker*. Amsterdam, 1898, in the Proceedings of the Academy of Amsterdam. Cf. M. Winternitz, *Notes on Śrāddhas and Ancestral Worship among the Indo-European nations*. In *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, IV, (1890) p 199. The dissertation of Prof. Kaege, *Die Neunzahl bei den Ostariern*, *Kulturhistorische Analekten*, from the *Philologische Abhandlungen für Heinrich Schaeffer-Süller*, 1892, bears also in great part on the comparative study of funeral usages.

<sup>50</sup> M. Winternitz, *Das altindische Hochzeitsrituell nach dem Āpastambīya-Gṛihya-sūtra, und einigen anderen verwandten Werken. Mit Vergleichung der Hochzeitsgebräuche bei den übrigen Indogermanischen Völkern*, Vienna, 1892, in the *Denkschriften der Akademie der Wissenschaften*. Compare by the same author, *A Comparative Study of Indo-European Customs, with special reference to the Marriage Customs in the Transactions of the International Folk-lore Congress*, 1891. London, 1892.

<sup>51</sup> J. Kirste, *Indogermanische Gebräuche beim Haarschneiden in the Analecta Graecusis, Festschrift zum 42. Philologentage in Wien 1893.*

He connects it with the ancient worship of trees and plants, which according to him are represented in this case by the hair, and refers us to the prophetic ship *Argo* and the oaks of Dodona. The late Mr. Wilken,<sup>52</sup> who gave very ingenious explanations of most of these ancient usages, and who also wrote a dissertation on the practice of offering up the hair, more correctly looked on it as possibly a symbolic sacrifice, a kind of ransom for the individual whose hair was cut off. On another practice of the domestic ritual, "the serpent-offering," Dr. Winternitz does not go beyond India, but compares the past with the present and shews how the same customs or others very similar have been preserved down to our own days.<sup>53</sup> Lastly, a native medical man in the British service, Mr. Gupta, has made a study of ancient Hindu law, from the social and sanitary point of view.<sup>54</sup> A very different branch of learning, which we should certainly not have to mention in this connexion in the case of any other country, the *ars amatoria*, is in India one of the recognized parts of the *Smṛiti*. Like the rest it again goes back to a *sūtra* very closely allied both in form and matter with the *dharma* and *grihya sūtras*, with which it has several chapters in common, sometimes nearly identical in terms, viz., those which deal with the conditions and forms of marriage. So far, it is a *śāstra* quite as much as the others, proclaiming, as they do, the *dharma*. Otherwise the book is inconceivably filthy, but replete with curious details for the history of manners and customs. It has been edited with the commentary of Yaśodhara, by the late Paṇḍit Durgā-prasāda, for private circulation only, although apart from this purely formal announcement, it does not contain a word of English.<sup>55</sup> It has been also translated into French (a previous English translation is anonymous) from some source, probably a modern version got in India, but certainly not from the Sanskrit text, which it does not follow, even in its arrangement.<sup>56</sup> It can be of no value as an archæological document, and as the author has seen fit to add all sorts of dirt gathered from Western literature, it must be classed simply among books of pornography.

From these ancient *sūtras* and other similar writings the entire legal literature has taken its rise,—in the first place the *dharmaśāstras* properly so called, then the commentaries on these, and the more systematic treatises which explain some particular department or which extend over the whole field of law, and compare the authorities, and discuss the *pros* and *cons* in single cases, and settle the differences of opinion according to the rules of the dialectic of the *Mīmāṃsā*. Our thanks are due to M. Strehly for giving us a new translation in French of the *Code of Manu*,<sup>57</sup> that of Loiseleur-Deslongchamps, the only good one, which dates from 1833, being long out of print and unprocurable. The bibliography, which M. Strehly has given, is insufficient; it should either have been left out altogether or treated more fully, and there are a few slight oversights in the preface which might be removed, but the translation itself, in which the author has used the help of the best authorities, is executed with care, and is trustworthy. The notes, which are drawn up with much judgment, give all information necessary for a reader who may be unfamiliar with things Indian. The collection of extracts from the principal commentaries on Manu, which Prof. Jolly had begun in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, had to be stopped after the third part,<sup>58</sup> these texts having meanwhile been published *in extenso*, but not

<sup>52</sup> This untiring and careful worker, whose works on the populations of the Indian Archipelago, have been mentioned more than once in these Reports, died Aug. 27th, 1891, at the age of forty-four.

<sup>53</sup> M. Winternitz *Der Sarpaśāh, Ein altindischer Schlangencult* in the *Mittheilungen* of the Anthropological Society of Vienna, Vol. XVIII. (1888).

<sup>54</sup> R. P. Gupta, Surgeon-Major, *Sanitary and Social Rules in the Śāstras* in the *Calcutta Review*, July 1889.

<sup>55</sup> *Śrī Vātsyāyana-praṇītam Kāmasūtram, Yaśodhara-viracitaṃ Jayamangalākhyayā Vidyā sametam*, Bombay, 1891.

<sup>56</sup> *Théologie hindoue. Le Kāmasūtra, règles de l'amour de Vātsyāyana (morale des brahmanes) traduit par E. Lamotte*, Paris, 1891. I do not know the translation of the *Prem Sāgar* by the same author, and cannot tell which of the numerous versions of this recast of the tenth book of the *Bhāgavata Purāna* it reproduces.

<sup>57</sup> G. Strehly, *Mānava dharmasūtra. Les lois de Manu, traduites du sanskrit*, Paris, 1893, forming Vol. II. of the *Bibliothèque d'études des Annales du Musée Guimet*.

<sup>58</sup> Julius Jolly, *Manukthasāgraha*, being a series of copious extracts from six unpublished Commentaries of the *Code of Manu*, Calcutta, 1885-90.

with all the correctness desirable, in the large edition of Manu by the late Viśvanātha Nārāyaṇa Maṇḍlik. The extracts extend to the end of Book III. We have also from the same scholar a translation of the codes of Nārada and of Brihaspati.<sup>59</sup> The translation of Nārada is made from the fuller text edited by Prof. Jolly in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, and for this reason, and because of the numerous improvements in detail, it is much superior to his earlier version of 1876. The translation includes also the fragments quoted from Nārada, but not found in the printed texts; these Prof. Jolly has collected carefully from the whole of the legal literature. The code of Brihaspati, which seemed to have perished, has been completely restored by the help of considerable fragments which have survived in quotation. Professor Jolly has also done the same for another lost law-book, that of Hārīta, the section of which devoted to civil procedure he has endeavoured to reconstruct.<sup>60</sup> To the same class of works belongs the *Smṛiti* of Parāśara, which is in course of publication in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, along with the commentary of Mādhavāchārya.<sup>61</sup> Through this commentary, this *Smṛiti* has points of contact with the following compilations, which form a part of the same collection, the *Chaturvargachintāmaṇi* of Hemādri<sup>62</sup> and the *Maṇanapārijāta* of Viśveśvara (XIV. Cent.),<sup>63</sup> with the difference, which is more apparent than real, that these latter do not adhere to any one particular text. Lastly, useful investigations on various points of the theory and history of Indian law will be found in a series of articles published by Prof. Jolly, in the *Zeitschrift* of the German Oriental Society: on the "price of blood," on polyandry, and on the mode of procedure before Hindu tribunals,<sup>64</sup> on the law manuscripts of the India Office, with reference to Prof. Eggeling's *Catalogue*,<sup>65</sup> on infant marriages and the controversy which that grave question gives rise to in India.<sup>66</sup>

The whole of this literature, both legal and customary, might have been lost, but we should still have been able to recover the substance of it, — in confusion it is true and with peculiar additions, — in the enormous compilation which finally gave shelter to all the reminiscences of the old epic legends of India. I have before mentioned the investigations of Prof. Weber with regard to the difficult question of the relation of the Veda to these legends. As to the long poem in which these traditions are summed up, the *Mahābhārata*, it is well-known that it is being translated into English, thanks to the perseverance of Pratāpa Chandra Rāy.<sup>67</sup> The translation, which is now at its 78th part, contains four-fifths of the whole and has reached verse 12553 of the XIIth book, in the Calcutta edition. I shall not dwell again on the great sacrifices which the generous Hindu continues to make in order to bring his huge patriotic enterprise to completion. I shall only add that, thanks to the experience he has gained, the work of translation has continued to increase in exactness, and that no effort has been spared to remove from it the shortcomings observable at the commencement, and I shall express once again the hope that France will not be the last to respond to the appeals of the author, and take part in his unselfish undertaking.<sup>68</sup> I know only portions of a series of studies published in the *Muséon*,<sup>69</sup> by Abbé Roussel on the theology

<sup>59</sup> J. Jolly, *The Minor Law-Books, translated. Part I. Nārada. Brihaspati*, Oxford, 1889, Vol. XXXIII. of the *Sacred Books of the East*.

<sup>60</sup> J. Jolly, *Der Vyavahārādhyāya aus Hārītas Dharmasāstra, nach Citaten zusammengestellt*, in the *Abhandlungen* of the Bavarian Academy.

<sup>61</sup> Paṇḍit Chandrakānta Tarkālakāra, *Parāśara Smṛiti*, Vols. I. II. & III., Parts i.-iii. Calcutta, 1883-1891.

<sup>62</sup> Paṇḍits Bharatachandra Śiromaṇi, Yajñeśvara Śmṛitiratna, and Kāmākhyānātha Tarkaratna, *Chaturvargachintāmaṇi* by Hemādri, Vols. I.; II. i.; II. ii.; III. i.; III. ii., Parts i.-iv. 1873. Others have appeared, but I have not seen them.

<sup>63</sup> Paṇḍit Madhusūdana Smṛitiratna, *The Maṇana Pārijāta, edited*. Parts i.-viii. Calcutta, 1887-1890.

<sup>64</sup> J. Jolly, *Beiträge zur indischen Rechtsgeschichte* 1. *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, XLIV. (1890) p. 339.

<sup>65</sup> J. Jolly, *ibid.* XLVI. (1892) p. 269.

<sup>66</sup> J. Jolly, *ibid.* p. 413.

<sup>67</sup> Pratāpa Chandra Rāy, *The Mahābhārata of Krishna-Dvaipāyana Vyāsa, translated into English prose. Published and distributed chiefly gratis*, Parts I.-LXXVIII. Calcutta, 1883-1892.

<sup>68</sup> The subscription for the *Mahābhārata*, Sanskrit text (complete), is eight rupees, not including postage; for the English translation it is £6, or in special cases £3-10s. including postage; from Pratāpa Chandra Rāy, 1, Raja Goroos Dass' Street, Calcutta (British India).

<sup>69</sup> *Le Muséon. Revue internationale*, Louvain, 1882, ff.

of the *Mahābhārata*.<sup>70</sup> They are judicious and shew attentive reading. But, as was to be expected, what is presented is only the general system of Hindu thought, and as the author enters into details and analyses large portions of the poem, it is hard to see where he means to stop. It would have been a more useful, if a much more delicate, task to look in the poem for traces of some doctrine, if not special to the work, at least more characteristic of it, by disregarding what is common to it and other works. Professor Holtzmann has again dealt with the views expressed before by him on the origin and varied history of the *Mahābhārata*, and has extended and defined them more exactly.<sup>71</sup> He has turned his essay into a volume, and his views have not gained in weight thereby. The book abounds in facts and observations which are sound and interesting, for the author has a wide acquaintance with literature and knows the *Mahābhārata* thoroughly. But his theory, which is in itself erroneous,<sup>72</sup> has become quite inadmissible in its new and more definite shape. It is well-known that in Prof. Holtzmann's eyes, the original poem was composed in the third century before our era at the court of Aśoka; that its spirit was warlike and chivalrous, and Buddhistic to boot; that its heroes were the chiefs of the conquered side, Karna, Duryodhana, and his brothers; that the Brahmans, when they took possession of it, turned it, without complete success, into a glorification of the victorious side, the Pāṇḍavas, and a condemnation of Buddhism, cunningly disguised by them in the garb of a religious belief which was closely related to Buddhism, and which was held in equal detestation by them, viz., Śaivism; that later on, in a series of fresh alterations, they tried to remove all traces of that hostility to Śaivism, with which in the meanwhile they had become reconciled; lastly that by successive additions, they had turned the poem into an encyclopedia of their eclectic doctrines. All of this theory is little in harmony with the ascertained features of the religious, literary and linguistic history of India. By trying to fix precisely the periods of these various remodellings which, according to him, did not reach completion till the thirteenth or fourteenth century, Prof. Holtzmann has ended by ruining his own theory. It has been pointed out, first by Prof. Jacobi<sup>73</sup> and then by Profs. Bühler and Kirste,<sup>74</sup> that at the middle of the fifth century the poem contained 100,000 verses; that even at this period and certainly in the seventh century, it was considered as a work of authoritative teaching, a *smṛiti*, and that it had the character and validity of a *dharmasūtra*, which, according to the theory of Prof. Holtzmann, it had acquired only from the tenth to the twelfth century onwards; that, starting from the seventh century, we have a whole series of evidence which does not allow us to assume the extensive alterations demanded by this theory; that, lastly, in the first half of the eleventh century Alberūni and Kshemendra knew the poem in nearly the form in which we have it. For the rest, there are in Prof. Holtzmann's book many observations on special points, which make the absence of an index a matter of regret. As to his theory of the formation of the *Mahābhārata*, it is overthrown utterly.

What Prof. Holtzmann has done for the *Mahābhārata*, Prof. Jacobi has done, but with a quite contrary aim, for the other great Indian epic, the *Rāmāyaṇa*; the former has tried to make out the *Mahābhārata* to be later than it really is, the latter has tried to shew that the *Rāmāyaṇa* is older than was supposed.<sup>75</sup> He rejects the first and last books, curtailments on

<sup>70</sup> *Les dieux de l'Inde brahmanique d'après l'Ādi-Purvaṇ. Études de religion hindoue. L'homme d'après l'Ādi-Purvaṇ*; from the *Muséon*, 1892.

<sup>71</sup> Adolf Holtzmann, *Zur Geschichte und Kritik des Mahābhārata*, Kiel, 1892.

<sup>72</sup> Cf. *Revue Critique*, January 1st, 1893.

<sup>73</sup> In the *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1st August 1892.

<sup>74</sup> George Bühler and J. Kirste, *Indian Studies* No. II. *Contributions to the History of the Mahābhārata*, in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Academy of Vienna, 1892. Compare further an article of M. Sylvain Lévi, in the *Revue Critique*, 10th April 1893. Prof. Bühler's essay forms, as it were, a second part of a previous work of the same scholar, in which he proves, by the testimony of the inscriptions, that the so-called classical poetry with all its refinements, is very much older in India than recent theories are inclined to admit, *Die indischen Inschriften und das Alter der indischen Kunstpoesie*, in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Academy of Vienna, 1890.

<sup>75</sup> Hermann Jacobi, *Das Rāmāyaṇa. Geschichte und Inhalt, nebst Concordanz der gedruckten Recensionen*. Bonn, 1893. Cf. an article by M. V. Henry in the *Revue Critique*, 1st May 1893.

which most critics have long been at one. In the body of the work he makes other excisions for which he gives his justifications, and in many cases with absolute conviction to the mind of the reader. By this means he obtains a poem of moderate dimensions, in which Rāma is not yet identified with the supreme being, in which neither Yavanas nor Śakas make their appearance, in which the Zodiac is not mentioned, where, on the contrary, everything squares<sup>76</sup> with what we can learn of pre-buddhistic India, and of the religious, political and social condition of the Gangetic peoples, the Kosalas and Videhas, of the fifth and seventh centuries before our era, the period at which the original poem must have been composed at the court of the descendants of Ikshvāku at Ayodhyā. The whole discussion is carried out, both in its main outlines and in its details, in an orderly manner, without confusion or undue haste, and in a clear, precise and well written style; the chief thesis is accompanied by a mass of subordinate investigations which are attractive and correct, and are never merely digressions. I should like to be able to reproduce all of these here.<sup>77</sup> But I am not convinced of the truth of his main position. In the previous *Report*,<sup>78</sup> I indicated briefly that I could not agree with the conclusions of Prof. Jacobi in the form in which they were first laid before us, for, like Prof. Holtzmann's book, this work is the expansion of an earlier essay. I must, therefore, state, so far as the space at my command will permit me, why I cannot accept them in their new form.

On p. 62 Prof. Jacobi asks who the "investigator" is who has suggested the unfortunate hypothesis that the Sanskrit epic might be a reproduction of a Prākṛit original, and calls on him to furnish the proof. I am afraid I am the guilty person.<sup>79</sup> As to "proof," strictly speaking I confess I have none, for I always try at least to be careful in the application of that expression. But there are some probabilities in its favour which seem to me to admit of discussion. I believe that the Hindu epic is ancient, as ancient in its origin as the earliest traditions of the nation; that for a long time it was national and popular in the real sense of the word; that to be so it must have been understood by the people and recited in their own language; that lastly it was put into Sanskrit only at the period where we see the traces of a secular Sanskrit literature make their appearance, about the beginning of our era, a hundred years one way or the other being of no importance. By going back seven centuries Prof. Jacobi escapes the objection that Sanskrit was not employed then, just as he escapes all the direct arguments which have destroyed Prof. Holtzmann's theory. But, after the poem was once composed, how are we to think it was handed about? Wandering singers, "rhapsodes" we may call them, the *kuśilavas*, must have carried it from tribe to tribe, from one small town to another, at assemblies of the people and festivities of the *rājās*. But to whom could they have recited a poem like this in Sanskrit, when for centuries Prākṛit only was spoken, when Prākṛit was the language of the courts and of government, when the inscriptions shew us the officials trying to imitate as well as they could the forms of the sacred language, which no doubt existed and was regarded with great veneration, but was confined in use to special purposes, and was likely cultivated only in the schools of the Brāhmins? Professor Jacobi himself admits that the poem was for a long while handed down orally, and would those who thus transmitted it, who added to it and altered it ceaselessly in order to keep it to a certain degree in touch with the ideas of the day, have neglected to follow the current of things in one point only and that the essential one of language, at the risk of failing to be understood? We do not see what could have led to this invasion of the profane literature by the Sanskrit. Reasons of a religious nature, perhaps, too, of a political nature, may have had their share in this. But the fact remains, though not proved in all details, yet to my mind exceedingly probable. The inscriptions on the monuments shew it to us in its gradual advance, as the investigations of M. Senart and Prof. Bühler have established so clearly; and the late M. Gustave Garrez

<sup>76</sup> Even the mention of two eclipses which Prof. Jacobi has calculated, but he does lay much stress on them.

<sup>77</sup> I shall mention only as a specimen of these, what he says on p. 60 on Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism, and the alterations with a sectarian tendency of which the Brahmins have been so often falsely accused, as well as his refutation, on p. 84, of the theory of a primitive Buddhistic *Rāmāyaṇa*.

<sup>78</sup> Tome XIX. p. 165.

<sup>79</sup> See *Revue Critique*, 5th April 1886.



proved long ago in the case of the lyric poetry. The literature of the fables and the Prākṛit of the dramas teach us the same lesson, that all the popular literature of India, with the exception of course of the sacred and scholastic literature of the Brāhmanas, began with the Prākṛit and ended with the Saṁskṛit. In the first centuries of our era, the Buddhists themselves had to follow the general current and use Saṁskṛit for everything, even for their canonical books. The epic poetry alone would, on this supposition, have continued in vogue without sharing in the movement. I cannot believe this, and the whole argumentation of Prof. Jacobi, however well connected and sound as it may be in many points, is not sufficient to convince me. I would, by no means, deny the antiquity of the original poem, nor the marks of archaism which it exhibits, and I accept with confidence the greater part of the interpolations which he proves to exist in it. What I cannot accept is the uninterrupted oral and popular transmission of the Saṁskṛit poem with its learned language and form from the seventh century before our era, when from the fourth century Saṁskṛit was as little spoken in the valley of the Ganges as it is now. I must add that this theory of the Saṁskṛit origin of the *Rāmāyaṇa* by no means takes up the whole of Prof. Jacobi's book. It contains further a careful comparison, I should rather say a statistical table, of the various recensions of the poem, and a very complete analysis of the contents. The whole is connected together by capital indexes, which render the book an indispensable help for investigation of the whole subject.

I shall close this review of the works which bear on the ancient Brahmanic system by mentioning a native publication intended to be a summary of the whole; the *Āryadharmaprakāśikā*, "the Explanation of Law," by Maṇḍikā Rāmasāstrin, Principal of the Royal College of Mysore.<sup>80</sup> The work keeps in view the needs of scholastic instruction in the territories of the Maharāja of Mysore, and is a kind of explanatory, historical, and in the main practical, Catechism of Brāhmanism. In 162 pages the author expounds in succession the four chief aims of life, the *dharma*, *artha*, *kāma* and *moksha*; the duties of active life, both those which are common and those which belong to the various classes, men, women, castes and stages of life; the retired and meditative life, which gives occasion to pass in review the different philosophical and religious systems, including those of the Buddhists and Jainas, according to the sub-divisions made by the Brahmanic school when these latter sects are dealt with; the theory of the creation and destruction of the universe; the rules of religious piety and the means by which men may attain to the *yoga*, or communion with God, according to the different schools of the *Vedānta*; and finally the doctrine of the final reward of works. All this is put before us mostly in the very terms of the most authoritative books, the *sūtras* of the *Vedānta* and the *Mīmāṃsā*, *Manu*, the *Ehagavatgīta*, the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa*, etc. The author does little else than arrange the quotations from these works in due order, and explain and connect them. The selection of course is his own, and in this it is curious to notice his carefulness. As much as possible he has taken pains to give only what is good in itself, and wherever he has been obliged, in order not to break with the orthodox tradition, to give admittance to statements which are hard to defend, he is skilled in excusing and softening them down. For example, when, in the course of his exposition, he has to face the question of the caste system, he accepts it without hesitation and quotes the prescriptions of *Manu*; but he is careful, in his commentary, to set it forth as an institution highly useful and salutary for the individual and the community, and champions it as no writer would have done from the orthodox standpoint in Saṁskṛit for the last fifty years. The book, which does honour to the directors of public instruction in Mysore, and whose author has probably no great command over English, since he corresponds in Saṁskṛit, is then, in its way, a sign of the times. It shews how deeply the ideas of humanity, of justice, of reason, of a high standard of morality, which, in spite of many fine maxims in the

<sup>80</sup> *Āryadharmaprakāśikā*, *āryamatataviparijñānjanāṇḍam upayogya śrīman-Mahāśāramahārāja-Kāmarājendrasastrya śrutiśāstrīyādhyarīhān saṁgrīhya Mahāśārapurāṣhīta-Sārādānilāsapāṭhaślokaśaheṇa Maṇḍikā-Rāma-*

native literature, are here the fruit of Western civilization, have made their way into the most orthodox circles. There is going on in India side by side with, and bearing on, this ancient Brahmanical tradition a two fold kind of activity. On the one hand criticism and archæology are ceaselessly and remorselessly exploring it; on the other hand more and more orthodox scholars are endeavouring to revive it, and this task is one of reform and purification. Amid the crowd of innovations which are invading India, many things which were believed to be dead for ever have been again called into life. The different branches of the Brâhmasamāj combine the old eclectic theology with Positivism or Anglican piety. Others, again, are striving to revive Buddhism and they will doubtless succeed to a certain extent. Theosophists, occultists, and spiritists abound, all appealing to ancient tradition and all with an eye on practical life. It would be strange if only the genuine inheritors of that tradition should remain inactive amidst all the clamour around them, and should not hope to re-vivify that tradition, too, in an effectual way, with due regard of course to the needs of the age. And indeed they do not. To the *samājas* of their neighbours they set up in opposition other *samājas* of their own. Like them they have their own means of spreading their beliefs. I have spoken before of the *Ushā* and its editor Satyavrata Sāmaśramin. The prevailing note of his articles is that of the preacher and spiritual guide. The worthy translator of the *Mahābhārata*, Pratāpa Chandra Rāy, is ambitious, not only to accomplish a literary task, but still more one of regeneration and social reform. In the past the defenders of orthodoxy fought by preference with the traditional weapons of Hindu polemics. They have had to exchange these for others which are more powerful. The *Calcutta Review*, the *Asiatic Quarterly* and other periodicals number more than one of these orthodox Hindus among their writers, and quite recently their doctrines have gained a new organ, the *Hindu Magazine*.<sup>51</sup> The sect, if we may give it this name, is by its descent an aristocracy, and has the distinguishing marks of one, reserve and dignity. We rarely meet in its publications with the truisms or empty pretence, which sometimes disfigure those of its rivals.

#### NARSINH MEHETANUN MAMERUN.

A POEM BY PREMANAND, TRANSLATED FROM THE GUJARATI WITH NOTES,

BY MRS. P. J. KABRAJI

(Née PUTLIBAI D. H. WADIA).

#### Introduction.

THE poem forming the subject of this paper was composed by the Gujarati poet Prēmānand in St. 1739. It is a beautiful descriptive poem and illustrates an incident in the life of Narsinh Mēhētā, also a celebrated poet, and likewise an exponent of the Vaishṇava theory. This incident was the occasion of the *śimant* (or celebration of the 7th month in pregnancy) of his daughter Kuṇvarbāī. The extravagance of high-caste Hindus on weddings and kindred occasions is proverbial, and it is generally known that if a girl's father is too poor to provide all the customary gifts he owes to his relatives and caste-people on such occasions, he either goes into debt or very nearly dies of mortification. Narsinh was called upon to provide all the usual gifts due from him to the parents of his daughter's husband and his sisters and brothers at the ceremony, and as he was only a poor ascetic and lived by begging, his enemies and opponents, as well as the prejudiced populace, were curious to see how he would face that demand. But it is related that, being a devoted servant of Vishṇu and under his special protection, Narsinh had no fears himself. He trusted to the god to provide all the necessary articles, as he had received a promise from him to help him in his emergency, and he enjoined his daughter to make a list of all the things, just as her parents-in-law might dictate. Now the elder relatives of bridegrooms are amongst these people held to be covetous and exacting, always ready to fleece the "poor luckless father

<sup>51</sup> Edited by Amrita Lal Roy, Calcutta. The first number appeared in September, 1891.

of daughters," and Kuṇṇarbhā's husband's grandmother, in order to bring ridicule on Narsinh and his order, made such an exorbitant demand on his resources that no man, however rich, could comply with it. But Narsinh called on Vishṇu to make good his promise and help him in this emergency, and it is said that Vishṇu promptly rushed to his assistance in the guise of a merchant with bundles of rich clothes and so on, and distributed them amongst all the relatives, domestic servants, etc., of Narsinh's daughter. This greatly surprised the Nāgars and other non-believers, and they were thenceforth convinced of the truth of Narsinh's teaching. Since then the *Māmēruṇ* of Narsinh *Mēhētā* has become a household word in Gujarāt, poor parents of daughters comforting themselves by recounting the trials and threatened humiliation of that famous devotee, and his subsequent success through the intercession of Vishṇu.

A short sketch of Narsinh's life will be useful. Narsinh was born of poor, but respectable, parents at Junāgaḍh in St. 1471. His father's name was Kṛishṇa Dāmōdar, and his grandfather was Vishṇudās. They were Nāgar Brāhmaṇs and worshipped Siva, while his mother had faith in Vishṇu, and Narsinh imbibed the first truths of that doctrine at her knee. There are two different classes of Brāhmaṇs, beggars and gentlemen, and Narsinh belonged to this latter class. There is no record of Gujarāt having produced any poet before Narsinh, nor was there any exponent there of the Vaishṇava theory preceding him.

Narsinh was sent to school when a mere lad, but he made a bad scholar, and idled away his time in the company of *sādhus* and *sannyāsīs* outside the gates of Gīrnār. He was left an orphan while yet a child, and was dependant on his paternal uncle, till he reached man's estate and was married. But even after marriage he did not exert himself to earn his living, and would go about "dancing and playing on musical instruments like a woman," as the Nāgars put it, and spend weeks together with the *sādhus* without thinking of returning home. At this his wife's parents became uneasy about the fate of their daughter, and complained so bitterly that his uncle thought fit to rebuke Narsinh one day for his desultory habits; and his "sister-in-law" (wife of his cousin), a somewhat sharp-tongued young woman, made some very cutting remarks on the subject, which touched Narsinh to the quick and drove him in distress to his *sādhu* friends, who persuaded him to renounce all home-ties and join their order. So Narsinh turned his back upon Junāgaḍh altogether and went and lived as a devotee at a temple on the seashore, and absorbed himself in the service of Siva. It is believed that gratified by his fasts and prayers, the god became visible to him and bore him with him to Vaikuṇṭh (Paradise), "where the god Kṛishṇa dances eternally with the *gōpīs*." Siva recommended Narsinh to the favour of Kṛishṇa, and Kṛishṇa bade him sing of his sportive circle and "made his language pure," and "increased his talent for devotional poetry infinitely."

Thenceforward Narsinh devoted himself to the service of Vishṇu, or Kṛishṇa, and composed a good many poetical works on the Vaishṇava cult. His poetry is full of love and romance; and Kṛishṇa's birth in this world, his residence with the *gōpikās* in Vundrāvaṇ, and his amorous sports with them provided an endless theme for the exercise of his talent. Narsinh made a *lālch* and a quarter of couplets, but some writers ascribe 25,000 of them to his son's widow, Sursēnā, a lady of talent and virtue.

All his life long Narsinh was subjected to ridicule and persecution by the Nāgar Brāhmaṇs, and once he was called upon to prove the truth of his doctrine by openly discussing it with the Nāgars. The poet did so, and was successful, and it is believed that, to accentuate his utterances, the god Vishṇu himself appeared amidst the assemblage and threw a garland round his neck, in acknowledgment of his services!

Narsinh died in St. 1537 in the sixty-sixth year of his life. His followers have raised an idol to his memory at Junāgaḍh, which is still worshipped by the Vaishṇavas. An idol has also been set up to the memory of his daughter Kuṇṇarbhā at Dwārka, and is worshipped to this day.

Narsinh has always been a most popular poet. His verses, which are compositions set to different tunes in music, are universally sung throughout Gujarât. In fact they are the love-songs of the people, men and women giving vent to their own emotions in the words of this poet. His style, it may be observed, is simple yet effective, with here and there good word-pictures but hardly any metaphor. He inculcates a sound morality and faith in the deity. But his chief charm lies in the simplicity of his composition. His name is a household word in Gujarât to this day, and the following poem of Prêmanand on the subject of his daughter's *mâmêrûn*, or maternity gifts, has never lost its interest for the people.

### Translation.

#### Canto I.

#### Prelude.

May I always invoke with ease the aid of 'S'rî Gurû Gaṇpatî<sup>1</sup> and Sârdâ,<sup>2</sup>  
For it is the desire of my heart to sing of the *mâmêrûn*<sup>3</sup> of Narsinh Mêhêtâ.

I hope to compose a poem on the maternity gifts provided by the Mêhêtâ.

Narsinh Mêhêtâ was a pious Brâhmana and lived in Junâgaḍh.<sup>4</sup>

5 His brother's wife spoke a (harsh) word to him which angered him.

(So) he renounced all home-ties and went to the woods to worship as an ascetic.

In that wilderness he saw a temple and the adorable symbol of Śiva.

Narsinh worshipped it with earnestness in his heart.

The Mêhêtâ made seven fasts and then Śrî Mahâdêva<sup>5</sup> was propitiated.

10 The symbol shone like Kamaḷâ<sup>6</sup> and instantly the god became visible,

With his wife Umiyâ, white as camphor, held on his left side,

Jânhvî<sup>7</sup> adorning his matted locks<sup>8</sup> and his brow glistening like the moon,

The necklace of heads<sup>9</sup> (thrown round his neck), serpents<sup>10</sup> adorning him and tiger skins<sup>11</sup>  
lending beauty (to the whole).

Amidst a peal of horns and conch-shells and *ḍâṅk*<sup>12</sup> and *ḍûmrâ*<sup>13</sup> (and such other musical instruments), the great god burst upon the sight of Narsinh Mêhêtâ.

15 Narsinh approached and fell at his feet ;

When placing his hand on his head, said the husband of Umiyâ :— " Ask, ask a boon. I am pleased with thee."

The Mêhêtâ said :—" But one prayer I ask of you, Mahâdêvjî,

" Now that I have cast my eyes on you, let me behold Vishṇu."

" Well done, well done, Sâdhu,"<sup>14</sup> said Śiva, " thy faith is sincere."

20 (So) he took him with him to the eternal Vraj,<sup>15</sup> where Hari<sup>16</sup> is engaged in his dance.

#### Refrain.

How will ye poets describe the beauty of the dancing circle ?

By the grace of 'S'rî Hari, Narsinh has gained the object of his life.

1 The God of Wisdom and remover of obstacles; hence he is invoked and propitiated at the commencement of every literary undertaking.

2 The Goddess of Knowledge, also called Sarasvatî.

3 The word *mâmêrûn*, or *mâsarûn*, implies all such gifts as come from the mother's side; hence all that a father gives to his daughter, or a brother to his sister, or a maternal grandfather to his grandchildren, is called *mâmêrûn*. The young wife, when about to become a mother, expects her parents to give gifts of money or clothes to all her husband's relatives, and throughout this poem the word *mâmêrûn* implies these gifts.

4 See the Introduction.

5 A name of Śiva.

6 The Goddess of Wealth — Lakshmi.

7 Another name for the river Gaṅgâ (Ganges).

8, 9, 10, 11 Śiva is represented wearing serpents round his head, and a necklace of skulls round his neck; his matted hair is gathered up into a coil over his head, on which is a symbol of the river Jânhvî, which he caught as it fell from heaven. His garment is the skin of a tiger, or deer, or elephant.

12, 13 Certain musical instruments carried by Śiva.

14 A pious man, a devotee.

15 The paradise of Vishṇu.

16 Another name for Vishṇu, signifying 'god.'

Text.

नरसींह मेहेतानुं मामेरुं.

कडवुं १ लुं.

राग आसावरी.<sup>17</sup>

श्री गुरु गणपती सारदा इं समरं सुखे सर्वदा;  
मनमुदा कइं मामेरुं मेहेता तणुं रे.

ढाळ.

मामेरुं मेहेता तणुं, परबंघ करवा आस.  
नरसींह मेहेतो भक्त ब्राह्मण जुनागढमां वास.  
5 तेनी भाभीए एक वचन कह्युं मेहेताने लागी दाहाज.  
परित्याग कीधो घरतणो मेहेतो वन गया तपकाज.  
ते वन बीरो एक वेहेडुं वीडुं अपृज्य सीवनुं लिंग.  
नरसींह तेनी पुजा करी अंतरमाही उमंग.

उपवास सात मेहेताए करीआ तव रीज्या श्रीमहादेव.  
10 कमळनी पेरे लींग प्रकाशुं प्रभु प्रकत थया ततखेव.  
करपुर गैर सरस सोभा धर्यो उमियां डाबे पास.  
बीराजे झटामां जान्हवी ने नीलवट चंद्र प्रकाश.  
छे रुढमाळा सर्पभुषण राजे वाघांबर चर्म.  
वाजे डांक डमरु शंख शिगी मेहेते वीठा परीब्रह्म.  
15 तव नरसइओ जइ पाये लाग्यो, तयारे मस्तक मुक्यो  
हाथ.  
मांग्य मांग्य इं कृपाळ लुं एम बोल्यां उमिया नाथ.  
मेहेतो कहे महादेवजी एक मांगुं छुं स्वामीन.  
तमतणुं द्रशन पामीयो हवे विष्णुनुं द्रशन.  
धन्य धन्य साधु सिव कहे तने भक्तिनी छे आस.  
20 अखंड ब्रजमां गया तेडी ज्यां हरी रमेछे रास.  
वलण.  
रास मंडळतणी रचना लीला शी बखाणो कवी.  
नरसइओ कृतार्थ थयो ने कृपा श्रीहरीनी हवी.

Canto II.

Prelude.

The dancing circle shines with marvellous beauty, to see which is to forget all earthly sorrows.

The *gôpîkâ*<sup>18</sup> sings, the musical instruments peal forth, 'Siva has poured the greatest blessing (on the Mēhêtâ).

25 The great king 'Siva-Mahârāj held the Mēhêtâ by the hand.

(And) seeing Sadâsiva (do this) the Lord of Vaikūṇṭh came forward.

Both the gods greeted each other in delight and the *gôpîs* placed their heads at 'Siva's feet (in adoration).

And Narsīṅh went forth and bowed his head before the Lord, when said the King of Vaikūṇṭh :—

“Tell us, Sadâsiva, who this is, to whom you show this place ?”

30 Mahâdêva replied :—He is your worshipper and his name is the Vipra<sup>19</sup> Narsīṅh.

Then placing his hand on his head, quoth Śrī Gôpâl<sup>20</sup> :—

“Think on me when in distress and I will hasten to thy aid.

Do thou worship me and sing my praises and thou wilt swim safely through the sea of life.

Do thou sing of this my sportive circle,<sup>21</sup> full of love, as thou hast seen it here.”

35 Then he showed him the dance of the sporting circle.

And spoke to Narsīṅh, spoke the Lord of the Triple City<sup>22</sup> :—

“Never fear the verdict of the populace in thy heart, but worship me at the risk of thy head.

<sup>17</sup> It may be noted throughout this composition that the first two lines of each Canto usually come as a prelude in a different metre from the body of the Canto, which is headed ढाळ *ḍhāl*. At the end there is a refrain in a different metre again, in which the sense of the last preceding lines of the ढाळ is repeated in nearly the same words. Similarly the succeeding Canto begins by repeating the last words of the refrain. To explain the composition, the first four lines are transliterated as follows, the Italics shewing the rhymes :—

Śrī Gurū Gaṇapati Śīradâ Huṁ samruṁ sukhê sarvadâ  
Manmudâ kahun māmêrūn Mēhêtâ taṇuṁ rê.

*ḍhāl*.

Māmêrūn Mēhêtâ taṇuṁ parabandha haravâ âsa.

Narsīṅha Mēhêtô bhakata Brâhmana Junâgaḍha mān vâsa.

<sup>18</sup> The milkmaids with whom Kṛishṇa used to sport in his youth.

<sup>19</sup> Brâhman

<sup>20</sup> An epithet of Kṛishṇa, meaning the Protector of Cows.

<sup>21</sup> The Bâs Maṇḍal, or sportive circle, was formed of 1,600 *gôpîkâs* (milkmaids), who danced round and round Kṛishṇa and his wife, Râdhâ, who were in the centre; hence dancing forms part of this god's worship.

<sup>22</sup> A fabulous aerial city said to have been burnt in a war amongst the gods.

Sing of the pleasures of Râdhâ-Kṛishṇa, as you have seen them here."

Saying this vanished the god Bhôlâ Shaṅkar,<sup>23</sup>

40 And in a moment Narsinh found himself in Junâgaḍh.

Thenceforward the speech of Narsinh became purer, and his talent for devotional poetry increased immeasurably.

He became absorbed in the praises of Râdhâ-Kṛishṇa and counted the world as but a straw.<sup>24</sup>

Then, with music playing and songs singing, he entered the city,

And went and fell at the feet of his brother's wife.

45 "You have been as a priestess to me, (for) you spoke to me a harsh word,  
And by your righteousness I met both the gods.

#### Refrain.

By your righteousness, mother mine, the great Śrī Parivrajh (Brahmâ) appeared to me."

(And now) the Mêhêtâ's wife being a pious woman, he resumed the estate of a man of the world.

कडवुं २ जुं.

राग धनाश्री.<sup>25</sup>

अवधुन लीलारस विराजेजी, हरशन कीधे भवहु ख भागेजी.  
गोपीका गाय वाजीव वाजेजी, महासुख दीधुं सीवना-  
हाराजजी.

ढाळ.

25 महाराज सिव महाराजजीए प्रहो मेहेतानो हाय.  
ते सदासिवने देखीने सामा आल्या वैकुंठनाथ.  
स्यां हरीहर हरखीने मळ्या नमी गोपी सिवने पाय.  
नरसइओ जइ नम्यो नाथने तव बोळ्या वैकुंठराय.  
कहो सदासिव आ कोण छे तने देखाड्यो आ ठाम.  
30 महादेव कहे ए भक्त तमारो विप्र नरसइओ नाम.  
त्यारे मस्तक उपर हाथ मुक्ती कहे श्री गोपाळ.  
दुःख वेळा मने संभारजे, इं धाई आवीश ततकाळ.  
करजे तुं कीर्तन भक्ति मारी तुं तरीश भवसंसार.

आ हीवी तेवी लीला गाजे केवळ रस सणगार.  
35 पछी रास मंडळ तणी रचना देखाडी तेणीवार.  
नरसइ मेहेतो प्रत्ये बोल्या स्वामी श्री वीपुरार.  
रखे लोक भय मनमांही आणतो मस्तक साटे भक्ति.  
राधा कृष्णनो वीहार गाजे जुए तेवी शुक्ति.  
अंतरध्यान थया एम कहीने भोळ्यांकर देव.  
40 पळ मावमां नरसइने मुक्क्यो जुनेगड तस्खेव.  
थइ नरसइआनी नीमळ वाणी कवि भक्ति शक्ति  
अपार.  
राधा कृष्णनो रंग लाग्यो. गणेणावत संसार.  
पछी ताल वातां गीत गातां पधार्या पुरमांथ.  
नरसइ मेहेतो जइने नम्या भाभी केडे पाय.  
45 तमने गोराणी में प्रमाणी. इने कहुं कठण वचन.  
हरीहर बने मुजने मळ्या भाभी तमारं पुन्य.

उठळो.

पुन्य तमारं मात मारी मने मळ्या श्री परिब्रह्म रे.  
छे साधवी स्त्री मेहेता तणी पछे मांड्यो गृहस्थाधर्मे.

#### Canto III.

The Mêhêtâ resumed the duties of a man of the world, with a chaste and noble wife,

50 And began to worship Dâmôdar,<sup>26</sup> with the *tilak*<sup>27</sup> on his brow and a string of beads and the symbol (of that god) in his hand :

With *sâdhâs* and *vairâgîs* he would play upon the conch-shell admirably.

His yard was (soon) overgrown with *tulasi*<sup>28</sup> plants and praises of Kṛishṇa were sung (in his house) day and night.

Neither the duties of the agriculturist, nor any other trade or profession had he. The Mêhêtâ was to all appearance a servant of Hari.

<sup>23</sup> Also an epithet of Kṛishṇa, meaning the Provider of All Good.

<sup>24</sup> This phrase is rather ambiguous in the text.

<sup>25</sup> The metre of this Canto differs from the above as it will appear from the following lines:—

#### Prelude.

Adabhuta lîlârasa virôjîti daraśana kîdhê bhava dukha bhôgîti.

Gôpikâ gâya vajînta vîjîti mahâsukha didhuṁ Sîyamâhârôjîti.

And thus the different Cantos are composed in different metres, according to the requirements of each *râg* (tune). Narsinh is known to have introduced many new *râgs* into the Râgvidya (music) of his country.

<sup>26</sup> Another name of Kṛishṇa, meaning "girdled."

<sup>27</sup> The symbol or sign painted on the brow of each follower of Kṛishṇa.

<sup>28</sup> A sweet basil plant, specially used in the rites of Kṛishṇa-worship.

The Vaiṣṇavas<sup>29</sup> would eat just what they were given (in alms), and pass their days in singing praises.

- 55 The Creator of the Universe supplied them with food, (for the rest) the Mēhētā had great faith in his heart.

Gōpāl gave him two children, one daughter and but one son.

He called the son Sāmalāś<sup>30</sup> and got him married into a great family.

The daughter's name was Kuṇvarbāī, whose wedding he celebrated in good style.

(One by one) both his wife and his son died, and the Mēhētā's household ties were broken.

- 60 The chaste Surāśnā,<sup>31</sup> his daughter-in-law, became a widow and led a solitary life.

The deaths of his wife and son moved even strangers to tears; but the Mēhētā felt not a tithe of sorrow.

"So much the better" (quoth he), "there is an end to all bother: we shall worship Śrī Gōpāl with all the more ease."

When Kuṇvarbāī came of age, she was duly summoned to the house of her parents-in-law.<sup>32</sup> Her husband's father was Śrīraṅg Mēhētā by name. They inherited a great name, and commanded much respect (in the community).

- 65 The family were full of pride and considered themselves great on account of their wealth.

The sisters-in-law would speak unkindly to Kuṇvarbāī, for they reckoned her poor.

They would say (ironically):—"You are welcome, daughter of the Vaiṣṇava.

You have hallowed our house by your presence (in it)."

The mother-in-law in her arrogance would ridicule (poor Kuṇvarbāī).

- 70 (But) Kuṇvarbāī would not utter a word in reply.

Her husband was a mere puny lad, and had no appreciation of good.

(Though) Kuṇvarbāī got into a state of pregnancy, he would not affectionately inquire (after her health).

(But) the increasing beauty of the daughter-in-law filled the minds of the household with love and delight.

They would say:—"The Mēhētā is but a servant of Hari and from such what prospect of obtaining maternity gifts?

- 75 The occasion<sup>33</sup> is passing away, so let us prepare some gifts for her ourselves.

The position of the pauper's daughter is pitiable, so let us put the bracelet<sup>34</sup> round her wrist with due ceremonies."

So they did not send word to her father (about her condition), nor spoke of it to any one, and the fifth month passed away in vain.

A few days were wanting to the seventh month, when Kuṇvarbāī began to be anxious: the poor young wife looked like one in debt; she went to her mother-in-law

And said, bowing low her head:—"Lady, pray, do not be angry with me, (if I ask you to) send our old priest Khôkhalô to Junâgaḍh,

- 80 With a letter of good tidings; " then said the mother-in-law in her pride:—

"Why, daughter-in-law, why art thou turned mad? Thy parental home is lost to thee since thy mother's death.

What should we expect from him who chants ditties with musical instruments in his hands?

Who earns his living by dancing and sporting, and in whose house poverty<sup>35</sup> walks to and fro?

<sup>29</sup> Meaning the Mēhētā and his followers. The word is always Vaiṣṇava in the text.

<sup>30</sup> I. e., "Servant of Sāmal," a name of Krishna.

<sup>31</sup> See the Introduction.

<sup>32</sup> The Hindu wife, though she marries in her infancy, lives under her parents' roof in her girlhood.

<sup>33</sup> It is considered unlucky to allow such an occasion to pass away without the due rites. The fifth and seventh month are periods at which a charmed thread is put round the woman's wrist, and presents of clothes and ornaments are made to her both by her own parents and her husband's.

<sup>34</sup> The bracelet is a thread prepared by the Brahmans with some rites, and is expected to ward off evil and ensure safe delivery.

<sup>35</sup> I. e., the spirit of poverty personified.

What is the good of inviting a relative, whose coming can serve no purpose?

35 The name of Hari is dear to the Mēhētā and all the town will assemble to see him.

Only because you love to meet the old man, we shall have to incur ridicule from the community.

Rather than that your father-in-law should be dishonoured, we shall do without the *vēvāḍī*'s<sup>36</sup> visit."

Kuṇvarbā's eyes were filled with tears at this and she said again to her mother-in-law :—

"Mistress, do not put me off by such words ; the poorest relative is a relative after all.

90 If he only comes here to go back (without bringing any gifts) I shall be glad of the opportunity of meeting my father."

These words moved the mother-in-law to pity and she went and spoke to her husband :—

"Her *śīmant*<sup>37</sup> is expected in a few days, and Kuṇvarbā is obstinate (about meeting her father).

So you had better write a letter of good tidings and let the father and daughter meet.<sup>38</sup>

Let us write a letter of good tidings to our *vēvāḍī* and say 'come here at any cost.'"

95 Śrīraṅ Mēhētā was supremely kind-hearted, and he forthwith wrote out a letter :—

"In the name of Svastī<sup>39</sup> to Śrī Junāgaḍh, which is the sanctuary of the Hari-Vaiṣṇavas,

Thou ornament of the Nāgar community, thou prince of Sādhus, high and generous,

Thou chief of worshippers, Master of the Vaiṣṇavas, may Kēsava<sup>40</sup> be ever gracious unto thee!

Deserving all epithets, abode of mercy, Mēhētā,<sup>41</sup> Śrīpāt<sup>42</sup> Narsahiṇ by name,

100 Here we all are in health and happiness. Pray be kind enough to write us a letter.

We have some good news to communicate (to you), fortune has favoured us beyond measure

Kuṇvar-vahu<sup>43</sup> has her *śīmant* near; such is the graciousness of Bhagavaṇt to us.

Sunday, the 7th *sudhī* Māgh, is the auspicious day we have chosen,

Pray, do not fail to come on that day, and bring your relatives and friends with you.

105 Have no fears in your heart. your visit will be worth millions to us.

When a loved relative comes to our door we should spend all the gold of Mount Mērū in his honour.<sup>44</sup>

We shall be sincerely grieved if you do not come, Mēhētājī."

This letter was given in the (Rishi) Ruṣī's hand and the priest Khôkhalô went forth.

(But) Kuṇvarbā called him (back), sate him in a secluded place and fell at his feet.

110 "Remain there as a guest for a couple of days and tell Mēhētājī," she said. "tell him in a convincing way to bring some good things for the occasion,

And to come here, only if he has the means (to pay all dues).

Tell him that if he does something to keep up our prestige, the reproach of my husband's relatives will be lifted from me.

But if this occasion is allowed to pass off quietly (without the necessary distribution of gifts) the reproach will stick to me all my life.

My husband's sister will fling words like arrows at me, and his brother will stand in the place of an enemy.

<sup>36</sup> The fathers of the bride and the bridegroom are known as each other's *vēvāḍī*, a relationship for which no term occurs in the English language.

<sup>37</sup> The seventh month in pregnancy.

<sup>38</sup> It is considered a religious duty to gratify the wishes of a pregnant woman.

<sup>39</sup> This is the formula with which all Gujarātī letters are commenced:—Sarasvatī, whose other name is Sārada is Goddess of Knowledge, is first invoked; then comes the name of the place from which the letter is written; then the name and epithets of the addressee; after that, the news that the addresser and his family are doing well, the wish that he should hear from the addressee; and lastly the purport of the letter. Letters bearing such "good tidings" as those in the text are sprinkled with कंक (kanku) and are called कंकतरी (kank'tari).

<sup>40</sup> An epithet of Kṛishṇa, meaning "of the hair," as he was born from a hair of Viṣṇu.

<sup>41</sup> A Brāhmaṇ is generally addressed by this title.

<sup>42</sup> Devoted worshipper; ascetic.

<sup>43</sup> The termination *vahu* to a woman's name signifies daughter-in-law. *Bīḍ* signifies daughter.

<sup>44</sup> Mount Mērū is usually fabled to be a mountain of gold.



115 Tell him that I hope he will not draw forth the ridicule of the Nāgar caste (since) the Lord of Vaikunṭh is our patron."

(So saying) she sent away the priest Khôkhalô, who duly reached Junâgadh.

*Refrain.*

When the Ruśī entered Junâgadh, the Mēhētā fell at his feet:

And after due praise and worship they came to the object of the visit.

कडवुं ३ जुं.

राग वेराडी.<sup>45</sup>

- मेहेते मांड्यो गृहस्थाधर्म पतिव्रता घेर नारी पर्म.  
50 रामोदरनी सेवा करे माळी तीलकने मुद्रा धरे.  
साधु वेरागी वैशणव जन संखताळ वाजे बड धन्य.  
चोकमाही तुलसीनां वन, अहरनीश थाय कीरतन.  
नहीं खेती उद्यम वेपार हरि भक्त मेहेतो तदाकार.  
जे आवे ते वैशणव जमे गुण गाडने व्हाडा निरगमे.  
55 वीरभर पुरुं पाडे अंन विश्वास घणो मेहेताने मन.  
बे संतान आप्पां गोपाळ एक पुत्रीने एकज बाळ.  
शामळराज कुंवरनुं नाम ते परणाव्यो मोटे ठाम.  
कुंवरबाइ नामे कीकरी परणाव्यां रुडों विवाह करी.  
पाम्या मरण पत्नीने पुत्र मेहेतानुं भाग्यं घरसुत्र  
60 पतिव्रता वड विधवा थड सुरसेना पळे एकळी रही.  
छी पुत्र मरते रोंया लोक मेहेताने तल माव न शोक.  
भलुं थयुं भागी जंजाल, सुखे भजीशुं श्रीगोपाळ.  
कुंवरबाइ पळे मोटी थड आपुं आव्युं ने सासरे गड  
ससरो श्रीरंग मेहेतो नाम मोटुं घर कहावे बड राम.  
65 छ सासरीभांने घणुं अभिमान धननुं ते अती करेरे  
गुमान.  
नणंद जेठाणी वांकुं भणे कुंवरबाइने दुबली गणे.  
केहेसे आवो वैशणवनी कीकरी सासरीभां सड पावन  
करी.  
चेस्टा करे सासु गर्वे भी कुंवरबाइ नव बोले फरी.  
छे लघु वेशे नावो भरधार ते नव प्रीछ विवेक विचार  
70 कुंवरबाइने आप्पुं शीमंत सादर वात न पुछे कंठ.  
रुप देखी अती वडवर तणुं मासरीभां मन हरखे घणुं  
कहे मेहेतो हरीनो छे दास मोसांकांनी शी करवी  
आस.  
बडनो आंरीओ विते खरो कांइक मोसाळुं घरथी करो  
दुबळनी कीकरी संकडी आचार करी बांधो राखडी.  
75 न कडाव्युं पीयर न कोणे कहुं पंचमाशीउं तो एळे  
गयुं,  
शीमंतना रक्षा थोडा रुन कुंवरबाइने थड चींता मन.  
ओशीआळी वीशे रामनी बडवर आवो सासु भणी.  
बोली अबला नामी सीश बाइजी रखे करतां मन रीश.  
आपणो गोर पंड्यो<sup>46</sup> खोखलो जुनागड सुधी मोकळो  
80 मोकळो लखावी कंकोतरी तव सासु बोली गर्वभरी.  
कां वडवर तने घेलुं लाग्युं मा मुइ त्यारे महीयर भाग्युं.  
साल वगाडी जे कीरतन करे नाची कुदीने उदर भरे.

- दरीद्र घरमां फेरा करे ते मोसाळुं कयांथी करे.  
जे सगाथी अर्थ नव सरे शुं थाय तेन नानवे.  
85 मेहेताने व्हालुं हरीनुं नाम जोवा मळेशे उना नाम.  
तमन डोसां<sup>47</sup> मळवानुं हेन अमो नानमां थड ए फज्जत.  
तमारा ससरो लाजे बाड वण आव सरने वेवाद.  
कुंवरबाइ तव आंछुं भरी सासुप्रत्ये बोल करी.  
बाइजी एम बोलतां शुं फगो दुबळ तांय पोतानो  
सगो.  
90 अहीं आवी पाछा जाशे फरी ए भीस मळीशुं  
बापरीकरी.  
सासुने मन करुना थड पोताना स्वामीने पुछुं जड.  
रक्षा शीमंतना थोडा व्हाडा कुंवरबाइ लेछे आडा.  
लखी मोकळो कंकोतरी मळया द्यांन बापरीकरी.  
वेवाइने लख्य एक पत्र जेम तम करतां आवजां भव.  
95 श्रीरंग मेहेतो, परमद्याल कागळ एक लख्यो तत्काळ.  
स्वस्ती श्री जुनागड गाम जे हरी वैशणवनां विश्राम.  
नागरी नात तणा सणमार साधु शीरोमण परम उदार.  
भक्त नायक वैशणवना धर्णी सदा कृपा होय केसव  
तणी  
सरवोपमा जोग करुणाधाम मेहेता श्रीपान नरसही  
नाम.  
100 अहीं सडने छे कुशळ खेम, लखजो पत्र तमो आणी  
प्रेम.  
एक वधामणी तणा समाचार अमारां भाग्यतणो नह  
पार  
कुंवरबाइने आप्पुं शीमंत अम उपर तूठा भगवंत.  
माघसुधी संतमी रवीवर महरत अमे लीयुं नीरधार.  
तमे ते वीने नीशचे आवजां सगां मित्र साथे लावजो.  
105 नव आणजो मनमां आशंक तम आव्ये पाम्या-  
लखटंक.  
उजलो सगो आवे बारणे सोनानो मेरु कीजे वारणे.<sup>48</sup>  
जा मेहेताजी नहीं आवो तम खरेखरा दुभइशुं अमे.  
आप्युं पत्र रुबीना करमांय, पंड्यां खांखलां कयो  
विदाय.  
कुंवरबाइ तेड्या रुषीराय ऐकांते बेसाडी लागी  
पाय.  
110 त्यां बे व्हाडा परुणा रेहेजो मेहेताजीने समजावी  
केहेजो.  
कांइ मोसाळुं सारं लावजो संपज होयतो इहां  
आवजो.  
कांइ नाम थाय जो पृथिव तले सासरीभांनुं मेणुं टळे.  
जो अवसर आ सुनो जशे, तो भवनुं मेणुं मुजने थशे.

<sup>45</sup> Again this is a different metre.

<sup>47</sup> Correctly it ought to be डोसाने for the verb मळवे is intransitive.

<sup>46</sup> "जेना" is understood after दरीद्र.

<sup>48</sup> These words are proverbial.

बोल बाण नणदी मारुओ, शत्रुनुं काम दीयर सारुओ.  
115 रखे नागरी नाख्ये कौटुक थाय, तमारे माथे छे  
वडकुंठराय.

पंड्यो खोखलो कीधो विहाय सह पोंत्यो जुनागढ मां'य.

(To be continued.)

वलण.

जुनागढनां रुषीजी आव्या मेहेतो लाग्या पायरे.

स्वसन स्तुती पुंजा करी पछे मांडी बात सुखसायरे.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

### THE SAONTAL MIGRATION.

IN my article under the above heading, at p. 295 of the *Indian Antiquary*, for 'Sāst Sīkar' read 'Sanet Sīkhar.'

I am glad to find that Mr. Grierson, in his note to that article, while expressing no disagreement on any essential point, has cleared up one or two doubtful points, and enables me to rectify another. Some ambiguity has arisen through the use of the terms 'North-' and 'South-' Bihār in different senses. I used these terms as equivalent to the Upper and Lower Sections of the Bihār Province, bordering respectively the 'Upper' Province of the North-West and the 'Lower' Province of Bengal; and not as corresponding to the divisions of Cis-Gangetic and Trans-Gangetic Bihār.

There are dozens of villages named 'Pipri' in the Section of Trans-Gangetic Bihār alluded to, as a reference even to the village *Postal Directories* will shew, but the semi-aboriginal Pipri-garh near Chunār figured by Mr. Nesfield (*loc. cit.*) is not impossibly the Pipri of the Saontal tradition; and the carrying of the Ahīr frontier upwards to the Gandak agrees all the better with a tribal progress from the North or North-East to account for the 'Turanian' element in their speech.

The location of Hardīgarh in Baliyā fits in admirably with the 'Hurredgarhi,' which intervened between Pipri and Chhāi.

As, however, the subject is so important ethnographically it is to be hoped that some persons now in the localities under reference may test this new view of the Saontāl migration; as, when I traversed most of the ground, this *locule* for the problem had not presented itself to me.

My identifications of Hardīgarh, Chhāi and Champā and Kārhiyā, are not, I believe, likely to be upset. In any case the general outline, which I have sketched, must, until disproved, stand as the most reasonable attempt yet made at recovering the geographical basis for the traditional migration of the Saontal tribe.

L. A. WADDELL.

### ON SOME SANSKRIT VERBS.

IN his very interesting paper, "The Roots of the Dhātupāṭha not found in Literature," Dr.

Bühler adduces the verbal themes *bruḍ* or *vruḍ*, used *majjanā*, and as their corresponding verb, (e. g.), in Marāṭhī, *buḍ* (*budānām*). Sanskrit *bhṛīḍ*, *buḷ* and *muṇḍ*, to sink, to dive, are corresponding verbal themes also.

In the so-called Dravidian languages the corresponding verbs are *bruṅgu*, *buṅgu* (Telugu), *murku*, *murgu* (Tulu), *muḷku*, *muḷuku*, *muḷuṅku*, *muḷugu*, *muḷuṅgu* (Kannāḍa), *muḷugu* (Tamiḷ), *mukku*, *muṅṅu* (Malayāḷa), *muṇugu* (Kannāḍa, Telugu), *munugu* (Telugu).

In these Dravidian words the syllables *ku*, *ṅku*, *gu*, *ṅgu*, and *ṅu* are formative additions, the root appearing as *muḷ*, *muḷu*, *mur*, *muṇ*, *mun*, *muḷ*, and *muk*. The original form of the root is *muḷ*. The letter *ḷ* in Dravidian is often changed into *r* and *l*, (*l*), and through *ḷ* into *ṇ* or *n*. In *mukku* and *muṅṅu* it has taken the shape of the formatives. In *bruṅgu* there is seen the peculiarity of Telugu of occasionally placing a following *r* under the consonant of the first syllable, as in its *braḍuku*, to live, which is the same as *baḍuku*, *baḷḍuku* in Kannāḍa. The root of *bruṅgu*, therefore, is *bur*, and finally *buḷ*. The form *buṅgu* has arisen from the omission of *r*, as, for instance, Telugu uses *baḍuku* (*batuku*) for its *braḍuku*, and Kannāḍa uses *baḍuku* for its *baḍuku*.

The almost general use of the initial letter *m* in Dravidian for the verbs under consideration affords no valid reason for doubting their close relation to those adduced from Sanskrit and Marāṭhī, as it is well known that *b*, *v*, *bh* and *m* are cognate letters in Sanskrit as well as in Dravidian. Sanskrit *muṇḍ* (the *n* of which is euphonic) and Telugu *bruṅgu* render this evident in the present case.

But how are the *r* in *bruḍ* and *vruḍ* and the *ṛ* in *bhṛīḍ* to be accounted for, if the final themes, as the writer believes and the Marāṭhī *buḍ* confirms, are *buḍ*, *vuḍ* and *bhuḍ*? It is not impossible that we have here a peculiarity similar to that of Telugu, according to which it has the liberty of adding *r* to the initial consonant in cases wherein the *r* can scarcely be explained. There is, however, another way of accounting for the *r* and *ṛ*, which will be shewn later on.

But first it is necessary to render clear that the final letter *ḍ* of the verbs can represent

Dravidian  $\lambda$ , to which the writer points: *e. g.*, the Telugu *pōgaḍu*, to praise, and *suḍi*, to wander about, in Kannaḍa are *pōgaḷ* and *suḷi*, and in Tamil *pugaḷ* and *cuḷi*, and the Kannaḍa *bisuḍu*, to fling away, appears also as *bisuḷ*. Further,  $\lambda$  takes the place of  $\lambda$  in Telugu *kali*, sour gruel, which is *kaḷi* in Kannaḍa: this may serve to explain the occurrence of  $\lambda$  in Sanskrit *bul*. (The  $\lambda$  in Marāṭhī *bōlaṇēm*, adduced by Dr. Bühler, is the  $\lambda$  which is often found instead of  $\lambda$  in Dravidian words.)

Having briefly shewn the intimate connection of the Sanskrit, Marāṭhī and Dravidian verbs, the writer adds that in his opinion the six verbs *bruḍ*, *vruḍ*, *bhriḍ*, *bul*, *buḍ* and *muḍ* have been borrowed from the true Dravidian root *mul*. Sanskrit and its Vernaculars, having no letter  $\lambda$ , represented it by  $\eta$  and  $\lambda$  ( $\eta$ ).

With regard to the introduction of *r* into *bruḍ* and *vruḍ* and *ri* into *bhriḍ*, it may now be stated that letter  $\eta$  is generally called *ṛaḷa* in Kannaḍa,

*i. e.*, the  $\lambda$  or  $\lambda$  connected with *ṛa* or *ṛ*. It is, therefore, not impossible that *r* and *ri* are somehow representatives of  $\eta$ .

There is another verbal theme with final  $\eta$  in Sanskrit that is used *magnē*, *viz.*, *huḍ*, to sink, to be submerged. This strongly reminds one of the true Dravidian *hul*, *pul*, (Telugu) *pāḍu*, to sink in or into.

Sanskrit themes *vruḍ* and *bhruḍ*, used *samurītau*, to cover up or over, strongly remind one of the true Dravidian *hul*, *pul*, *pāḍu*, to wrap up, to cover over, to bury; — and Sanskrit themes *vruḍ*, *bhruḍ*, *huḍ* and *huṇḍ*, used *samhatau*, *sanghātē*, *sangē* to heap, to accumulate, to join, of the true Dravidian *hūḍu*, *pāḍu*, to put together, to join.

The writer thinks that all these Sanskrit verbs are but modifications of the Dravidian ones.

F. KITTEL.

Tübingen, 12th December 1894.

### MISCELLANEA.

#### FOREIGN NUMERALS IN TRADERS' SLANG IN SOUTHERN INDIA.

PANDIT S. M. NATESA SASTRI in his interesting paper on 'Traders' Slang in Southern India' (*ante*, Vol. XXIII. pp. 49-52) is of opinion that his second group of numerals is a purely arbitrary one, with no meanings for most of the words employed. But any one acquainted with the languages of the Indian Archipelago will not fail to perceive that both the round figures and the symbols for fractions, which he gives, are almost wholly taken from some Indonesian idiom, say Batak, though they are certainly not from Malay or Achinese.

To prove the above assertion, it is only necessary to compare the Pandit's slang words with the numerals in Batak and Javanese:—

S. Indian Slang.	Batak.	Javanese.
1. sâ-	sa-	sa-
2. tô (dô)	dua	to (ḍo)
3. tiru	têlu	têlu
4. pāt	ēpat	pat ( <i>older</i> pāt)
7. picchuhu	pitu	pitu
8. vali	uvalu	volu ( <i>older</i> vvalu)
9. tāya	siya	sanga
10. puli	pulu	puluh

It would be difficult to decide whether the slang terms have been taken from some Batak dialect or from Javanese, were it not that the word *tāya* for 9 decidedly points to an origin in the former idiom, which has *siya*. Originally the Javanese form must have been *sia*, too, which by a pecu-

liar tendency of that language has become changed into *sanga*, but we have no right to derive *tāya* from such a prehistoric *sia*, because *sanga* is found in the Javanese of ten centuries ago, which is the oldest known.

As regards the fractions, it seems clear that *tangin* is the same word as the Batak *tēnguan* (in the Toba dialect pronounced *tongaan*), Javan. *tēngahan*, half.

*Sendalai* (=  $\frac{1}{8}$ ) is very interesting, because *dalai* is comparable with the Batak, Malay and Javan. *tali*, which is the term for half a *suku*. *Suku* means  $\frac{1}{4}$  (*e. g.*, of a Spanish dollar). It follows therefore that *sa-tali* is "one-eighth". In the S. Indian word *sen* appears to be synonymous with *sa*, and it may be noted that the Dairi dialect of Batak regularly uses *si* instead of *sa*.

The word for  $\frac{1}{16}$ , *sa-vīsam*, is a compound of Tamil *vīsam*, one-sixteenth, and Indonesian *sa*, one.

The terms for 5 and 6, *hulachchu* and *kirātī*, I am unable to trace back to their sources. They remind one of *culsey* (see Yule-Burnell. *Glossary*) and Arab. *ḳirrat*, carat, from *κεράτιον*, but these terms could hardly have had the value allotted to *hulachchu* and *kirātī* in the slang. At any rate, these two words are not taken from any Indonesian language.

H. KERN.

Leiden, 1st May 1894.

### IDENTIFICATION OF NAGAPURA IN THE KONKAN.

THE copper-plate grant of the Silāhāra king, Anantadeva, contains, among other names, those of the following sea ports in the Kōnkan:—Śrī Sthānaka, Nāgapura Surpāraka and Chemuli. In regard to the identification of Nāgapura the late Hon'ble K. T. Telang (*ante*, Vol. IX. page 44) remarks:—"About Nāgapur, I can only suggest it as probable, that it may be identical with a village near Alibāg — between Alibāg and Rēvadanḍā — named Nāgānv, which is substituted by syncope for Nāgagānv, or Nāgagrāma, the same as Nāgapur. Or, may not Nāgapur have something to do with Nāgothpēn? In any case the modern Nāgpur of the Bhōnslēs is not to be thought of. I have not found the Nāgapur of our plate referred to anywhere else."

That his conjecture regarding the identification of Nāgapur with the modern Nāgānv is the correct one, I think there can be no doubt. Amongst the *māhātmyas* of the *Sāhyādri Khandā*, of the *Skandapurāna*, there is one on Nāgapura,

called also Nāgapuri (see page 505, Bombay edition). That this Nāgapura is to be identified with the modern Nāgānv appears probable from the description given in the *Skandapurāna*. According to this account it is situated west of the *Sāhyādri* mountains, ver. 8; in the country called the *Kōnkan*, ver. 9; near the sea and the river *Aghāsi*, ver. 4. This description answers to the modern Nāgānv, situated south-east of Alibāg. in the Kōlābā District (see *Bombay Gazetteer* on Kolaba, page 351). It is between the sea and a creek, which I understand from local inquiry, is called among other names, Akśi, from a village of that name on its bank, between Nāgānv and Alibāg. It is probable that Akśi is but a corruption of Aghāsi. The ruins of temples, inscribed stones and in the neighbourhood point to the fact that, in ancient times, it must have been a port of some importance. The above considerations make it very probable that the Nāgapura of the copper-plate is the same as the Nāgapura of the *Skandapurāna* and the modern Nāgānv.

J. E. ABBOTT.

### NOTES AND QUERIES.

#### HINDU ASPECT OF PRAYER.

*Vēdas* and *Sūtras* declare that a Hindu should turn his face in the morning either towards East or North, when performing religious ceremonies, worship, or repeating prayers; and to the West in

the evening. To the South dwell the *prēts* (ghosts) and *rākshasas* (demons), therefore they do not look there, but face it while dining and offering cakes to the *manes* of the dead.

K. RAGHUNATHJI in *P. N. and Q.* 1883.

### BOOK-NOTICE.

A KANNADA-ENGLISH DICTIONARY, by the REV. F. KITTEL, B. G. E. M. Mangalore; the Basel Mission Book and Tract Depository; 1894. Large 8vo., pp. 1., 1752.

The Kanarese language, — the original true vernacular, and still mostly the actual vernacular, of the territory in which lie the districts of Belgaum, Bijāpur, and Dhārwar, and parts of Shōlāpur and North Kanara, of the Bombay Presidency, the Kōlāpur and other Native States of the so-called Southern Marāṭhā Country, the Bellary District of the Madras Presidency, Mysore, and the southern portions of the Nizām's dominions, -- has hardly received from European scholars the recognition and attention which it deserves. It is the most mellifluous of all the Indian vernaculars, and the richest in capability and force of expression. It probably surpasses all the others in bulk and value of original composition. And it has an antiquity to which, apparently, none of them can make any pretensions in forms approximating to those which they now have. Mr. Kittel, indeed,

whose work we are now noticing, would seemingly give it a literary history from only about A. D. 900; from which point of view he divides its life into three periods, — (a) the ancient or classical period, from, he says, at least the tenth to the middle of the thirteenth century A. D., when it was elaborated to a high degree of polish, refinement, and clearness of expression, by the Jains; (b) the mediæval period, onwards to about the end of the fifteenth century, when the use of it was continued, in a somewhat less precise and unambiguous manner, by the Lingāyat and other Śaiva writers; and (c) the modern period, from then to the present day, during which the vernacular dialect, as now written and spoken, has been developed, by discarding the more high-sounding antique terminations, and, especially in the conversational branch, by adopting freely from Saṁskṛit, Hindustānī, and Marāṭhī. And no doubt it is true that the literary life of the language did begin in earnest at about the point of time selected by Mr. Kittel; the high state of

cultivation to which the language then attained being due to the fact that the Jains of Southern India made it so largely the vehicle for their writings, and to the great encouragement that was given to the Jains by the powerful Râshtrakûta king Amôghavarsha I., who reigned from A. D. 814-15 to about 878. But epigraphic records give unquestionable and instructive samples of appreciably earlier date. The charter of Amôghavarsha's predecessor Gôvinda III. (*ante*, Vol. XI p. 125) is dated A. D. 804. The Âqlûr inscription of the time of the Western Chalukya king Kirtivarman II. (*ante*, Vol. XI p. 68, and see Vol. XX. p. 305, note 5) belongs to about A. D. 750. These two records, — with the Kôtûr inscription of a Chalukya prince called Parahita-râja (*ante*, Vol. XX p. 69), which may be placed between A. D. 750 and 814, quite as well as in a slightly later period, — presenting forms which, though more antique in some features, essentially differ little, if at all, from the forms of the ancient dialect as we know it from books, indicate considerable literary activity even at that early time. And the Bâdâmi inscription of the Western Chalukya king Maṅgalôsa (*ante*, Vol. X. p. 52) suffices, short as it is, to carry back the existence of the same dialect to the period A. D. 597-98 to 608.

Till recently, the only Kanarese-English Dictionary of any general practical use to European students has been the work which was originally compiled by the Revd. W. Reeve and was published in 1832, and which in 1858 was enlarged, and at the same time was reduced to a more portable and otherwise convenient size, by Mr. Daniel Sanderson, a Wesleyan Missionary. That book was itself a sufficiently valuable and monumental one; and there are some indications that it is not entirely superseded by even the present work. Certainly, there are at least many words of which the meanings are to be found more easily in it. But the preparation of Mr. Kittel's Dictionary has evidently been thoroughly in accordance with all the traditions of the important work which the Basel Mission has been doing during so many years in the Kanarese country; and the issue of it marks a still more noticeable epoch in the study of the language. Objection may, indeed, be taken to some of the details of Mr. Kittel's method. For instance, words which contain an *anusvâra* in the first syllable — (the *anusvâra* is used as being the more convenient and habitual method of denoting a nasal combined with a following consonant) — do not follow each other in the immediate sequence of the *anusvâra* combined with the consonant, as they do in Mr. Reeve's book, thus, in his book,

words beginning with *amich* stand immediately after the last word beginning with *amigh*, — just where, when the *anusvâra* is used, one expects to find them; whereas, in Mr. Kittel's book, they are separated by all the words beginning with *ach* and *aj*: but, though not practically so convenient, Mr. Kittel's method is, of course, critically the more correct, if we bear in mind that the *anusvâra* simply stands for, and is to be pronounced as, the nasal of the class to which the following consonant belongs. And in too many cases we have to hunt backwards and forwards for meanings which might apparently have been given at the very place where we should expect to find them: thus, for the meaning of *amigh* or *amighâ*, we are referred (page 20) to *am* (*am*), and we have to turn back to page 17 to find the simple words 'the sole of the foot,' and, for the meaning of *kumar* (page 187) in the sense of 'a prince,' we have first to look back to *kumara* on page 459, and even then, after guessing that we must take the small-type *kumara*, and not either of the two words of exactly the same appearance which are given in large type, we must further turn up *kumira* on page 443. Also, there are words in the more ancient published inscriptions which the book does not even include, — much less offer to explain. On the other hand, the book shews a great advance on any of its predecessors, in reproducing the ancient letters १ and ७, on the proper use of which, as distinguished from २, ८, and ८, broad differences in meaning so often depend. And every page of it, and of its preface, bears witness to the constant care, earnestness, and thoroughness with which Mr. Kittel devoted himself to the task that lay before him. It would have been difficult to find anyone more competent to undertake that task. He may be justly proud of the manner in which he has accomplished it. And, among the results, no small and unimportant feature is the fact that the book is to be purchased at so very reasonable a price that the possession of it is within the power of even students whose means are limited.

We now have available, for the study of Kanarese in its ancient and mediæval forms, a dictionary of the most exhaustive and useful kind. We still require a complete and critical grammar, in English, for the same periods, and dealing also with the exceptional forms which sometimes are met with in epigraphic records. It is to be hoped that Mr. Kittel may find himself able now to take such a grammar in hand, and supply the want that has so long been felt in this direction.

J. F. FLEET.

8th December 1894.

ON SOME RECENT ATTEMPTS TO DETERMINE THE ANTIQUITY OF VEDIC CIVILIZATION.<sup>1</sup>

BY G. THIBAUT.

THE aim of the book by Prof. Bāl Gangādhār Tilak and of the two papers by Prof. Jacobi, the titles of which are given in note 1, is essentially one and the same, *viz.*, to prove from astronomical data contained in the different Vēdas, Samhitās as well as Brāhmanas, that Vedic civilization reaches back to a time much more ancient than has hitherto been generally assumed. The two writers differ in so far as Prof. Jacobi, while maintaining that certain Vedic passages embody observations going back to remote antiquity, does not feel himself warranted in claiming that antiquity for the entire literary compositions in which those passages occur; while the latter view is advocated by Prof. Tilak. He, in fact, contends for the high antiquity of the Vēdas we possess; Prof. Jacobi rather for the high antiquity of Vedic civilization, reminiscences of whose earlier stage may be met with in books themselves belonging to a later period. This difference, however, will not occupy us here; the important point being to decide in either case whether the passages in question can be properly explained only on the hypothesis of their embodying observations made by the Vedic Aryans at the early period assumed by both writers alike. Both writers further agree to a considerable extent in the actual results arrived at, among which the most important is that some of the astronomical observations recorded in the Veda must have been made in the period from about 4500-2500 B. C. (Jacobi), or 4000-2500 B. C. (Tilak). And both base their conclusions, to a large extent, on the same Vedic passages, interpreted by them in the same, or a very similar, way: they agree, in fact, in method. Professor Tilak, indeed, goes considerably beyond Prof. Jacobi's conclusions, in maintaining that certain Vedic texts lead us back to even 6000 B. C. And otherwise the publications of the two writers are of an altogether different type, Prof. Jacobi's papers confining themselves to a concise statement of certain important conclusions to be drawn from a few Vedic passages, while Prof. Tilak ranges over the wide field of Vedic literature, undertakes to strengthen his conclusions by an abundant wealth of parallel and analogous instances, and largely indulges in mythological and etymological speculation.

In what follows it is not my intention to enter on a criticism of all the numerous issues raised by Prof. Tilak. It is only the validity of the more important conclusions, in which he and Prof. Jacobi agree, that I wish to subject to an examination.

I cannot undertake to follow, step by step, either Prof. Tilak's or Prof. Jacobi's argumentation, but shall select topics and passages handled by them in such an order as may appear most convenient. I thus begin with the discussion of those Vedic texts, which, according to both writers, can be properly understood only if interpreted as implying that, at the time when they were formulated, the winter solstice coincided with full moon in the asterism Phalgunī. The passages here to be considered first are one from the *Taittirīya Samhitā* and one from the *Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa*, both of which contain various statements as to the day on which the introductory ceremony of consecration (*dīkshā*) for the so-called *gavām-ayana* sacrifice is to begin. As these passages are important, and at the same time not very long, I give them translated in *extenso* :—

*Taitt. Samh.* VII. 4, 8. — “Those who wish to consecrate themselves for a year (*i. e.*, for the *gavām-ayana* which lasts a year) should consecrate themselves on the (day called) *ekāśhṭakā*. For the *ekāśhṭakā* is the wife of the year; in her he (*i. e.*, the year) dwells that night. Manifestly beginning the year they (thus) consecrate themselves. — With a view to the injured (part) of the year consecrate themselves those who consecrate themselves on the *ekāśhṭakā*; there are the two seasons whose name is ‘end.’ With a view to the reversed

<sup>1</sup> Bāl Gangādhār Tilak, *The Orion or Researches into the Antiquity of the Vēdas*, Bombay, 1893. H. Jacobi, *On the Date of the R̥g.-Veda* (ante, Vol. XXIII. p. 154 ff.) The same, *Beiträge Zur Kenntnis der vedischen Chronologie* (*Nachr. der K. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, 1894).

(*vyasta*) (part) of the year indeed consecrate themselves those who consecrate themselves on the *ekāśhṭakā*; there are the two seasons whose name is 'end.'

"They should consecrate themselves on the Phalgunī-fullmoon. The month of the year indeed is the Phalgunī-fullmoon; beginning the year from the month they consecrate themselves. In this there is one fault, *viz.*, that the *vishuvat*-day (the central day of the sacrifice) falls within the cloudy time. They should consecrate themselves on the Chitrā-fullmoon. The month indeed of the year is the Chitrā-fullmoon; beginning the year from the month they consecrate themselves. In this there is not any fault.

"Four days before the fullmoon they should consecrate themselves; for them the buying of the *soma* falls on the *ekāśhṭakā*; thereby they do not render the *ekāśhṭakā* void. For them the pressing of the *soma* falls in the former (bright) half of the month. Their months are accomplished with a view to the former half. They rise (from the finished sacrifice) in the former half; when they rise herbs and plants rise after them; after them rises the fair fame. 'These sacrificers have prospered'; after that all prosper."

*Tāndya Brāhmaṇa*, V. 9. — "They should consecrate themselves on the *ekāśhṭakā*. For the *ekāśhṭakā* is the wife of the year; in her he dwells that night. Manifestly beginning the year they consecrate themselves. In this there is that fault that non-rejoicing they step down into the water. With a view to the cleft (*vichchhinna*) (part) of the year they consecrate themselves who consecrate themselves on the *ekāśhṭakā*; there are the two seasons whose name is 'end.' With a view to the injured (part) of the year they consecrate themselves who consecrate themselves with a view to the seasons called 'end.' Therefore the consecration is not to be performed on the *ekāśhṭakā*.

"They should consecrate themselves in Phālguna. The month of the year indeed is the Phālgunī (fullmoon); beginning the year from the month they consecrate themselves. — In this there is the fault that the *vishuvat*-day falls within the cloudy time. They should consecrate themselves on the Chitrā-fullmoon. The eye indeed of the year is the Chitrā-fullmoon; on the side of the face is the eye; from the face (*i. e.*, beginning) commencing the year they consecrate themselves. In this there is no fault. — They should consecrate themselves four days before fullmoon. For them the buying of the *soma* falls on the *vishuvat*, etc., etc." (without any essential divergence from the concluding portion of the *Taittirīya* passage).

As the *gavām-ayana* is a festival celebration extending over a whole year, it is antecedently probable that it, or its introductory ceremony, should begin on some day which marked the beginning of the year, and that, therefore, the four different terms referred to in the passages above translated should represent either different beginnings of the year which were in use at one and the same time, or else, possibly, beginnings acknowledged at different periods. The latter view is the one adopted by Prof. Tilak and Prof. Jacobi. Professor Tilak assumes, with the *Mīmāṃsakas*, whose discussions he quotes, that the last term mentioned, *viz.*, 'four days before the full moon,' refers to the full moon of the month Māgha, and that the *Taitt. Samh.* and *Tū. Brā.* thus finally decide in favour of a beginning of the sacrificial year nearly coinciding with the civil beginning of the year. Now, it is probable, Prof. Tilak reasons, that the civil year began on the day of the winter solstice, and we therefore may conclude that the two Vedic books, which decide in favour of the *gavām-ayana* beginning on or about the fullmoon of Māgha, were composed in the period when the summer solstice was in the asterism Maghâs. This, he says, agrees with the position which the *Vêda* assigns to Kṛittikâs as the first of the Nakshatras; which position has always been explained as pointing back to the time when the vernal equinox was in Kṛittikâs. Now Kṛittikâs marked the vernal equinox, and Maghâs the summer solstice, at about 2350 B. C., and this, therefore, is the time at which we must suppose the *Taittirīya Samhitâ* and similar works to have been composed. If, then, we further find that the *Taittirīya Samhitâ* mentions two other terms for the beginning of the year-sacrifice, *viz.*, the full moon in Phalgunī and Chitrâ, we must conclude from analogy that those two terms also

once marked the winter solstice ; and the rules prescribing them thus lead us back to about 4000 and 6000 B. C. respectively. Those rules were remembered at the time when the *Taittirīya Sāṃhitā* was composed, but, as no longer agreeing with the actual state of things, were mentioned only to be set aside in favour of the rule then in accordance with reality, *viz.*, the one which makes the winter solstice coincide with full moon in Maghās.<sup>2</sup>

Professor Jacobi agrees with Prof. Tilak as to the significance of the rule which fixes the beginning of the year-sacrifice on the full moon in Phalgunī. That rule, he says, must have come down from the time when the winter solstice actually coincided with the full moon in Phalgunī, *i. e.*, about 4500 B. C., in agreement with other Vedic passages which make the summer solstice fall in Phalgunī.<sup>3</sup> He does not, like Prof. Tilak and the *Mīmāṃsākas*, refer the term last mentioned ('four days before full moon') to the full moon of Māgha, but takes it as a mere modification, of minor importance, of the third term mentioned, *i. e.*, the full moon of Chaitra. And this third term itself he refuses to trace back, with Tilak, to the period 6000 before Christ, but prefers to take the clause stating it as a later addition, made to the text of the *Brāhmaṇa* at the time when Chaitra had begun to be viewed as the first month of the year, on account of its occurring about the time of the vernal equinox, *i. e.*, during the centuries immediately preceding the Christian era.

We certainly have no right to declare the conclusions arrived at by Profs. Jacobi and Tilak alike to be altogether impossible. Vedic civilization and literature *may* be considerably older than has hitherto been supposed, and reminiscences of ancient observations *may* have been preserved in books themselves belonging to a much later period. At the same time, of course, we must, before accepting these conclusions, carefully enquire whether the passages, on which they are founded, really admit of the interpretations thus put on them, and of no others. It certainly is not antecedently probable that the *Brāhmaṇa* texts exhibited by us should, within their short compass, contain records of observations separated from each other by several thousands of years. Are we really obliged, we must ask ourselves, to ascend with Jacobi and Tilak to 4000 B. C., and to follow the latter scholar even into the dim distance of 6000 B. C., or else to precipitate ourselves, with Jacobi, in the opposite direction as far down as 200 B. C. ? Or is there, perhaps, after all, some means of reconciling the different statements as to the beginning of the *gavām-ayana* in such a way as to make them fit in with one and the same period, and that a period not too widely remote from the time to which works such as the *Taittirīya Sāṃhitā* and the *Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa* have hitherto been ascribed ? — I shall endeavour, in what follows, to shew that this can be accomplished, and that the conclusions arrived at by Profs. Jacobi and Tilak cannot be upheld.

It will be advisable to consider, first, a passage, not discussed by Tilak, from the *Kaushitaki Brāhmaṇa*, which also treats of the proper terms from the beginning of the *gavām-ayana*. That passage<sup>4</sup> occurs in the 19th book (2 ; 3) and translated runs as follows :

"They are to consecrate themselves one day before the new moon of Taisha, or of Māgha : thus they say. Both these (alternatives) are discussed ; that of Taisha, however, is more agreed to, as it were. They (thus) obtain the additional thirteenth month. So great indeed is the year as that thirteenth month ; then the whole year is obtained. He (the sun) indeed rests on the new moon day of Māgha, being about to turn towards the north. Thus they rest who are about to perform the rites of the *prāyagvīya atirātra* (the first day on which *soma* is pressed). Thus they reach him for the first time. They begin him, etc., etc. He goes for six months

<sup>2</sup> The first mentioned term, *viz.*, the *ekāśhtakā*, which furnishes no special date, need not for the moment be taken into account.

<sup>3</sup> These passages will be referred to further on.

<sup>4</sup> Attention was first directed to this passage by Prof. A. Weber in the second of his essays on the *Nakshatras* (pp. 314 ff). That these essays have since their appearance formed the basis of all further research in matters connected with the *Nakshatras*, is generally known ; considering the time when they were published, the fullness and accuracy of the quotations made in them from Vedic literature are truly admirable.



towards the north; they follow him with the ascending celebrations of six days each. He having gone six months towards the north stands still, being about to turn towards the south. Thus they stop, being about to perform the rites of the *vaishnavatya* day. Thus they reach him for the second time. He goes six months towards the south. They follow him with the returning celebrations of six days each. Having gone six months towards the south he stands still being about to turn towards the north. Thus they stop, being about to perform the rites of the *Māhāvratīya* day. Thus they reach him for the third time. Because they reach him three times, the year is arranged threefold; for obtaining the year (they do thus). About this there is sung a sacrificial stanza 'Arranging the days and nights like a wise spider, six months always towards the south and six towards the north wanders the sun.' For he goes six months towards the north, six towards the south.

"They are not to consecrate themselves at that time. The grass has not yet come out, the days are short; shivering they come out of the *avabṛitha*-bath. Therefore, they are not to consecrate themselves then. They are to consecrate themselves one day after the new moon of Chaitra. The corn has come out then; the days are long; without shivering they come out of the *avabṛitha*-bath. Therefore this is the established rule."

This passage, we see, mentions three different terms for the beginning of the *gavām-ayana*, viz., the day following the new moon of Taisha, the day following the new moon of Māgha; the day following the new moon of Chaitra. The two former terms are, however — as will appear later on — variations of one term only, and we therefore may confine ourselves to the consideration of that term which the *Brāhmaṇa* declares to be preferable, i. e., the beginning of the *dīkshā* on the day following on the newmoon of Taisha. We also, following the explanation given in Vinayaka's Commentary on the *Kaushītaki Brāhmaṇa*, understand by the new moons of Taisha, Māgha and Chaitra the new moons preceding the full moons in Tishya (= Pushya), Maghās and Chitrā. This does not even compel us to assume, with Vinayaka, that the *Brāhmaṇa* reckons its months from full moon to full moon, so that the months would begin with the dark half (although to this also there would be no particular objection). In the strict terminology of later times indeed the *amāvasyā* of Taisha could be the *amāvasyā* preceding the full moon in Tishya, only if the month Taisha were reckoned from full moon in Mṛigaśiras to full moon in Tishya; while if it were reckoned from new moon to new moon the *amāvasyā* of Taisha would mean the last *tithi* of the dark half following on full moon in Tishya and preceding full moon in Maghās. But there is no reason compelling us to assume such strictness of terminology for the time of the *Brāhmaṇa*, especially when we consider that new moon is, strictly speaking, not a lunar day, but only the moment when the dark half comes to an end and the light half begins; so that the beginning of the first day of the light half has as much right to be called '*amāvasyā*' as the end of the last day of the dark half. The text thus teaches that the *dīkshā* has to begin one day after the new moon which precedes full moon in Tishya; in consequence of which the *upavasatha* celebration, which immediately precedes the first day on which Soma is pressed, falls on the new month of Māgha (i. e., the new moon preceding full moon in Maghās). This is accurate; for from the day after the Taisha new moon up to the Māgha new moon there elapse twenty-nine days, seventeen of which are required for the *dīkshā* and twelve for the so-called *upasad*. The result of this arrangement is that the real celebration, as distinguished from all introductory ceremonies, begins together with the 'resting of the sun' before he starts on his progress towards the north. The text thus clearly indicates that what is to be aimed at is the coincidence of the beginning of the year-sacrifice with the winter solstice.

Equally clear is the motive which determined the second alternative allowed — or as it rather appears, preferred — by the *Brāhmaṇa*. The *gavām-ayana* is to begin one day after the new moon of Chaitra, i. e., three months later than on the first alternative, because then the season is more advanced and agreeable, the days are longer, and the water more pleasant to bathe in.

The impression which the coupling of the two alternative beginnings thus leaves on our mind is that the original intention and practice of the Kaushîtakins was to begin their year-sacrifice on the day of the winter solstice, thus following the sun in its upward course with the first six sacrificial months, and again in its downward course with the latter six months. But gradually the sacrifice, as it happens in such cases, became more and more formal; the old beginning was no longer insisted upon, and a new one, more convenient in several respects, was substituted. But there is nothing to indicate that the two beginnings allowed are connected with beginnings of the civil year recognised at different periods. Some sacrificers preferred the solstitial beginning, some the vernal one; that is all. It may be added (which point has likewise been referred to by Prof. Weber already) that the corresponding *Śrauta-Sûtra*, the one by Sâṅkhâyaṇa, mentions only the solstitial term which thus seems to have finally prevailed in the practice of the Kaushîtakins.

The passage quoted from the *Kaushîtaki-Brâhmana*, however, has a further importance, in so far as containing a definite statement concerning the relation of the lunar calendar of the time to the solar year. It says that the winter-solstice coincides with the new moon of Mâgha, i. e., as we have explained above, with the new moon preceding full moon in Mâgha. We here are on well-known ground; for that the winter-solstice takes place at the beginning of the white half of Mâgha (or the end of the *ânavasyû* of Pausha) is the well known doctrine, so often discussed, of the *Jyôtiṣha Vêdâṅga*.

From this there immediately follows that the winter-solstice itself is in Śravishṭhâs, etc., etc., in fact the whole system of the *Jyôtiṣha Vêdâṅga*. And we thus must finally conclude that the *Kaushîtaki-Brâhmana* itself — unless it be assumed to record observations made at an earlier time — belongs to the period when the winter-solstice was supposed to be in Śravishṭhâs.

Having thus seen that the data which the *Kaushîtaki-Brâhmana* supplies concerning the beginning of the *gavâm-ayana* do in no way lead us back into very ancient time, we now return to a consideration of the *Taittiriya* and *Tâṇḍya* texts. The question here naturally presents itself whether those texts cannot be interpreted in a somewhat analogous way, so as to enable us to connect them with one and the same period, not very distant from the period of the *Kaushîtaki-Brâhmana*. Cannot, we ask, the alternative dates given by the *Taittiriya* and *Tâṇḍya* be accounted for by the assumption that at one and the same time the *gavâm-ayana* was optionally begun at different periods of the year, for reasons sufficiently valid to explain such difference?

We here begin by enquiring what may be the meaning of the assertion that the full moon in Phalguni is the mouth, i. e., beginning of the year. This statement, or the closely related one that 'the (month) Phalguna is the mouth of the year' occurs in numerous other places of the *Brâhmanas*, also in the *Tâṇḍya Brâhmana*, and must therefore be held to represent an opinion generally prevailing in what we may call the *Brâhmana*-period. Where then has this beginning of the year to be placed? Either, we feel naturally inclined to reply, at one of the solstices or at one of the equinoxes. Now that the solstices were, in India, looked upon as marking the beginning of the year we know positively from the *Jyôtiṣha Vêdâṅga* and similar works (not to speak of the whole later literature), and also from the *Kaushîtaki* passage discussed above; for that the year-sacrifice is made to begin with the winter solstice implies the view that the winter solstice is viewed as the beginning of the natural or civil year. Moreover the *Vêdas* contain numerous references to the northern and southern progress of the sun, and it, therefore, is antecedently probable that the solstices should have formed starting points for the civil year. In so far Tilak's and Jacobi's view of the Phalguni-fullmoon once having marked for the Indians the winter solstice is not unlikely. On the other hand it is not antecedently probable that the passages about the *gavâm-ayana* in the two *Brâhmanas* should contain an agglomerate of rules that had originated at periods widely remote from each other, and we, moreover, have

the direct statement of the Kaushîtakins that the winter solstice happens on new moon preceding full moon in Maghâs; we, therefore, may at any rate, attempt to account on other grounds for the statement that Phalgunî-fullmoon is the beginning of the year. Now, it is, of course, at once clear that, in the *Brâhmana* period, full moon in Phalgunî could not have coincided with the vernal equinox. We, moreover, must, apart from this particular case, disabuse our minds of the notion of the equinoxes — vernal or autumnal — having been of any importance for the Hindus previous to the time when the influence of Greek astronomy began to make itself felt. It is, in the first place, a fact that the equinoxes naturally do not attract attention in the same way as the solstices do. At the equinoxes the motion of the sun — towards the north or the south — undergoes no noticeable change; the fact that the sun then rises true east is not easily remarked, nor the fact that day and night are of just the same length. The solstices on the other hand attract attention because they are the periods of greatest deviation from the normal state; the sun then stands highest or lowest; the days are longest or shortest; the shadows are shortest or longest; the sun turns towards the south or the north. I need not further dwell on these obvious distinctions; but I must refer to a further and more important point, *viz.*, that, in India, the vernal equinox at any rate does not in any way mark an important point in the revolution of the seasons (about which further on). It is in agreement with all this that the equinoxes or anything connected with them are nowhere in Vedic literature referred to, either directly or indirectly. What may be the meaning of the fact that the oldest list of the Nakshatras begin with Kṛittikâs we shall consider later on. If, therefore, some reference to the beginning of the year made in Vedic literature should not immediately and obviously connect itself with the solstices, we have no valid reason to think in the next place of the equinoxes, but must look out for some other likely point from which the year might have commenced.

Now, what here immediately offers itself to our attention is the old subdivision of the year into three seasons, which is in several places directly acknowledged, and moreover pre-supposed by the so-called *châturmâsya*-sacrifices. Professor Jacobi's second paper is specially devoted to a refutation of the view, admitted by him as not unlikely *à priori*, that the beginning of the oldest Indian years coincided with the beginnings of those four-monthly periods rather than with the equinoxes. I do not, however, agree with his conclusions on this point. He starts with the observation that when attempting to assign the beginnings of the four-months periods to the proper places in the solar year we must take for our point of departure the beginning of the rainy season, which alone is sharply marked, while it would be difficult to say exactly when either the cold or warm season begins. And as the rains commence about the summer solstice, the beginning of the cold season must be placed, he says, about a month after the autumnal equinox, and that of the warm season about two months after the winter solstice. — Now, these remarks are doubtless true in so far as they point to the rainy season as the best defined period in the Indian year. They, however, err, I am inclined to think, in the actual allotment of the months to the three seasons. A division which, on the basis of three different seasons,<sup>5</sup> distinguishes three four-monthly periods can never be quite accurate, because the rainy season occupies less than four months, strictly speaking not

<sup>5</sup> The Indian year broadly divides itself into three seasons, — the warm season, the rainy season and the cold season, — just as the European year naturally divides itself into summer and winter. And as the wish of making finer distinctions leads to the insertion into the European year of two transitional seasons — spring between winter and summer, and autumn between summer and winter —; thus in India two further seasons were in course of time added to the three primitive ones; spring between the cold season and the warm season, and autumn between the rainy season and the cold season. Between the warm season and the rains there is no transitional season, and hence the five-season system is, next to the three-season system, the only natural one. The system so extensively used, which distinguishes six seasons, is an artificial one, manifestly due to the wish of establishing a regular and easy correspondence between the seasons and the twelve months of the year; two months going to each season. The insertion of a 'cool season' (*śiśira*) between winter and spring is not based on conspicuous natural relations, and it moreover is an unjustified proceeding to allot to the rainy season less than three months. The consequence is that in whatever way we distribute the months among the different seasons, the distribution will always, at some point or other, be in conflict with the actual phenomena of the year.

much more than three months. If, therefore, the principle of four-monthly divisions is to be adhered to — as it actually was — a compromise has to be arrived at, in so far as either some weeks previous to the beginning of the rains, or some weeks after the cessation of the rains, have to be comprised within the rainy season. Now, nobody acquainted with the seasons of Northern India will in this case hesitate to make his choice. If four months must go to the rainy season they can only be June to September,<sup>6</sup> or, perhaps better, end of first week, or first third, of June to end of first week, or first third, of October; not July to October, nor even the period from summer-solstice to twentieth October. The reason of this is that with the beginning of October the rains are as a rule completely over; while on the other hand showers of rain, more or less heavy in different districts, often fall even in the earlier part of June — let us say from a fortnight before the summer solstice. The *four-monthly* rainy season therefore begins about the seventh or tenth of June and terminates about the seventh or tenth of October. The consequences to be drawn from this, with regard to the two other four-monthly periods, also agree perfectly well with the real state of things. In the earlier part of February the increase of warmth is already very perceptible; the true cold season is over. And early in October, when the rains have stopped and the atmosphere is no longer saturated with vapour, a refreshing coolness sets in, specially remarkable in the mornings and evenings, which quite justifies us in viewing that time as the beginning of the cool season.

What then, we have next to ask, have the *Brāhmaṇas* to say on that point? — Of the sacrifices called *chāturmāsya*, which mark the beginning of the seasons — they are called *ṛitu mukhāni* in the *Śatapatha* — the first one, called *vaiśvadeva*, has to be performed either on the Phālgunī Purnamāsī or on the Chaitrī; the second one, the so-called *varuṇapraghasās*, on the Āshādhī or on the Srāvaṇī; the third one, called *sākamēdhās*, on the Kārtikī or the Āgrahāyaṇī. The texts always mention the *vaiśvadeva* first, which means that in the *Brāhmaṇa* period the prevailing opinion was that the year begins with the warm season. Now, what the position of the Phālgunī-fullmoon in the solar year is, we learn from the *Kaushītaki-Brāhmaṇa*, which tells us that the winter solstice coincides with new moon preceding the Māghī full moon. Full moon in Phālgunī thus takes place one and a half month after the winter solstice, *i. e.*, about the end of the first week in February, and this, as we have seen, is a period which may not unsuitably be looked upon as the beginning of the warm season. We now fully understand why the Phālgunī-fullmoon is called the month of the year; it marks the beginning of that four-monthly division of the year, which is generally considered the first one. And we further observe the full agreement between the statements about the Phālgunī-fullmoon, and what the texts say in so many places about spring being the first season, the month of the seasons, *a. s. o.* For spring constitutes the former half of the four-monthly warm season. The beginning of the spring of the *Brāhmaṇas* is thus in no way connected with the vernal equinox, but rather takes place one and half month before it.<sup>7</sup>

If, with these conclusions in view, we now return to the rules given by the *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* and the *Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa* about the beginning of the *gavām-ayana*, we shall find

<sup>6</sup> In what follows I use the names of the months throughout as denoting subdivisions of the tropical year; June being the month at the end of whose second third the summer-solstice takes place, etc. The names therefore will apply, without change, to any period.

<sup>7</sup> Spring begins at the same point in the calendar established by Julius Cæsar; and also in the calendar of the Chinese. Cf. Ideler, *Chronologie*, II. p. 143 (*Veris initium* — 7. Februar); and Ideler, *Zeitrechnung der Chinesen*, pp. 15, 186 ff.

In the *Jyōtisha Vēdāṅga* (v. 6) the year is said to begin with the winter solstice, the month Māgha and '*tapas*' — which latter term, whether taken as denoting a season or a month, can only mean that the first season of the year is the 'cool,' season *Śiśira*; for *tapas* and *tapasya* are, in the old scheme of six two-monthly seasons, the names of the two *śiśira*-months. Spring then begins not about the 7th, but about the 21st of February. The *Jyōtisha Vēdāṅga* thus sets aside the old belief about the Phālgunī full moon marking the beginning of spring; being apparently guided by the desire of making the winter solstice — the beginning of the year and *yuga* — formally coincide with the beginning of a season. That in reality the winter solstice has no right to be viewed as the beginning of a season, and certainly not of one whose first month is called '*tapas*' will, of course, be evident to any one familiar with the seasonal changes of Northern India.

them perfectly perspicuous and coherent. I do not now discuss in detail the beginning on the *ekāśṣṭakā*, and remark only that, if the *ekāśṣṭakā* is — as the commentators say — the eighth day after full moon in Māgha, the beginning of the sacrifice on that day is rightly objected to as falling within the season which is the 'end' of the year; for it falls within the last month before Phalgunī-fullmoon, which marks the beginning of the new year. The *Tāṇḍya* further rightly objects to it that the water is then unpleasantly cold for bathing. That, as Prof. Jacobi remarks, this objection could not be raised by those who take the Phalgunī-fullmoon for their beginning, because within the 24 days between the *ekāśṣṭakā* and Phalgunī-fullmoon the water does not become sensibly warmer, I cannot admit. Just at that season the difference would be a very perceptible one; and the whole question loses in importance, owing to the fact that after all the Phalgunī-fullmoon is immediately afterwards itself rejected in favour of the Chaitrī-fullmoon. The texts next both mention the Phalgunī-fullmoon as the proper day for beginning the sacrifice, because it is the 'mouth' of the year. This is in order as we have explained above. Equally justified is the rejection of this alternative for the reason that it involves the falling of the *vishuvat*-day within the cloudy season. For from those who begin the *dīkṣā* on about the 7th of February, the *vishuvat* falls end of August, within the rainy season. Equally intelligible is then the third alternative, which decides for Chaitrī-fullmoon. For those who begin the *dīkṣā* on that term, celebrate the *vishuvat*-day at the end of September, when the rains are over. Nor is there any objection to the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* speaking of the Chaitrī-fullmoon as an alternative beginning of the year. For, as we have seen, the Phalgunī-fullmoon stands just on the confines of the cold season and spring, and it, therefore, is quite intelligible that some should prefer as the beginning of the year the first fullmoon which falls *within* spring, and cannot be claimed by the cold season also, *i. e.*, the Chaitrī-fullmoon. And again, we clearly see why the *Tāṇḍya*, in order to escape the somewhat awkward admission that two consecutive full moons are both called the *mouth* of the year, prefers to call the earlier full moon the *mouth*, and the later one the *eye* of the year. — To the fourth alternative, according to which the *dīkṣā* begins 'four days before full moon,' we shall return further on.

The same reasons, which induce the *Brāhmaṇas* to mention the Phalgunī and the Chaitrī as optional beginnings of the *gavām-ayana*, account for the differences in the terms assigned for the *chāturmāsya* sacrifices. The *Brāhmaṇas* and some *sūtras* prescribe the Phalgunī, Āśādhī and Kārtikī full moons, *i. e.*, they adhere to the strict beginnings of the three fundamental seasons; other *sūtras* admit as alternatives the Chaitrī, Śrāvaṇī and Āgrahāyaṇī full moons, *i. e.*, they allow the sacrifices to take place, not exactly at the beginning of each season, but in its earlier part when it has well established itself. And here we must not forget to take into account a further circumstance, which most likely has had its share in leading to the establishment of alternative beginnings. As the lunar months lag behind the seasons, the Phalgunī-fullmoon, which in one year may coincide with, let us say, the 7th of February, will fall in the next year about twelve days earlier, and again twelve days earlier in the third year; so that by that time it will be twenty-four days less remote from the winter solstice than at first. Any further displacement will, of course, be stopped by the insertion of an intercalary month at, let us say, with the *Jyōtiṣa Védāṅga*, the middle of the third year, which will restore the disturbed harmony between lunar and solar time. But it is clear that those who wished their *vaiśvadeva* sacrifice in the third year to coincide with the actual beginning of spring would give the preference to *chaitrī paurṇamāsī* over *phalgunī*; and that there was some excuse for doing so in the second year already, considering that even in the normal year the Phalgunī-fullmoon lay right on the confines of the cold season. Displacements of the kind described may also account for the fact that according to some authorities the *vaiśvadeva* sacrifice might be offered as late as Vaiśākhi-fullmoon.

In order to complete the discussion of the passages from the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* and the *Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa*, it remains to enquire into the meaning of the first and the last terms mentioned, *viz.*,

the *ekāshṭakā* and the 'fourth day before full moon.' The *ekāshṭakā* the commentators declare to be the eighth day of the dark half of Māgha, i. e., the eighth day after full moon in Māgha, the months being counted as beginning with the light half. Professor Jacobi thinks that this term was advocated by those who wished to perform all introductory rites before the Phālgunī-fullmoon day, so that the real sacrifice could begin on the latter, the true beginning of the new year. But, as he himself points out, the introductory rites require twenty-four days, while the time from the eighth of the dark half of Māgha up to Phālgunī-fullmoon comprises twenty-two days only. Moreover, the designation of the *ekāshṭakā* as the 'wife of the year' in different places and the fact of certain special rites being connected with it, seem to indicate that the *ekāshṭakā* had quite an independent importance of its own: was, in fact, specially connected with the beginning of the new, or end of the old, year. If the year is viewed as beginning with Phālgunī-fullmoon, the light half of Phālguna, although really preceding the new year, might yet be viewed to belong to the new year, just because it is the light waxing half of the month, and in that case the *ekāshṭakā*, as marking the last quarter of the last waning half of the old year might not inappropriately be viewed as representing the end of the old year. It might, in fact, be viewed so also, if the months are reckoned from full moon to full moon, in which case the whole of Phālguna, i. e., the month preceding Phālgunī-fullmoon, would belong to the old year. Another possibility may also be mentioned. If, as said just now, the months are counted from full moon to full moon, the dark half of Māgha is not that half which follows Māghī-fullmoon, but rather that which follows Pausṇī-fullmoon, and in that case the eighth day of the dark half of Māgha would precede the solstice coinciding — as in the *Kaushītaki Brāhmaṇa* and the *Jyotiṣa Vedāṅga* — with the new moon preceding Māghī-fullmoon. The *ekāshṭakā* would then be the last quarter preceding the winter solstice, and as such represent the end of that form of the year, which is reckoned from winter solstice to winter solstice. In that case the beginning of the *gavām-ayana* with the *ekāshṭakā*, according to the *Taittirīya Samhitā* and the *Tāṇḍya*, would be analogous to the beginning on the *amāvasyā* of Taiśha or Māgha, i. e., in both cases we should have to do with a beginning connected in some way with the winter solstice. — As to this latter explanation I, however, must remark that it is contradicted by those *Sūtra* texts, which define the *ekāshṭakā*, not merely as the eighth of the dark half of Māgha, but more definitely as the eighth day after Māghī-fullmoon.

Howsoever this may be, in either case the objections raised in the *Taitt. Samh.* and the *Tāṇḍya* against the *ekāshṭakā*-term are quite intelligible. The *ekāshṭakā* falls within the last season of the year, whether that last season be the one preceding the Phālgunī-fullmoon, or the one preceding the winter solstice; hence the '*antanāmānāv ṛitū*' of the texts. In each case we have to do with the cold season, which is *ártta*, distressed or injured. And if the rather indefinite terms '*vyasta*' and '*vichchhina*' should, as the commentators say, refer to the turn of the year connected with the winter solstice, this also would agree with the above explanations, because the *ekāshṭakā* falls within Māgha, which is the month of the winter solstice.

The last term mentioned in the *Taitt.* and *Tāṇḍya* has, as Prof. Tilak points out, become the subject of a *Mīmāṃsā* discussion, since the texts do not indicate directly which full moon is the one, four days before which the *dīkṣā* has to begin. The point is of no great importance for us here, as in the case of either possible decision the term does not greatly differ from one of the three others. If we, with the *Mīmāṃsakas*, decide for the Māghī-fullmoon, we have a beginning of the year in the same month as the *ekāshṭakā* (or at any rate separated from the latter by twelve days only); if, on the other hand, we decide for Chaitrī-fullmoon, the term nearly coincides with the third term. I, however, must say that the *Mīmāṃsā* view appears to me in this case quite untenable. For the soundness of *Mīmāṃsā* decisions in general I have the greatest respect, and it, moreover, is highly probable that in many cases the *Mīmāṃsā* verdict must not be judged on its own merits only, but also as representing an old tradition; the *Mīmāṃsaka* knew beforehand what the outcome of his argumentation was to be. But,

in the present case, the context of the two passages really admits of no other interpretation than that in favour of Chaitra-fullmoon. The text first states the *ekāśṭakā* and Phālgunī alternatives and rejects them both on account of certain shortcomings; then states the Chitrā-alternative and adds expressly 'in this there is no fault.' When, therefore, it after that goes on 'let them consecrate themselves four days before the fullmoon' that fullmoon can only be the Chaitrī-fullmoon just accepted, which term is now, for certain liturgical reasons, slightly modified. The *ekāśṭakā*, mentioned afterwards, is then not the *ekāśṭakā* of Māgha mentioned first, but one of the *ekāśṭakās* following on Chaitrī-fullmoon. None of the *Mīmāṃsā* reasons for the Māghī-alternative is more than ingenious. That the *Sūtra*-writer Laṅkāśhin (quoted by Prof. Tilak) accepts that alternative, only shows that, in making up his mind in this doubtful case, he was guided by considerations, similar to those which determined the decision of Jaimini. That, however, Jaimini's *Pūrvapakṣa* was actually the *siddhānta* of other authorities, appears from a passage in Āpastamba's *Śrauta Sūtra*, where the terms for the beginning of the *gavām-ayana* are discussed. We there read 'they are to consecrate themselves four days before full-moon; before the full moon of Māgha, so Āsamarthyā thinks; before the full moon of Chaitra, so Ālekhaṇa thinks.'

Having thus shewn that the Taittiriya and Tāndya passages about the beginning terms of the *gavām-ayana* can be explained quite satisfactorily and coherently, if viewed as referring to the time when the winter solstice had the position assigned to it in the Kaushitaki Brāhmaṇa and the Jyōtisha Vēdāṅga, we now turn to the other principal arguments by which Profs. Tilak and Jacobi undertake to support their views of a Vedic winter solstice coinciding with Phalgunī-fullmoon. We first consider the fact—referred to by Jacobi and discussed at length by Tilak—that the month commonly known as Mārgaśīrṣa, one of the autumn months, is also called Āgrahāyana, which word can only mean 'beginning the year.' Now this, it is argued, confirms the hypothesis of a Vedic summer solstice in Uttara Phalgunī; for when the solstice had that position, the vernal equinox was in Mṛgaśīras, and hence the moon was full in that *nakṣatra* at the time of the autumnal equinox, in the month Mārgaśīrṣa. Hence those, Prof. Jacobi says, who began their year with the autumnal equinox, could apply to Mārgaśīrṣa the term 'Āgrahāyana,' 'beginning the year.' Professor Tilak proceeds somewhat differently. He does not explain 'Āgrahāyana' as meaning the month beginning the year; but rather as the month in which the moon is full in the *nakṣatra* 'Āgrahāyana,' i. e., the *nakṣatra* Mṛgaśīras, which was called 'beginning the year,' at the time when it marked the vernal equinox. So far as Profs. Jacobi and Tilak differ in their explanations, I agree with the former. What—apart from the view I shall set forth immediately as to the true cause of the name Āgrahāyana being applied to Mārgaśīrṣa—is decisive in this case is, firstly that Mārgaśīrṣa is actually referred to as the first of the months; and secondly that Āgrahāyana is explained by all the Hindū authorities as meaning 'the first night of the year.' Against their authority Tilak's learned grammatical discussion is of no avail. Moreover, 'Āgrahāyana,' as a name of the *nakṣatra* Mṛgaśīras, is nowhere in Sanskrit literature actually met with. But that, in order to account for words, such as *āgrahayana* and *āgrahayana*, as denoting the Mārgaśīrṣa month and its full moon night we need not accept either Prof. Jacobi's or Tilak's explanation, can be easily seen. The beginning of the year with Mārgaśīrṣa belongs to those who, wishing to have a *śarad*-year—as Prof. Jacobi calls it, looked on Chaitrī-fullmoon as beginning the warm season; those in fact who celebrated their third *chaturmāsya* on Mārgaśīrṣa (see above). That a beginning of the year at the time when the rainy season is over was in certain circles a popular one, appears from the fact that a year commencing with Kārttika was generally used by astronomers in later times. This Kārttika year might possibly have originated in an early period already, marking the commencement of the *śarad*-year for those who began their warm season with Phālgunī; there, however, are, as far as known to me, no really old traces of it, and it, therefore, is more likely that it was introduced

when, with the general reform of astronomy, the equinoxes came to be taken into consideration, and Kārttika was found to coincide with the autumnal equinox. Professor Jacobi's remark, that there is no likelihood of the year ever having begun with the last season, is not, I think, of much force. The general later use of the Kārttika year shews that a beginning of the year with the time when the rains are over was popular within wide circles; and to those who divided their year into three four-monthly seasons only, and at the same time preferred Chaitrī as the commencement of the warm time, there was no choice but to begin their postpluvial season with Mārgaśīrsha. In general it may be said that the time after the rains, when the sky clears itself from clouds, the atmosphere from vapour, and an invigorating coolness begins to prevail, is a by no means inappropriate beginning for the Indian year. — Compare also what Prof. Weber says (p. 333) as to the Northern Buddhists generally beginning their year with the winter-season.

I next turn to the other arguments adduced by Prof. Jacobi to strengthen or introduce those conclusions of his which we have so far considered. His first paper begins with an attempt to shew that we meet in the *Vēda* with traces of Phalgunī once having been recognised as marking the summer solstice (with which would agree the conclusion discussed above of the winter solstice coinciding with Phalgunī-fullmoon). He at first adduces the passage *Rigvēda Samh.* VII. 103, 9, in order to prove in general that the *Samhitās* already mention a beginning of the year with the rainy season, the commencement of which coincides with the summer solstice. That the year — later, as Prof. Jacobi points out, called *varsha* or *abda* — should have sometimes been viewed as beginning with the rainy season is *à priori* by no means unlikely; there is, in fact, no reason why any of the three great seasons should not, from certain points of view, have been looked upon as the first, and the beginning of the rains is certainly the most striking of the seasonal phenomena of the Indian year. That the passage *Ri. Samh.* VII. 103, 9, however, cannot be used for proving that the twelfth month of the year occurs about the time of the beginning of the rains has been already remarked — and in my opinion with full justice — by Prof. A. Weber (*Vedische Beiträge*, 1894, page 38), and Prof. E. Windish (*Z. D. M. G.* Vol. 48, page 356); for '*dvādaśasya*' in that verse certainly means the year (*samvatsara*) — mentioned immediately afterwards — which consists of twelve months.

Professor Jacobi next explains the well known passage in the *Sūrya-sūktā* (*R. S. X.* 85, 13) as directly teaching that the summer solstice once took place in Phalgunī. Against this conclusion also Prof. A. Weber has already entered a protest (*Ved. Beit.* p. 33); not, however, on the grounds on which I disagree with Prof. Jacobi. I, for my part, have no doubt that '*aghāsu hanyante gāvo'rjunyoh pary uhyate*' means 'the cows are killed (when the moon is) in Māghā; the marriage procession goes round (when the moon is) in Phalgunī,' *i. e.*, the preparatory ceremonies take place in the last month of the old year, in Māgha, about the time of the winter solstice; the wedding itself takes place when the moon is full in Phalgunī, *i. e.*, at the beginning of the new year (the Phalgunī-fullmoon, as explained above, marking the beginning of spring).<sup>8</sup> Wherever, in the *Brāhmaṇas* and *Sūtras*, something is simply said to take place in a certain *nakshatra*, the time meant is when the moon is either full in, or else simply in conjunction with, that *nakshatra*.

Professor Jacobi next refers to the different dates given in the *Gṛihya-sūtras* for the beginning of the study of the *Vēda*. This is generally connected with the beginning of the rainy season. Now, one *Gṛihya-sūtra* specifies, as the appropriate date, the full-moon of Śrāvaṇa, and another — with which moreover a statement in the *Rāmāyaṇa* agrees — the full-moon of Bhādrapada. These two determinations Prof. Jacobi supposes to have been made at the times when the summer solstice, which marks the beginning of the rainy season, coincided with full moon in Śrāvaṇa and Bhādrapadā, respectively, *i. e.*, about 2,000 and 4,000 B. C. The latter determination would thus belong to the same period when the summer solstice was

<sup>8</sup> An interpretation virtually identical with the one given above has already been proposed by Prof. Max Muller, Preface to Vol. IV. of the *Rigvēda Samhitā*, p. lxvii.



observed to take place in Phalgunī. But these conclusions, if not supported by ample collateral evidence, are altogether precarious. With regard to the rule that study is to begin at Śrāvaṇa full moon, I remark that that full moon marks the beginning of the rainy season for those who reckoned their first four-monthly period from Chaitrī-fullmoon. And that the members of certain schools began their studies another month later, may have been due to local causes connected with the climate of the place, or other circumstances which we cannot now ascertain. I certainly can see no sufficient reason for seeing in this isolated rule of some *Gr̥hya-sūtras* a reminiscence of a period as remote as 4000 B. C., and would rather have recourse to any explanation than this.

When remarking, above, that in Vedic literature the equinoxes are never mentioned and that hence in our chronological speculations we are not warranted in referring to them as probable starting points of the Vedic year, I said that I should revert later on to the fact of Kṛittikās heading the oldest lists of the *nakṣatras*. This fact has, it is well known, been generally understood to imply a recognition of the vernal equinox once having lain in Kṛittikās. I, however, must state that for my part I have never been able to see anything like a valid reason for this conclusion. What has led to its universal adoption is, of course, the involuntary comparison of the older lists beginning with Kṛittikās with the later ones beginning with Āśvini. That Āśvini was made to head the series is doubtless due to the fact that, at the time when the system of Indian astronomy was cast into its modern shape, the beginning of Āśvini coincided with the vernal equinox. But the importance then attached to a beginning with the vernal equinox was entirely due to foreign, Greek, influence, and the inference that, because the new list takes its departure from the equinox, the old one did so likewise is, if in a certain sense natural, yet without any sound foundation. Longitudes — or what may be considered as the equivalent of longitudes — were, as far as our information goes, measured in the pre-Hellenic period of Indian astronomy from the points of the solstices only; whether from the winter solstice, as in the *Jyōtiṣha Vēddāṅga*, or from the summer-solstice, as in the *Sūrya-prajñapti* of the Jāinas. And further, we have seen above that, in the period of the *Brāhmaṇas* at any rate, the equinoxes appear not to have been considered at all in connection with the seasons; the spring of the *Brāhmaṇas* begins midway between the winter solstice and the vernal equinox.

Professor Tilak indeed, in his second chapter, argues that there are distinct traces of the oldest Indian year having been one beginning with the vernal equinox. His first argument is that the term '*vishuvat*' means originally 'the day when night and day are equal'; that hence the central *vishuvat*-day of the year-sacrifices, such as the *gavām-ayana*, must have been one of the equinoxes, and hence the sacrifice must have begun at the other equinox: whence we may conclude that that equinox was viewed as the beginning of the year. But there is no authority for Tilak's interpretation of the word *vishuvat*, which rather seems to mean 'that which belongs to both sides equally,' 'that which occupies the middle;' so that the *vishuvat*-day is simply the central day of the sacrifice, wherever that day may fall. The *Brāhmaṇas* seem not to leave any doubt that this central day was originally meant to coincide with the summer solstice; while subsequently, when the beginning of the sacrifice had been moved forward to the beginning of spring, it, of course, coincided with — about — the beginning of October. Later on only, in the technical language of astronomy, the term came to denote the equinoctial day.

Nor can I follow Prof. Tilak in his attempt to establish for the terms '*ūtarāyana*' and '*dakṣiṇāyana*' new meanings, according to which they would denote, not the periods during which the sun moves towards the north and towards the south, i. e., the periods intervening between the solstices (in which sense the two terms have hitherto been understood exclusively), but the terms during which the sun 'is towards the north or south' respectively, i. e., the terms intervening between the equinoxes when the sun is either to the north or to the south of the equator. These latter meanings might perhaps be assigned to the two words on etymological grounds, but in the whole of existing Sanskrit literature, from the oldest books downwards,

*uttarāyana* and *dakṣiṇāyana* actually denote nothing but the periods during which the sun proceeds either northwards or southwards. The passages quoted by Prof. Tilak from the *Upanishads* couple the *uttarāyana* with the light half of the month, the *dakṣiṇāyana* with its dark half, for the obvious reason that, as in the light half the light of the moon increases until it reaches a maximum, and decreases in the dark half until a minimum is arrived at, so in the *uttarāyana* the sun daily rises higher, gains in heat and might, and finally attains his highest place and heat, while in the *dakṣiṇāyana* the opposite process is passed through. The identification of the *uttarāyana* and *dakṣiṇāyana* with the *devayāna* and *pitrīyāna* of the *Saṁhitās* has nothing to rest on. Nor can the passage of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, which allots to the gods the seasons Spring, Summer and Rains, and to the fathers the three remaining seasons, and after that says that the sun is among the gods when he turns to the north, and among the fathers when he turns to the south, be used to prove the identity of the *uttarāyana* with the period from vernal equinox to autumnal equinox; and of the *dakṣiṇāyana* with the remaining part of the year. For in the first place the spring of the *Brāhmaṇas* begins, as we have seen, not with the vernal equinox, but at the point lying midway between winter solstice and equinox. And in the second place an explanation, which might possibly be applied to the term *uttarāyana*, viz., that it denotes the time when the sun is moving in the northern region, not towards the north, really becomes altogether impossible when we have to do with expressions, like 'udag āvartate,' which clearly refer to the sun as 'turning' or 'returning' northwards. The sun 'turns' or 'returns' only at the solstice, not at the equinoxes. The two clauses of the *Śatapatha* passage do not fully agree, because they really refer to two different ways of subdividing the year. The *ayanas* are reckoned from the solstices; the seasons from the point lying midway between winter solstice and vernal equinox. If, therefore, the intention was to assign to the gods as well as to the fathers three entire seasons — without cutting up two seasons into halves — the allotment of a small part of the *dakṣiṇāyana* to the gods and a small part of the *uttarāyana* to the fathers could not be avoided.

As thus there is no trace of a year reckoned from the equinox in the *Brāhmaṇa* period, there hardly seems a good reason for connecting the position of Kṛittikā at the head of the old lists of the *nakṣatras* with the vernal equinox. According to the system of the *Brāhmaṇas* — which, as we have seen, is reflected in the *Jyotiṣha Vēdaṅga* — the vernal equinox falls at 10° of Bharanī, i. e., close to Kṛittikā, and the latter constellation might, therefore, even then have been viewed as roughly marking the equinox. But, as the latter point or day is manifestly of no importance in the order of the year recognised in the *Brāhmaṇas*, I, for my part, am unwilling to accept this interpretation of the position of Kṛittikā. It is, of course, not impossible that the old lists of the *nakṣatras* may really come down from the time when Kṛittikā marked the place of the vernal equinox, not only approximately, but accurately, i. e., about 2300 B. C. Only we must clearly realize that, in that case, astronomical views must be supposed to have prevailed at that time, which greatly differed from those of the *Brāhmaṇa*-period; i. e., that people then must have looked on the vernal equinox as really marking the beginning of the year. That this was so is not impossible; but it has to be kept in view that it is an hypothesis not directly countenanced by anything in Vedic literature. And, as may be repeated here, the fact, that the leading asterism of later times, viz., Āśvinī, owed its position to its connexion with the equinox, proves, in no way, that the ancient position of Kṛittikā was due to an analogous cause.

We thus arrive at the final conclusion that none of the astronomical data which so far have been traced in Vedic literature in any way compel, or even warrant us, to go back higher than the time when, as the *Jyotiṣha Vēdaṅga* explicitly states, the winter-solstice took place in Śravishṭhās. To the decision of the question at what exact period that coincidence occurred I have not for the present anything to add. The difficulties besetting this problem have, on different occasions, been fully and convincingly stated by the late Prof. Whitney, who arrived at the conclusion that, if all sources of possible error are taken into joint

consideration, 'a thousand years would not be too long a period to cover all the uncertainties involved.'<sup>9</sup> He, with full justice I think, lays special stress on the fact that there is absolutely no proof of the old boundary lines of the *nakshatras* having been the same as those acknowledged in later Hindu astronomy, and of the insignificant star,  $\zeta$  Piscium, having from the beginning marked the eastern limit of Revatī;<sup>10</sup> and that hence in all our backward calculations we have no reliable point to start from. Where on the ecliptic is the beginning of Śravishthās, in which, according to the *Vēdāṅga*, the sun is when turning towards the north? The constellation Śravishthās has a considerable northern latitude, and the sun, therefore, can never actually be in the constellation, nor can the heliacal rising of the constellation indicate the place of the sun in the ecliptic to those who do not possess a very advanced astronomical and mathematical knowledge. The *Jyotisha Vēdāṅga* (v. 6) says that the *yuga* begins when sun and moon ascend the sky together with Śravishthās; which certainly seems to mean that the sun at the beginning of the *yuga* rises together with the constellation Śravishthās: analogously Garga — as quoted by Somākara — teaches that the *uttarāyana* begins when sun and moon rise together with Śravishthās. At the same time those two authorities clearly mean to say that, at the beginning of the *yuga*, the sun is at the beginning of that subdivision of his path, which is called Śravishthās after the constellation. That when the sun is at the first point of that subdivision it does not rise together with the constellation — owing to the northern latitude of the latter — they are evidently quite unaware of. Where, under these circumstances, is the fixed point which we require to start from in our calculations? Professor B. G. Tilak (in his third chapter) contends that it is more natural to suppose that in the earliest days of civilization the motions of the sun and the moon were determined with reference to known fixed stars, rather than to artificial subdivisions of the zodiac. This is no doubt true; but in Indian literature there appears to be from the very beginning a most confusing mixing up of constellations and divisions of ecliptic. Artificial systems, like that represented by the *Jyotisha Vēdāṅga*, appear to have been established very early: I have no doubt that at the time, when the author of the 19th book of the *Kaushītaki Brāhmaṇa* could say that the sun always turns towards the north on the new moon of Māgha, there already existed a fully worked out calendaric scheme, most probably very similar to that of the *Vēdāṅga*. It appears probable that such a scheme was known at the time already when the months first received their names from the *nakshatras* in which the moon was full. We must here clearly distinguish between minuteness and accuracy of astronomical observation on the one hand, and of arithmetical calculation on the other hand. The former cannot be presupposed for an early period — they, in fact, never existed in India; but there stands nothing in the way of our admitting that the Hindus at a very early period already were capable of devising a, purely theoretical, subdivision of the sun's and moon's path into twenty-seven equal parts, and accurately calculating the places occupied in those parts by the two heavenly bodies in all seasons and months of the year. There is no valid reason, in fact, to deny that what is actually done in the *Jyotisha Vēdāṅga* and the *Sūrya Prajñapti* of the Jains could be done at a much earlier period already. Each artificial scheme of that type, of course, requires, at least, one observation which provides a starting point for all calculations; such as the place of the winter solstice in the *Vēdāṅga* and of the summer solstice in the *Sūrya Prajñapti*. But what that original observation really was in each case is a matter of doubt. The system of the *Jyotisha Vēdāṅga*, e. g., is probably based on some observation however imperfectly made, of the place of the winter solstice; but it is, at any rate, not impossible that something else was originally observed, e. g., the place of the summer solstice and that the corresponding winter solstice was thence calculated according to the general principles of the system.

<sup>9</sup> Whitney, the *Lunar Zodiac*, p. 384.

<sup>10</sup> Compare on this point the introduction to my and Pēt. Sudhākara Dvivedi's Edition of the *Pañchasiদ্ধāntikā*, p. lix.

I wish to add a few words regarding a question repeatedly touched upon in Prof. Tilak's book, and naturally presenting itself in the course of all enquiries into ancient Hindu astronomy and chronology, *viz.*, the question of what accuracy of observation the early Hindus may be supposed to have been capable. That observation was at no period a strong point of Hindu astronomers is at present disputed by nobody; we need only remember that even after the Hindus had reached a comparatively high stage of theoretical astronomical knowledge and probably cultivated systematic observation to some degree, they yet appreciated its importance so imperfectly as to leave no direct record of what they did: astronomers tacitly corrected the astronomical elements they had received from their predecessors, but did not state what the observations were that appeared to call for those corrections. And how imperfect the observations were by which they attempted to define the longitudes of the junction-stars of the *nakshatras*, clearly appears from the results, as stated in the *Siddhāntas*. As regards the older period, anterior to that of the *Siddhāntas*, it is very difficult to admit anything like even approximative correctness of observation. We may here limit our reflections to the only class of observation which, as far as we can judge, was then actually practised to some extent, *i. e.*, that of the places of the solstices. If we wish to ascertain the place in the ecliptic at which the sun is at the winter solstice, or, to put the problem in a less abstract way, the star or constellation in or near which the sun is at that time, we, of course, must first ascertain on what day the winter solstice takes place. Now, this may be done either by observing on what day the sun rises and sets furthest to the south; or else by observing on what day the shadow cast by some pole or gnomon at noon is longest. Both these observations, however, have their difficulties, and anything like an even approximately accurate result can be arrived at only by the observations being repeated for a number of years. This, of course, if done with method and perseverance, will gradually lead to an approximately correct evaluation of the length of the year: which in this way will be found to consist of about 365 days. Observations continued for a number of years — Biot considers that a period of twenty years would have amply sufficed for the purpose — will shew that 365 days are not sufficient to bring back the phenomena of the shortest shadow at noon and the greatest southern amplitude of the sun, and will teach that another quarter of a day has to be added to the length of the year.

What here immediately concerns us is the recognition of the fact that anything, like a fairly accurate fixation of the sun's place among the stars at the winter solstice, cannot be imagined to have been accomplished by people who had no approximately correct notion of the length of the year; the knowledge of the one cannot be separated from that of the other. Now, what length was attributed to the year in the Vedic period we do not directly know; for the ever-recurring statement as to the year having 360 days can hardly represent the entire knowledge of the Hindus of that time, and, moreover, there are positive indications of some system of intercalation (the 13th month, etc.), which no doubt improved matters to some extent. But in the next following period — represented by the *Jyotisha Vēddāṅga*, *Garga*, etc., — we have most definite and circumstantial information as to the recognition of a solar year of 366 days, *i. e.*, of a year three quarters of a day in fault. No clause, providing for a periodical correction of this fault, has been traced either in the *Jyotisha Vēddāṅga* or any cognate work; the need of such a correction was evidently not perceived, or certainly not regarded, for centuries. Now, it would hardly recommend itself to ascribe to the Hindus of the Vedic period a more accurate knowledge of the length of the year than to their successors, and we, therefore, must assume, however unwillingly, that they also, at the best, valued the solar year at 366 days. But with what accuracy, we must ask, can solstices be observed by men who were so egregiously mistaken about the length of the year? At the end of one *yuga* of five years already, an observer, following the principles of the *Vēddāṅga*, would have looked out for the sun's place at the winter-solstice about four days too late, and would consequently — if we suppose him to have been capable of determining the sun's place at any given time with full accuracy — have located the solstice about four degrees east of its real place. How any civilized nation, interested in the maintenance of an orderly calendar, could, for any length of time, put up with

the scheme based on the hypothesis of the quinquennial *yuga* is altogether incomprehensible. Probably there took place from time to time violent reforms of the calendar, imperiously necessitated by glaring discrepancies between the results of the received theory and the actual state of things. But that in the pre-Hellenic period there was anything like a methodical correction of received chronometrical and astronomical theories, such as results from continued methodical observation, we have no right to assume. When Varaha Mihira, in the sixth century of the Christian era, undertook to give a survey of the different Hindu systems of astronomy, he appears to have had before himself works of two different descriptions only — such as were manifestly based on Greek science, and such as were in all essential features not superior to the *Jyotiṣha Védāṅga*. And when we note that he manifestly was acquainted only with two positions of the summer solstice, — *viz.*, the one belonging to his own period and the old traditional one recorded in the *Védāṅga*, and that hence evidently there existed no record of an analogous observation from the whole period intervening between those two observations (a period of, let us say, 1700 years), we shall feel neither inclined to form a high opinion of the skill of the people who made the earlier observation, nor to believe that that observation was preceded by a series of older analogous observations, and that records of these are embodied in ancient Hindu literature.

#### Postscript.

This paper was nearly finished when I became acquainted with Prof. Bühler's 'Note on Prof. Jacobi's Age of the Veda and on Prof. Tilak's Orion,' published in the *Indian Antiquary*, September 1894, and, also, through Major R. C. Temple's courtesy, with the late Prof. Whitney's paper 'On Jacobi and Tilak on the age of the Veda,' printed in the *Proceedings of the American Oriental Society* for March 1894. The latter paper, with whose conclusions I agree, does not call for any remark on my part. To much of what Prof. Bühler remarks my own paper contains a reply. I do not in general wish to contest what Prof. Bühler says about the probability of Vedic culture and literature reaching back to a more remote past than has hitherto been generally assumed. But I must adhere to my contention that — with the possible exception of Kṛittikās heading the old list of the nakshatras — no astronomical datum has, so far, been pointed out in Vedic literature which leads back further than the period when the winter-solstice was in Śravishṭhās.

#### NARSINH MEHETANUN MAMERUN.

A POEM BY PREMANAND, TRANSLATED FROM THE GUJARATI WITH NOTES,

BY MRS. P. J. KABRAJI

(Née PUTLIBAI D. H. WADIA).

(Continued from p. 81.)

#### Canto IV.

THE priest Khókhaḷo placed the letter in Mēhētāji's hand,

120 Who, on reading the good tidings called upon the Lord of Vaikuṇṭh:—

"Maternity gifts are expected from me for my daughter and I have not so much as a false coin in my house.

<sup>49</sup>Trikaṃjī, may you remain in readiness, for much gold will be required (on this occasion)."

Feeding the priest and giving him alms, the Mēhētā fell at his feet,

And said:—"We shall come with the gifts," and dismissed him.

125 Then Narsinh Mēhētā sent for his Vērāgi<sup>50</sup> friends and relatives and (said to them):—

"We have to carry gifts (for her relatives), as Kuṇvarbāi expects her *śimant*."

(So they prepared) a broken carriage, with the yokes all bent and the spokes and tyres all broken.

The poles and spokes belonged to one person; of another they borrowed a pair of bullocks.

And so the Mēhētāji went forth, after invoking the aid of Jagdīśaji.<sup>51</sup>

<sup>49</sup> An epithet of Kṛishṇa.

<sup>50</sup> Ascetics.

<sup>51</sup> The Lord of the Universe, being a title of Kṛishṇa.

- 130 Three female friends were with them, and they made some ten or twenty Vêrâgîs in all. In a little closed box of copper they carried the image of Bâlmukandjî.<sup>52</sup> And each one wore the image of Dâmôdar, hanging from a string at his neck. A bag was slung at the back of the cart, in which they carried the musical instruments, And (also) a load of *gôpîchâinlan*,<sup>53</sup> and *tuḷasî*-leaves and sacred fuel.
- 135 *T'ḷuk* and *tuḷasî*-leaves and strings of beads comprised all they had in the shape of gifts. (But) Narsinh had little fear, (for) he knew that Gôpâlîjî<sup>54</sup> was responsible for the consequences !
- But how can such feeble bullocks pull (such a load) ?  
So the Vaiṣṇavas pushed with all their might over the steep roads, loudly crying "Jai, Jai,"<sup>55</sup>  
Lord of Vaikuṇṭh : "
- Till one of the bullocks sank down from exhaustion, while the other pulled with all his might :
- 140 At which the Vêrâgîs would wring the tail of the prostrate animal and do other such curious things.  
(Though) all the joints of the carriage were loose and crooked, and the carriage leaned to one side,  
And the poles and axles creaked sonorously,  
The Vaiṣṇavas would now jump down and now mount again with the name of Râm-Kṛishṇa<sup>56</sup> on their lips.  
Towards noon the Mêhêtâjî reached his destination, and all the town turned out to see (him).
- 145 What do the people of Vishyapûr know of the splendour of the Vaiṣṇavas ?  
(Some remarked) "Kuiṇvarvahu's wishes are fully gratified ; the gifts are in cash."<sup>57</sup>

*Refrain.*

The Mêhêtâjî has brought the gifts in cash. Look what the Vaiṣṇavas have with them. Let them distribute just one necklace of beads to each, and the whole community will be decorated !"

कडुं ४ शुं.

राग धनाश्री.<sup>58</sup>

- खोखले पंढ्ये पत्रज आप्युं मेहेताजीने हायजी.  
120 वधानगी कागळमां वांची समर्थो वडकुंठनाथजी.  
मामेरु पुत्रीनुं करवुं घरमां नथी खोदो दामजी.  
त्रीक्रमजी तेवढमां रेहेजो द्रव्य तणुं छे कामजी.  
भोजण करावी दक्षणा आपी मेहेतो लाग्या पायजी.  
मोसाळुं लइ अने आवशुं पंढ्यो कीधा विदायजी.  
125 नरसइ मेहेते घेर तेडाळ्या सगा वेरागी संतजी.  
मोसाळुं लइ आपणे जनुं छे कुंवरबाइने शिमंतजी.  
जुनी वेलने झुसरी वांकी सांगी सोटा भागीजी.  
कोना तणावाने कोणी पींजणीओ बळइ आण्या  
बे मांगीजी.  
मेहेताजी मामेरे चाल्या समर्थो श्री जगदीशजी.  
130 त्रण सखीओ संगाये चाली वेरागी दस वीसजी.  
संपुट जांबानी राबडीभी तिरा बाळसुकंदजी.

- कंठे हार करीने राख्या दामोदर नंदनंदजी.  
वेल्यनी पुंठे कोथळो बांध्यो, मांहीभर्या वाजींजजी.  
गांसडी एक गोपीचंदननी तुळशी काश्ठ पवित्रजी.  
135 मोसाळांनी सामगरीमां तीलकने तुलसी माळजी.  
नरसइआने नीरभय छे जे, भोगवशे गोपाळजी.  
बळहीणा बळवो शुं हींडे ठेले वइसनव साथजी.  
सोर पाडिने डाळ चढावे जे जे वइकुंठनाथजी.  
एक बळइ गळीओ थइ बेठो आखलो ताणी जायजी.  
140 पड्याने पुछ गरही उठाडे कडतक कोटी थायजी.  
साले साल जुंजवां दीसे रथ तणा बइ वक्रजी.  
सांगीनो शब्दज उठे चुचवेछे बइ चक्रजी.  
चडे बेसे ने वळी उतरे रामकृष्णनुं नामजी.  
मध्यांने मेहेताजी आख्या जोवा मळ्युं उना गामजी.  
145 शुं जाणे वइशणवनो महीमा विषयपुरना लोकजी.  
कोड पोत्या कुंवरवइना मामेरुं छे रोकजी.

वलण.

रोक मामेरुं मेहेता लाग्या जुओ वइसनवनी वसातजीरे.  
अकेकी माळा आपशे तो पेहरशे नागरी नातरे.

<sup>52</sup> The name by which Kṛishṇa was known as a child on earth.

<sup>53</sup> A kind of yellow clay for marking the forehead.

<sup>54</sup> Lit., victory.

<sup>55</sup> This was spoken in irony, as they did not see any signs of its being in kind.

<sup>56</sup> The same Râg as the second canto.

<sup>54</sup> See note 19.

<sup>56</sup> Râma was an incarnation of Kṛishṇa.

*Canto V.*

When Śrīraṅ Mēhêtâ heard (of the arrival) he came forth in haste: and both the *vêrâgîs* met with affection.

150 Also the son-in-law and his brother came out to meet him, and all the household came out to see him,

But they all laughed at the equipage of the Mēhêtâ and greeted him but coldly.

They gave him a house to put up in, where fleas and mosquitoes had made their dwelling.—  
A quaint old place with an uneven floor, the tiles of the roof being conspicuous by their absence,

The thatch all rotten, and the beams all broken, and the walls bent double.

155 Such a house the Mēhêtâ had to live in amongst numberless fleas and bugs.

After the *vêrâgî* had left his guest in this place and departed, the Nâgars laughed and said (ironically):—

“Here is Kuīvarvahu’s Vaiṣṇava father, let us look on his face and be purged of our sins.”  
And so (also) with laughter and merriment the fair ones from each house went forth to see the Mēhêtâ.

They would make a false show of respect towards the Mēhêtâ; they would bow their heads and say:— “It is well that you are come.”

160 And would then whisper amongst themselves:— “To have seen the Mēhêtâ is to have seen Harî himself.

Look what beautiful companions he has brought with him; surely the great god is gracious to him.”

“Kuīvarvahu’s days of grief are over now,” they would say, and turn their faces (in scorn).

“Look at the bullocks of the Mēhêtâjî, and what a noise the gnats make (about them)!”

Here is a bag hanging behind the cart and pairs of cymbals are slung together.

And here is a bundle of *tuḷasî* and some sacred fuel: what more is wanted?

165 He will place these in a basket and stand blowing into his conch-shell:

While the *Vêrâgîs* will chant the praises of Harî, which will finish the ceremonial.”

Thus the Nâgar women ridiculed the Mēhêtâ.

On Kuīvarbâi being informed that her father had arrived with the gifts,

She ran forward to meet him, when her sister-in-law laughed disparagingly and said:—

170 “Is this called a father’s love for his daughter? Why is he come to subject her to ridicule?  
He brings disgrace on the names of seven generations of (his) ancestors (by his conduct).

I wonder why he wants those *Vêrâgîs* in his train!

And are you (Kuīvarbâi) going by yourself to meet him? Better to be fatherless than have such a father!”

Hearing these harsh words Kuīvarbâi turned back and replied:—

“What an amount of arrogance is this, sister-in-law, to speak behind one’s back!

175 Of course, that daughter is very lucky who has a rich father:

But will another’s father be of use to me, even if he be a millionaire?

If my own poor father comes to greet me with one piece of cloth (only), it is worth all the gold of Mêrû to me.

You may speak whatever your heart desires, but I pray that this father may be spared to me.”

Saying these words of reproach to her sister-in-law, the daughter went to her father.

180 Seeing his daughter from a distance, the Mēhêtâ called upon Harî in his heart.

The eyes of both were filled with tears, as both met with due respect.

Then the father placed his hand on her head and bidding her sit by him asked her a question or two.

“Kuīvarbâi, tell me how you have been faring; do your (husband’s) relatives regard you with affection?

Now that the happy occasion is come, Śrī Harī will provide the gifts."

185 Kuñvarbāi said with emotion : — "You have not brought any gifts with you ?

How shall we keep up our prestige before the Nāgar community? Why have you come without any resources ?

The poor man is considered worthless in this world; those who have no money are regarded with contempt.

A poor man counts for nothing; people do not even let him stand at their doors.

Even the cleverness of the poor man is mistaken for eccentricity.

190 What is worse than to be called a pauper in this world ?

Neither do you work for your living, father, nor lay by anything from what you get (as alms). Think, father, how you will meet the demand that will be made on your resources on this occasion.

You have neither brought a pinch of *kuñku*<sup>59</sup> with you, nor a *māḍ*,<sup>60</sup> nor strings,<sup>61</sup>

Nor any earthen pots,<sup>62</sup> nor clothes.<sup>63</sup> How empty-handed you have come !

195 How shall my honour be preserved, father ? Why did I not die when my mother died ?

What is the world to the motherless ? What is life without a mother ?

The child who loses its mother also forfeits all claims of relationship on its father.

The father's love after the mother's death is as (cold and ineffectual as) the rays of the setting sun.

As the calf struggles for existence after the cow is dead, or as the fish gasps when out of water,

200 Or as the doe feels when separated from the herd, so feels the daughter when left alone without her mother.

As food is unpalatable without salt, or dinner is disagreeable to him who has no appetite,

Or as the eye is without the pupil, such is the father's heart (towards his child) in the absence of its mother.

Why did you come, if only to excite ridicule, with fifty Vêrāgis in your wake ?

Do conch-shells and strings of beads and bells form the maternity gifts ?

205 If you have nothing, father, better turn back," and so saying the daughter wept bitterly.

The Mēhētā placed his hand on her head and said : — "The Lord of Vaikuṇṭh will provide us with the maternity gifts.

Go and make a list of all the persons to whom these presents from us are due.

Write the names of all your husband's relatives, and do not forget a single article."

Hearing these words of the Mēhētājī, Kuñvarbāi went to her mother-in-law (and said) : —

210 "My father has sent me to you, to (ask you to) write on paper whatever is required."

But the mother-in-law turned her face in resentment and cried :— "Fruitless labour !<sup>64</sup> What is the good of writing ?

What more can he do than place the *tuḷasī*-leaf in a basket and stand blowing into his conch-shell ?"

#### Refrain.

He will (only) stand blowing his shell; (it is) useless expecting a *mōśālān* from Narsinh."

Hearing this discourse between mother and daughter-in-law, the grandmother-in-law<sup>65</sup> put in sneeringly :—

कडवुं ९ मुं.

राग आसावरी.<sup>66</sup>

सुणी श्रीरंग मेहेतो आख्या धाई भावे भेटया बे वेवाइ.

150 मद्यो जमाइ जमाइतो भ्रात मळयो सडकोना घरनो साथ.

कपटे भेटी पाछां खडो जोइ जोइ सामग्रीने हसे.

उतरवा घर आच्छुं एक झाझा चांचड मच्छर वसेक<sup>67</sup>

खाडा टेकरा वसमो ठाम उपर नळीआतुं नही नाम.

<sup>59</sup> This was spoken in irony, as they did not see any signs of its being in kind.

<sup>60</sup>, <sup>61</sup>, <sup>62</sup>, <sup>63</sup> Materials required at the ceremonial.

<sup>65</sup> The paternal grandmother of Kuñvarbāi's husband.

<sup>66</sup> The same Rāg as the first canto.

<sup>64</sup> The meaning of the text is not quite clear.

<sup>67</sup> वसेक is poetically used for वसे.



- कोहुं छाजने जुनी वळी भीत्या वरवींशे बेवड वळी.  
 155 झाझा मांकण झाझा जुआ त्यां मेहेताना उतारा हवा.  
 बेवाइ गया उतारो करी बोले हसणी नारथ नागरी.  
 कुंवरवडुनो वैशनव बाप दरसन करीने खोइए पाप.  
 मेहेताने जोवा हरखे भरी घेरघेरथी चाली सुंदरी.  
 मनविना मेहेताने नमे सारं थयुं के आव्या तमे.  
 160 मांहीमांहे कहे सुंदरी मेहेताने हींठे हींठा हरी.  
 जुओ साथ केवो फुटडो एने परमेश्वर तुटडो.  
 कुंवरवडुं भाग्यं दुख एम करीने मगडं सुख.  
 जुओ बळइ मेहेताजी तणा बगाइओ शब्द करछे घणा.  
 आ गांधडी वळगाडी लटकें तालना जोडा बांध्या पटेके.  
 तुळशी काष्ट तणो ए भारो हवे मभेरानो शो उधारो  
 165 छावमां तुळशी दळ मुकशे उभो रहीं शंख कुंकशे.  
 वेरागी हरीना गुण गांधे मडले मोसालुं फुलू थांगे.  
 एम नागरी कडतक करे डोळ करीने पाछी फेर.  
 कुंवरबाइए जाणी वात मोसालुं लइ आव्या तात.  
 उतावली मळवाने धसी बोली नणही ममै हसी.  
 170 आ हुं पीता पुत्रीने हेत शाने करवा आव्यो फजेंत.  
 लजायुं सात पेहेडीतुं नाम साथे वेरागीतुं शुं काम.  
 शुं मळवा चाल्यां एकलां बाप एथी नबापां मलां.  
 कडण बोल एवो सांभळी कुंवरबाइ बोली पाछी वळी  
 नणही शुं मस्तर भावडो पुंढलथी बाइ शुं बडबडो.  
 175 सुखी पीता हशे जे तणो ते पुत्रीने लाभज घणां.  
 कोनो पीता लखेसरी कहावे ते तो मारे से खप आवे.  
 रांक पीता आव्यो मुज घेर एक कापडुं सोनानां मर.  
 तमे मन माने ते कहो ए पीता मारे जीवतो रहो.  
 मर्म वचन नणहीने कही पछी पिता पासे पुत्री गई.  
 180 हुर थकी विंठी दिंकी मेहेताए समर्थी श्रीहरी.  
 अन्यो अन्य नयणां भरी भेटचां बेडम आदर करी.  
 मस्तक उपर मुकी हाथ, पासे बेसाडी पुछी वात.  
 कुंवरबाइ कही कुशळ खेम सासरीआं कांइ आणेछे  
 प्रेम.  
 हडो हीवस आव्यो हीकरी तो मोसालुं करशे हरी.  
 185 कुंवरबाइ बोली धीनंती मोसालुं कांइ लाव्या नथी.

नागरी नाथ्य रेंहेणे कम लाज विना द्रव्य आव्या से काज.

निर्माल्य निरधनता अवतार निरधननुं धाव्युं नाकन.  
 निरधनने कांड नव गणे नव राखे उभो अंगणे.  
 चतुष्पणुं निर्धननुं जेह घळा मांहे गणाय नेह.

- 190 लोक बोलावे कुंकळ करी एथी पीता कांड मांड नहं.  
 पीताजी कंड उधम न करां धनतां नव राखो संघरी.  
 आ अवसर सचवाशे कम. पिताजी नमे पिचारो एम.  
 नथी लाव्या कुंकरी पडो नथी लाव्या मोड नाउं लडी.  
 नथी माटली चालीने घाट एम शुं भाट्या वांगवाट.  
 195 कम करी लड्या रेंहेणे तान, हुं शे न मुह मरने मात.  
 माथ विना सुता संगार, माथ विना ते शा अवतार,  
 जे बाळकनी माता गड मरी बापनी मगाइ साथे उत्तरी,  
 जेउं आथमया रवीनुं तेज मा विना एउं बापने हेन.  
 सुखी मरतां जेवुं वड. बळावना जेवुं तळो मळ.  
 200 टोळा वडोड जेवो मृगली मा विना वीकरा एकल.  
 लक्षण विना जेवुं फीकू अन भाव विना जेवुं भोजण.  
 कीकी विना जेवुं लोचन मा विना एउं बापनुं मन.  
 बांद करवा आव्या उपहात साथे वेरागी पचास.  
 शंख ताळ ते माळा चंग ए ते मोसालुं कगवाना दंग.  
 205 न होथ तो पिता जाओ राछा करी एउं करीने मोड  
 हीकरा.  
 मेहेत मस्तक मुक्या हाथ, काशे मोशाळें वेकुंठनाथ.  
 पहगामणी करवीं होय जेटली आशामी लग्यो लावो  
 नेटली.  
 लखजा सासरीयां ममस्त वीसागशोना एके वस्त.  
 वचन मेरना जीना मुणी. कुंवरबाइ आव्यां सासुभणी.  
 210 मारे पिताम मांकली हय लखो कागळमां जाइए शुंय,  
 मुख मगडीने बोली सासु शो कागळ चीनगवो फांमु.  
 छावमां तुळसीदळ मुकशे उभो रहीं शंख कुंकशे.

बलण.

कुंकशे शंख उभो रहीं, नरसैयो मोसालुं शुं करे,  
 संवाद वडवरनो सांभळी, पछी वडसासु एम ओचरे.

### Canto VI.

- 215 The grandmother-in-law, being a great personage, uttered these weighty words:—  
 "My eldest daughter-in-law, you shew your ignorance, the Mchêta is a Vaisnava.  
 And what does he lack who has friendship with Sâma!†<sup>68</sup>  
 Ask for whatever presents you like, according to the customs of the Nâgurs."  
 And giving paper to Kuñvarvahu, she said: — "Put down, daughter, what I dictate.  
 220 Why should not our desires be indulged, even when the good *vêvâi* is at our door?  
 Write — 'five seers of *kuñleu*<sup>69</sup> will be required, and seven hundred cocoanuts:<sup>70</sup>  
 And twenty *man* of well-shaped betelnuts,<sup>71</sup> for there will be a large assemblage:  
 Twenty-five suits of clothes (for men), each suit consisting of five pieces, and eighty  
 webs of *tâs*,<sup>72</sup> daughter-in-law.

<sup>68</sup> See note 28.

<sup>69</sup> A red powder used for marking the forehead on auspicious occasions.

<sup>70</sup>, <sup>71</sup> Cocoanuts, betel-nuts, *pân*-leaves, etc., are distributed to the guests.

<sup>72</sup> A kind of cloth interwoven with silk and gold, or silver, threads,

Write, daughter, fifteen score of plaids, and fifty *paṭṭīs* :<sup>73</sup>

225 Some sixty silk-bordered cloths for men, and a hundred plain ones; and put down forty *chīrs*,<sup>74</sup> daughter.

And the Brāhman will want cotton *dhōṭīs*, so put their number at thirty score:

And write of gold embroidered silk *sāḍīs* twelve score, daughter.

Put down the number of plain *sāḍīs* at three hundred, and write of common printed *sāḍīs* four hundred, daughter.

Then put down the number of *sāḍīs* for home-wear at ten to twenty score: and write for sixteen score of *ghāṭīs*, daughter.<sup>75</sup>

230 Mention just a hundred pieces of printed cotton stuff, and nine score of *nāṭīs*,<sup>76</sup> daughter.

And write for some fifty webs of *masrū*<sup>77</sup> and *gajīān*<sup>78</sup> and *darīdī*.<sup>79</sup>

And mention a thousand or twelve hundred bodices: many people have expectations, daughter.

And say about sixteen hundred plaids, etc.; and as for the *pāṇ*-leaves and the oil required, why should we put their figure?<sup>80</sup>

I have made but a rough estimate, for I know your father to be poor, daughter-in-law.

235 He may adorn you with all the sixteen ornaments,<sup>81</sup> if he likes to gratify your wishes, daughter.

And the son-in-law has a right to golden anklets, which if you provide, you will not be doing *us* a favour, daughter.

(And he has also a right to) one thousand gold coins, which I hesitate to mention:

For I am but an old woman and simply do my duty in dictating this list: I am not avaricious, you know, daughter-in-law.

If you supplement this list further you are welcome to do so, for you will only add to the honour of *your* house, daughter."

240 At this the sister-in-law turned her face sneeringly and muttered:—"Our purpose is surely gained!

Why not write for a couple of large black stones? The Mēhētā will be better able to provide them!"

Says the old woman:—"Why do ye make such a noise? Surely, there is no harm in writing!"

*Refrain.*

"Why should we not write what we like?" says the hard-hearted grandmother-in-law.

But Kuṇvarbāī feels anxious and cries within herself:—"What shall we do, Gōpāl?"

(*To be continued.*)

कडवुं ६ हुं.

राग सामेरी.

215 वडसासु चणुं भारे माणस, बोल्यां परम वचन,  
वडीवडवर तने कंइनव जाणो. छे.महेतो वैशणव जण  
वडजी.<sup>82</sup>

जेने स्नेह सामळिया साथ, तेने शानी खोट वडजी,  
पेरामणी मनगमती मांगो करो नागरी गोठ वडजी.  
कुवरबाइने कागळ आप्यो लखो लखावुं जेम वडजी.  
220 रुडो वेवाइ ज्यारे भांगणे आवे तो कोड न पांचि केम  
वडजी.  
लखो पांचसेर तो कंकु जोइए श्रीफळ लखो सेसात  
वडजी.

<sup>73</sup> A kind of silk *sāḍī* (the *sāḍī* is a long strip of cloth arranged in graceful folds round their persons by Hindu women).

<sup>74</sup> Another kind of very valuable silk *sāḍī*.

<sup>75</sup> A kind of silk *sāḍī* much prized for its gloss and durability.

<sup>76</sup> Pieces of coarse cloth.

<sup>77</sup>, <sup>78</sup>, <sup>79</sup> Very superior kinds of silk, used for making bodices, caps, etc.

<sup>80</sup> Meaning that they should be provided in proportion.

<sup>81</sup> Sixteen different kinds of adornments go to complete a Hindu wife's toilette, such as *lunkun*, flowers, gold and silver ornaments for the nose, ears, hands and feet, etc., etc.

<sup>82</sup> The word वडजी daughter-in-law with the respectful ending जी occurs at the end of each line in this canto. The old woman uses it sneeringly towards the girl.

बांसमण बांकडीआ फोफळ मळशे मोटी नात वहुजी.  
 पांच वस्त्रना पचवीस वागा, चार चौकडी तास वहुजी,  
 लखो पछेडी पंढर कोडी पदोळी पचास वहुजी.  
 225 साठेक मुकतांने सायेक सणियां चीर लखो चालीस  
 वहुजी.  
 धोतीयां तो ब्राह्मणने जोहए ते लखो कोडी वीस वहुजी  
 जरकशीनी साडी रेसमी लखो कोडी बार वहुजी.  
 साडी साडीओ लखो चणसे छायल लखो सेचार.  
 वहुजी.  
 चरसाडी लखो दशविस कोडी सोळ कोडी लखो  
 घाट वहुजी.  
 230 छोट मोरवी दुकडी सोएक नव कोडी लखो नाट  
 वहुजी.  
 मसरु गजीआणी दरीआइ लखो थान पचास वहुजी.  
 हजार बारसो लखो कापडां लोक करे वहु आस  
 वहुजी.

सोळसे, लखो सेलां शीकु तेल पाणनो शो आंक वहुजी.  
 ए आसरा पडतुंमेलखाव्युं बाप तमारो रांक वहुजी.  
 235 तमने सोळ सणगार घडावे, बाप लडावे लाड वहुजी.  
 घटेजमाइने सोना सांकळां तेमां अमने शो पाड वहुजी.  
 सहस्र मोहोर सोनानी रोकडी केहेतां पामे धोम वहुजी.  
 घरडां अमे माटे धमै लखाव्युं न मळे झाझो लोभ वहुजी.  
 ए लख्याथी अदकुं करो तो तमारो घरनी लाज वहुजी.  
 240 तव मुख मुरडी नणरी बोली शिध थयां सर्वकाज वहुजी.  
 भारे मोटा वे पाहाण लखावे जे मेताथी अपाय वहुजी.  
 सी कहे शो शोर करोछो लखतां तारं शुं जाय  
 वहुजी.

वलण.

शुं जाय लखतां आपणुं वडसासु वीकराळरे.  
 कुंवरबाइ चिंतामां पडी शुं थारो गोपाळरे.

(To be continued.)

# DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF OBJECTS MADE AND USED BY THE NATIVES OF THE NICOBAR ISLANDS.

BY E. H. MAN, C.I.E.

(Continued from p. 49.)

## 9. Articles of Bamboo and Cane.

- 65 (m). **Kentöt** (*Car Nic. Hurat*). Bamboo fire-sticks, generally used at the Northern Islands. A small piece of bamboo is split in half longitudinally; one half is placed on the ground, convex-side uppermost, with some dry cocoanut-fibre in the hollow space beneath to serve as tinder; the other half is then applied edgewise and crosswise like a saw, but as rapidly as possible. In a short time the notch produced by the operation is so deep as to allow of the powdery ashes falling through on to the tinder below when, by instantly blowing on the latter for a few seconds, it gradually ignites. No practice or skill is needed to succeed at the first attempt with this implement.
- 66 (m). **Kenchwāñla**. Bamboo, or light wooden, stilts, used on the west coast of Camorta Island in crossing a muddy foreshore at low water.
- 67 (m). **Orāng**. Bamboo receptacle for holding tobacco or cigarettes. Used at Car Nicobar.
- 68 (m). **Kenlūnga-karau** or **Kenhōña-karau**. Bamboo receptacle for holding spare iron-barbed-prongs to replace those in their *miāñ* spears (*vide* Nos. 17 to 21), which they may happen to break.
- 69 (m). **Nōang-shun** (*C. N. Chuk-nāma*). Bamboo receptacle, containing shell-lime for the use of betel-chewers. These articles are usually sold in pairs (**tāk-shun**), or in sets of four (**amok-shun**). Shell-lime is made at Car Nicobar, Katchal, and portions of Camorta, Nancowry, and Southern Group. Its manufacture is tabued in the remaining localities.
- 70 (m & f). **Hannōa-heōe** or **Fannōa-heōe** (*C. N. Fana-kuata-mōiya*). Short bamboo blow-pipes to serve the purpose of bellows. The mouth is applied to the larger orifice, so that, by blowing into the tube, a strong current of air is produced through the small hole in the node at the other end.
- 71 (m). **Hendeñ**. Bamboo utensil, used in tapping *tārē* from the cocoanut *spadix*. Is usually employed in the Southern Group (*vide* No. 34).

- 72 (m). **Kenhòm.** Bamboo utensil, taken up the cocoanut-tree to receive the contents of the *hendeñ* (*vide* No. 71), or *henwain* (*vide* No. 34).
- 73 (m). **Shanòhha-toak.** Bamboo siphon and strainer. At the upper end of a single joint of bamboo a small vent-hole is made in the centre of the node, and the node at the other end is removed; the mouth thus formed being then covered with a small piece of cocoanut *ochrea* (*vide* Nos. 36, 37, 45 and 46). In filling a drinking-cup from a bowl of *tárí*, as drawn from the tree, this bamboo object is placed in the bowl and, after a few seconds, the thumb is pressed on the small vent-hole at the upper end: the bamboo thus loaded is transferred to the cup, where its contents, duly filtered, are discharged by removing the thumb from the vent-hole. Another method of filling this utensil, when the bowl is nearly empty, is to apply the mouth to the vent-hole and draw in the breath and, then, when filled as far as possible, the thumb is applied to the vent-hole, as above described. Sometimes the upper node is also removed, in which case the cup is filled by pouring unstrained *tárí* through the *shanòhha*.
- 74 (m). **Tanop-toak** (*C. N. Kiran-nga-hão*). Bamboo drinking-vessel provided with a tube for sucking *tárí*, in constant use among the middle-aged and old men of Chowra, Teressa, and Car Nicobar, especially of the first named. It is not used in the Central and Southern Groups, where *tárí* is drunk with the *enfa* (*vide* No. 38), or a glass, or by pouring direct from the *shanòhha* (*vide* No. 73) into the mouth through the small vent-hole in that utensil.
- 75 (m). **Lanòh-hiyä** (*C. N. Sàòng-sää*). Betel-nut crusher, the barrel of which is of bamboo; used by those who have few or no teeth. Similar objects, made of brass, are sometimes obtained from ship traders.
- 76 (m). **Henhel** (*C. N. Fa-nä*). Bamboo flageolet, similar to those in use among the Burmese, generally about 18 inches long. A flat circular piece of beeswax about the size of a four-anna piece, but thicker, is inserted in the tube, and is fixed in the middle of the oblong incision, marked A in the sketch, where it serves as the block of the instrument. Over the upper half of this incision a piece of leaf (generally of the *Anomum Fenzlii*), or paper, is loosely wrapped. These measures serve to regulate the tone of the instrument, which is provided with 7 finger holes and one thumb hole, the latter being on the reverse side, and at a level corresponding with the space between the top and second finger holes. The scale is arbitrary, and between the Burmese and the European. In construction it resembles the metal flue pipe of an organ. Some four or five tunes only are known, and these are borrowed from the Malays. The tone is liquid and clear. The *henhel* is not made at Car Nicobar, where only a few, obtained from Chowra, are owned by those who have learnt to play on it. In the long-established villages in the Central Group, where there are cemeteries, this instrument can be played only at the special feast known as *Et-kait-nī*, when it accompanies a *danang* (*vide* No. 77). It can be played at any time at any village where there is no cemetery, provided no mourners are present: at these villages only can it be played as an accompaniment to dancing and singing. A few persons are able to play this instrument through one or other of the nostrils and more especially is this done on the occasion of the *Et-kait-nī* festival, when the performer usually perches himself on one of the derricks, 20 to 40 feet high (styled *henkònsha*), which are constructed for the purpose of raising the lofty pole to a vertical position.



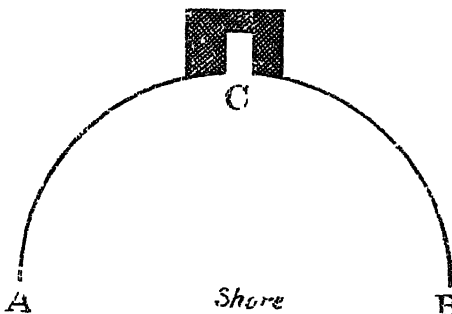
- 77 (m). **Danang**. Bamboo lyre, the string of which is generally made of a variety of cane, locally known as *palai*. In order to improve the tone of the instrument, holes are made through the under portion of the bamboo cylinder. Used at the *Et-kait-nī* memorial-feast and can be played only at a distance from a cemetery, and when no sick persons or mourners are present.
- 77a. (m). **Dranang**. Car Nicobar lyre. These are smaller than the last-named, and are generally made of wood.
- 78 (m). **Ichē** (*C. N. Hara-nang*). Ear-stick ornament, usually made of a variety of cane called *palai*, very commonly worn by both sexes at most of the islands, after the manner of the Burmese. These objects are sometimes hollowed and filled with dammar on account of its agreeable odour, or with tobacco. The silver facet consists generally of a four-anna piece, the surface of which has been rubbed smooth on a stone. This is styled *oalmāt-ichē*, i. e., the "eye of the *ichē*." The Car Nicobar ear-stick is usually small and neatly-made. When not in use, a plug of cloth, rolled leaf, etc., is often inserted in the perforated ear-lobe.
- 78a. (m). **Ichē Shom-peñ**. A large variety of ear-stick, made of bamboo or light wood and about 5 inches in circumference, worn by the Shom-peñ.
- 79 (m). **Toāpa or Nīama** (*C. N. Tōapa*). Cane tongs, used for lifting a piece of burning wood or hot iron off a fire.
- 80 (f). **Hāat**. Open basket, made and used at Car Nicobar, for holding chewing and smoking materials.
- 81 (f). **Hokchòk**. Cane basket made in the Southern Group for containing betel, lime, and *chavica* leaves. As the workmanship excels anything of the kind attempted in the Central Group, the natives of the latter purchase them for use on their feast days, in preference to their own spathe boxes (*vide* No. 54).
- 82 (m). **Wāñ**. Hanging baskets of cane, used in the Southern Group for holding pots plates, etc., and being gradually adopted in the Central Group.
- 83 (f). **Chūkai** (*C. N. Paiyāh*). Cane basket, used in the Central and Southern Groups for carrying food, etc., when on a journey, or in a canoe. The larger variety is made in the Southern Group, where the natives are more skilful at cane-work.
- 84 (m & f). **Hentain** (*C. N. Kowōka*). Cane basket, made and used by women for bringing produce from their gardens to the village. A stick is passed through the cane or cord loop, when carrying the basket over the shoulder (*vide* No. 163).
- 85 (m & f). **Kan-shōla** (*C. N. Til-kōn-haiyam*). Basket, made sometimes of cane, but generally of the bark of a certain small tree, called *Afū* (? *Maranta dichotoma*); used for carrying fowls.
- 86 (m & f). **Henlòn-mòng**. (*Teressa, Hangia*). Basket for holding small fish speared along the foreshore, or in shallow water.
- 87 (m). **Hillē-ok-nōt**. Tray-shaped cane basket, made and used in the Southern Group, for conveying a pig from one village to another. In the Central Group a cocoanut frond, and at Car Nicobar an *Areca* spathe, is used for the purpose.
- 88 (f). **Kenshiwa-shun** (*C. N. Kenchāng-nāma*). Fine cane-basket, used as a sieve when preparing shell-lime.
- 88 a. (f). **Kenshiwa-shun Shom-peñ**. A somewhat similar basket, made by the Shom-peñ for sale to the coast natives.
- 89 (m). **Kenshēch** (*C. N. Kunhial-kok*). Prickly stem-sheath of long ground rattan (*Calamus* sp.), used chiefly by women for rasping the kernel of the cocoanut, and *Cycas Rumphii*.

- 90 (m). **Tinlōata**. Knotted cane-strip, employed in the Central and Southern Groups for the purpose of intimating to friends at other villages when a memorial-feast is to be held. Also when proceeding on a distant journey, in order to intimate the probable date of return, a **tinlōata** is left with friends. As each knot denotes a day, one is in every case unravelled each succeeding morning. As the knots are arranged in pairs, a **tinlōata** with seven double knots and one single one would indicate 15 days. Owing to the comparative proximity of all the villages at Car Nicobar to each other, and the facilities for intercommunication, information in such matters is there conveyed by word of mouth.
- 91 (m). **Lenkòk-ngoat** (C. N. **Linkal-kok**). Cane (or bamboo) tally-strips, used in denoting how many scores of cocoanuts have been promised, or have been already supplied to ship-traders, in exchange for goods advanced by the latter. As the Nicobarese system of numeration is the vigesimal, each nick denotes "ten pairs" of nuts.
- 92 (m). **Chuk-panūe**. Cane-basket, used for holding the ball of twine, when hook-fishing; or the harpoon-line, when spearing large fish.
- 93 (m). **Nōama** (C. N. **Sānòng**). Cane fish-trap: placed on the fore-shore with its mouth towards the shore. Stones are placed on the under-lip, and along the sides, in order both to fix it in position and to conceal the cane-work; thereby averting suspicion as to its object. Except at Car Nicobar, — where it is used during the dry season and at neap tides, — it is employed during the rains only and at spring tides. The practice is to trail through the water a basket in which a quantity of scrapings of the large seeds of the *Barringtonia Asiatica* have been placed. This has the effect of blinding the fish which happen to be near the spot, and they are consequently more easily driven towards the trap, which has been set for them.
- 93 a. (m). **Nōama-chafōin**. This somewhat resembles the last, but is smaller and is used for catching sardines by hand in shallow water.
- 94 (m). **Kenhōn** (with float, **Pāha**). Fish-trap, made of split-cane, or of the bark of a tree called **Afū** (? *Maranta dichotoma*). The mouth is first made, then the top, sides, and bottom in succession. For bait, unripe cocoanut-fruit is smeared on the inner side of the lip, and the trap, weighted with stones, is placed on the foreshore. The float, at high-water, indicates the position of the trap, and enables the owner to lift it suddenly before the fish, which may be inside, can escape. For this purpose, and if the water be sufficiently calm, he remains above in his canoe watching, in order that, before all the bait has been consumed, he may lift the trap out of the water at a time when there will be the best possible catch. Custom permits of the use of this trap during the rainy season only, and exclusively at certain villages in and near Nancowry Harbour.
- 95 (m). **Enyūn** (C. N. **Ta-rūe** (large) and **Tamātu** (small) ). Cane fish-trap, placed where there is sufficient water at low-tide to cover it. It is usually examined every alternate day. In order to avert suspicion, stones are placed round the trap, except near the mouth which faces the shore, thereby concealing as much of the cane-work as possible. If, when required to be lifted, it should happen to be high-water, a **hen-hēat** (vide No. 133) is employed for the purpose. In the case of the large trap, custom requires that it be used only during the rains; the smaller variety can be employed all the year round. When used with the **kanshāng** (vide No. 98), the **enyūn** is styled **hoyā**.
- 96 (f). **Hannāh-oal-rī** (C. N. **Fanōh-el-pāti**). Broom for sweeping the hut-floor. Made of young cane-leaves fixed on to a handle, which is often provided with a hook at the upper end for convenience of hanging to the cane frame-work of the hut.

## 10. Traps and Cages.

- 97 (m). **Henhēu** (*Ter. & Chow. Henyū; C. N. Sē or Chanōl*). Net-trap, used only at Teressa, Bompoka, Chowra, and Car Nicobar, and during the rainy season only. When required for use, the curved sticks are turned so that they cross each other at right angles, the netting thereby forming a platform below them. The bait is set in the loop of twine, to which the weight is attached. The trap is suspended a little below the surface of the water by means of a cord held by the fisherman, who, leaning over the side of his canoe, watches for the approach of fish. When he detects one nibbling at the bait he promptly draws up the trap, if possible before the fish can escape. The principle somewhat resembles that of the **kenhōn** (*vide* No. 94), which is used at none of the islands where the **henhēu** is employed. This is the only object containing net-work made and used by the Nicobarese.

- 98 (m **Kan-shāng** (*C. N. Tanānga*). Fish-weir, by means of which more fish are said to & f). be taken than by any other method of fishing in use among the Nicobarese. It is employed only during the dry season and at spring-tides. It is made at dead low-water by means of cocoanut-leaves, which are laid lengthwise in a large semi-circular form



on the fore-shore, the two ends, A and B (see sketch), being towards the shore. The lower halves of the leaves are weighted with stones so that, on the tide rising, the upper halves float points upwards, forming a seeming continuous fence from A to B. At quarter-flood, the fishermen, with women and children, arrive, armed with light pronged-spears, and stand outside the enclosed area, where they stab all the fish, which, imagining themselves hemmed in, swim along the inner side of the fence searching for a way of

escape. After remaining for an hour or so, — by which time, the tide having risen to too great a height, the fish can escape over the leaves, — the party leave and return at half-ebb, when a similar scene occurs. The fish, baffled by the appearance of the impenetrable fringe of leaves, the shouts of the crowd outside, and the constant thrusts of their spears by which many are transfixes, generally seek to escape at the points A and B, where several members of the party are posted ready to spear them in shallow water. **Nōama** and **enyūn** traps (*vide* Nos. 93, 95) are generally set in the enclosed area, and at the point C one of the latter is placed, by means of which many of the frightened fish are caught. These **kan-shāng** are made off suitable points on the coast, most frequented by fish, and their size depends on the strength of the party.

- 99 (m). **Hennyāt** (*C. N. Nāng-ah*). Pig-cage, in which young wild pigs, which have been caught alive, are kept and fed, also such of the young domestic pigs as are neglected or ill-treated by the sows.
- 100 (m). **Kenchūta** or **Chuk-nōt** (*C. N. Kenlōnga*). Large bamboo or wooden pig-cage, with partitions to contain a number of fat pigs selected for slaughter on a memorial feast day. They are placed in it for a few hours only, while the other preparations for the feast are being made.
- 101 (m). **Ong-yianga-kamōe** (*C. N. Nāng-ah*). Fowl-cage. The outer compartments are uncovered for use by day, and the inner ones are covered in for the fowls by night

as a protection from pythons, which, without such precautions, would commit frequent depredations.

- 102 (m). **Kandap-shichūa**. Bird-trap: generally set for *mainās*. In setting it, the peg at the end of the stick is fixed in the hole provided for the purpose. On the bird alighting on the stick, it gives way and the lid falls. The captive is then transferred to the adjoining compartment, where it serves to decoy others to the trap, as soon as it is re-set.

#### 11. Cooking Utensils and Articles connected with them.

- 103 (m). **Tēag or Dēak**. Cooking-utensil, made of the bark of a certain tree not yet identified: used only by the Shom Peñ. These primitive utensils necessarily serve their purpose for a brief period only. The large specimens require several layers of bark, and the sides are forced out by sticks placed crosswise inside the vessel.
- 104 (f). **Hañshōi** (*Chowra*, *Kariang*; *C. N. Tāñiyaya*). Generic name for the various cooking-pots, which are made entirely at Chowra and by the women only.

The pots are of various sizes, as follows: —

				Across mouth.	
<b>Kentāha-lama-ok</b>	...	...	...	27-28 inches	} But few are made, as they can be used only on memorial-feast days, and then only by certain old persons.
<b>Kentāha-lama-oal</b>	...	...	...	23-24 „	
<b>Hañshōi-lama-ok</b>	...	...	..	18-19 „	
<b>Hañshōi-lama-oal</b>	...	...	...	16-18 „	} In common use for boiling pork, <i>Pandanus</i> , and <i>Oycas</i> .
<b>Itāsha-lama-ok</b>	...	...	..	15-16 „	
<b>Itāsha-lama-oal</b>	...	...	...	13-15 „	
<b>Henpakngaich-lama-ok</b>	...	...	...	13-14 „	} For boiling fowls and rice.
<b>Henpakngaich-lama-oal</b>	...	...	...	11-13 „	
<b>Panōkenlait-lama-ok</b>	...	...	...	11-12 „	
<b>Panōkenlait-lama-oal</b>	...	...	...	9-11 „	} For boiling water and eggs.
<b>Tafal</b>	...	...	...	3- 4 „	

Ornamental black stripes on the pots are produced by applying the inner portion of a strip of unripe cocoanut-husk over the surface of the pot at the end of the baking process, and while the pot is quite hot.

- 105 (f). **Kochi-Tatāt**. A pot made at Chowra after the pattern of one imported from India. **Tatāt** is the native name for Chowra.
- 106 (f). **Kamintap**. A set of 4 or 5 of the smallest of the pots (*viz.*, those known as **tafal**, *vide* No. 104), being the way in which these are usually sold.
- 107 (f). **Entāna**. A shallow round clay plate, on which the potter forms the pot. A circular piece of plantain-leaf is placed on the plate in order to prevent the clay from adhering to the latter during the operation.
- 108 (f). **Osiawa**. A ring, about 8 inches in diameter, made of coconut-leaf, which is placed under the **entāna** (*vide* No. 107) during the operation of moulding a pot.
- 109 (f). **Hiwat**. A clay wheel-shaped object, which is placed on the bottom of the pot, when the latter is reversed for the operation of baking, the object being to keep the



burning faggots, that are placed erect round the pot, from touching it. The interior portion of the pot, which is raised a few inches off the ground by means of potsherds, is heated by burning cocoanut-shells and husks below it.

- 110 (f). **Danun-kariang** (*lit.*, medicine-pot). A small flat piece of bamboo used in trimming the sides and the bottom of a newly-moulded pot, and in giving the finishing touches to it before setting it on one side to dry.
- 111 (f). **Kenyūa-kōi-haṁshōi**. Flat leaf-cover, made of the leaves of the *Macaranga tanarius*; placed over the mouth of a pot when steaming *Panlanus* and *Cycas* paste, or vegetables. Above this cover is placed the **kenōp-kōi-haṁshōi** (*vide* No. 61). At Car Nicobar loose leaves are employed.
- 112 (m). **Hetpāt**. Small wooden grating, placed inside a pot when steaming *Panlanus* or *Cycas* paste, and vegetables, in order to keep them a few inches above the water, which is boiling beneath. These have to be made of various sizes, in order to suit the pots for which they are intended. At Car Nicobar a rough grating of loose sticks is made to serve the like purpose. It forms a primitive reproduction of the principle in Warren's Cooking-pot.

(To be continued.)

### NOTES AND QUERIES.

#### A VARIANT OF THE SCAPE-GOAT.

On **Trisūl**, one of the highest peaks of the **Himālayas**, resides **Durgā**, under the name of **Nandā Dēvi**, and to propitiate her once in every three years the villagers north of the River **Pindar** (British **Garhwāl**) assemble at her temple of **Bhidāni**, a small uninteresting place situated in a hollow in the hills. Here also is a small lake, or rather pond, the water of which is used in the sacrifices, and has the usual property of cleansing the bathers in it from all sin for the time being. The pilgrims having assembled, prayers are offered up by the chief **pūjārī** (priest) and 64 goats sacrificed, the heads and the four legs, or rather feet (as they are cut off from the knee), being set aside for the goddess, and rest taken by the villagers.

When the full ceremonies there have been completed, a goat is selected and blessed by the officiating priest, and then taken higher up the hill to a level field, a short distance below the **Trisūl** mountain. A knife is then tied round its throat, and it is driven away towards **Trisūl**, watched by the eagle eyes of the assembled people until it is lost sight of, to see if it goes straight to the mountain, because if it wanders from side to side the goddess is displeased, and the offering is not accepted. In such a case should any severe illness afflict any of the villages, or an unusually high death-rate occur amongst the flocks and herds, it is due to the displeasure of **Nandā Dēvi**.

G. DALZIEL in *P. N. and Q.* 1883.

#### TERMS FOR MARRIAGE RELATIONS AS TERMS OF ABUSE.

It is noticeable that such terms for marriage relations as *susar*, "father-in-law;" *sālā*, "brother-in-law;" *bahnōt*, "sister's husband;" and *jawāt*, "son-in-law;" are also terms of abuse. *Susar* is, I believe, very commonly used in this way. The following proverb from the **Nardak**, or uplands between **Thānēsar** and **Kaithal** (**Karnāl** district) affords an instance:—

*Bāhā hal, khoyā aql aur bal.*

*Hal bahākē, lāyā mai, aql pichhlī sārī dhāt.*

*Mai dēkē, lāyā ghās; ab kyūn karē, susrē, jīwanē kī as?*

*Ek din mār līyā, pandrah din khā līyā;*

*Na karēn khētī, na bhārēn dhand.*

"You who plough have lost your intellect and strength. After you plough you have to use the *sāhāgā*,<sup>1</sup> and so you lose everything (go entirely to the bad). You use the *sāhāgā* and (employ your bullocks to) bring grass; and then, you low fellow, what hope have you of living? We kill one day and eat for fifteen: don't cultivate, and you will pay no revenue."

The last two lines of course describe the "gentlemanly" life of **Nardak** thieves. The use of these words, as terms of abuse, fits in with the notions as to marriage relationship propounded by **MacLennan**.

J. M. DOUIE in *P. N. and Q.* 1883.

<sup>1</sup> [The *sāhāgā* answers somewhat to our harrow. — ED.]

## THE DEVIL WORSHIP OF THE TULUVAS.

FROM THE PAPERS OF THE LATE A. C. BURNELL.

(Continued from Vol. XXIII. page 193.)

BURNELL MSS. No. 14 — (continued).

ATTAVAR DAIYONGULU — (continued).

“WE came to the Tuḷu country, descending from the *ghāṭs*. We saw the army of Bil Sultān and Vīrappa Naikar, and we defeated it, and then I and my elder brother, together with our people rested at Bāretimār in Yēnūr. I went to sleep, with my head on my elder brother's leg, and when he saw that I slept, he escaped from me, and went away. I came here searching for him,” said the younger brother.

Mudadēya heard the story and said to him:—“You had better sit here, while I go in search for your elder brother.”

He passed by Sômésvar and went to Kanne Siri Kaṭṭē at Uddar, and when he arrived the elder brother was at Kanne Siri Kaṭṭē. Mudadēya went and visited him, and the elder brother said to him:—“What have you come for, Mudadēya?”

“I was in the habit of going from Kotāra-sāna to visit the god at Sômésvar. While I was there to-day, I saw your younger brother, who, after visiting the god, sat on a rock at Uddar. I asked him whence he came and whither he was going, and he answered me that he had slept with his head on his elder brother's leg at Bāretimār in Yēnūr, and while he was in a deep sleep his brother had put down his head and gone away. When he got up and looked about, his brother was not there, and so he went in search of his elder brother. I told him he had better remain where he was, and that I would go in search of his elder brother.” Thus said Mudadēya.

Then the elder brother said:—“It is in your power to make me and my brother sit on the same throne. Go you to my brother and call him here.”

Thus did the elder brother ask Mudadēya to act, and, having heard the request, Mudadēya started from Kanne Siri Kaṭṭē and went to the younger brother, and told him that his elder brother was at Kanne Siri Kaṭṭē, and had requested him to go there. Then the younger brother and all his people started from Uddar, and reached Kanne Siri Kaṭṭē.

When he saw his brother, he grew angry.

“As you left me alone at Bāretimār in Yēnūr, I will not see your face,” said the younger brother, and put his arrow to his bow.

Then Mudadēya came up to them and said:—“If you quarrel with each other, I shall return to my own country.

The elder brother heard this and said:—“Do not go to your country.”

Then Mudadēya made the elder and the younger brother hold each other's hands, sitting at Kanne Siri Kaṭṭē.

Then the elder brother said:—“Such another mediator will not again be found among the Bhūtas. We want a *matham* in this country with your assistance.”

Mudadēya entered into treaty with the people of seven villages and made them build a hut for the elder brother. A *matham* for the younger brother was also built. A flag was raised near the elder brother's hut, and a stand for lamps was raised near the younger brother's *matham*. Two cars for the two kings [brothers] were made, and in the following year a flag was raised, and a feast was held.

News of this feast reached one Paduma Sēṭṭiyāl of the *biḍu* at Jappu, and he went to Uddar from the *biḍu* at Jappu. When he reached, the feast for the king was being performed. [The king] saw Paduma Sēṭṭiyāl arrive.

"It is well that you have come, Paduma Sēṭṭiyāl," said he.

The Sēṭṭiyāl gave him areca-nut and flowers, and a ball of flowers. [The king] followed Paduma Sēṭṭiyāl: — indeed both the Bhūtas went with him, and spread disease at the *bīḍu* at Jappu. When the matter was looked up in the *praśna*-book, it was known that the Bhūtas had followed him. For this reason an assembly of the people was called by the Sēṭṭiyāl at the *Attāvar bīḍu*. Having assembled they all went to Mudadēya's *sānam* at Attāvar, and caused a man to be possessed by Mudadēya.

Then Paduma Sēṭṭiyāl said: — "I went to the feast at Uddar this year, where the Bhūta gave me flowers, and when I returned the two Bhūtas followed me, and spread disease. When this was looked up in the *praśna*-book, it came to our knowledge that it was the Dēva's (Bhūta's) doing. So a *matham* is to be built in this village, to which your consent is required."

Then said Mudadēya: — "For those two kings I am an intercessor. This is a settlement made between me and them in days gone by at Kanne Siri Kaṇṇē. As they followed you, a *matham* is to be built."

Thus said Mudadēya. So Paduma Sēṭṭi together with the villagers built a *matham*, and then the Bhūtas entered the *matham*, and a feast is held there even to this day.

#### BURNELL MSS. No. 15.

#### THE STORY OF KOTI AND CHANNAYYA.<sup>1</sup>

Original in the Kanarese character. Translation according to Burnell's MSS. Original, text and translation, occupies leaves 168 to 230 of Burnell's MSS.

#### Translation.

There was a country where Billavars were born. In the kingdom where the Billavars were born, there was a powerful city. There was also a Brahṃā (Bhūta), who had been born, according to all the *Sāstras*. There was an Āni Gaṅgā, a Māni Gaṅgā, a Water Gaṅgā, a Milk Gaṅgā, a Curd Gaṅgā, a Salt Gaṅgā, a blood Gaṅgā, a hot Kāñchi in the north, and a cold Kāñchi in Pāṭālam.

When this Brahṃā was being born, the inhabitants of the palaces of seven Kāñchi-kaḍaṅgas seemed to be thrown down, and night gave way to daylight. Brahṃā had on a wreath of silver flowers in a bunch on the left and a wreath of gold flowers in a bunch on the right. Kammulajje Brahṃā had silver threads on the left shoulder, and golden threads on the right. There were a silver umbrella with seven tops on his left, and a golden umbrella with nine tops on his right. There was a garland as long as a man, and a fan as long as a peacock's feather.

Kammulajje Brahṃā's birth was according to all the *Sāstras*. He had twelve attendants without legs, and twelve who had only trunks without heads. Twelve girls there were to wave the lamps of coral and to sprinkle pearls on his head, and twelve servants to fan him with whisks of flowers. The first sets of twelve and the second sets of twelve — altogether forty-eight — attended on Kammulajje Brahṃā.

He who was born according to all the *Sāstras*, had five nerves in his leg, a Mullukavēr god on his knees, a serpent on his middle, five serpents on his head, a diamond within his heart, fine diamonds of ten or sixteen sorts on his head, a figure of Bhīma and Arjuna on his back, a Saṅkapāla<sup>2</sup> on the left, and another Saṅkapāla on the right, and a *manikam* and stars on his head.

Next must be told the story of the heroes, the servants of this Brahṃā, who were born according to all the *Sāstras*. And their names were these: — Woddu Paddala, Māra Kadamba,

<sup>1</sup> This is a version of the long story given in Vol. XXIII. p. 85 ff.

<sup>2</sup> One of the serpents.

Māra Murva, Adhikāri of Kokkadanda, Kōri Murva, ascetics clothed in red, Kēsana Purusa, Māha Purusa, Alīṅga Jatti, Uliṅga Bermu, Narasiṅga, Baidya of Handēl, Mara Barna at Savandī, Tanda Giddi, Paiyya Baidya at Palli Dēvērē Pergadē, and Dēvanagari Bailāl.

The birth and the death of the Ēḍambūr Baidyas could not be described even in seven days and eight nights. They had seven armies and seven battles to fight. Kōṭi Nigrōni was the richest of all at Kōḍi, and Buddyaṇḍa is the richest of all at the *biḍu*.

The birth and the death of the Ēḍambūr Baidyas is to be told to-day. It happened in the Eastern Country. They were born in the country of Parimāl, and their birth place was Pañjana Biḍu. They were educated at sixty-six schools.

"We have seen sixteen dynasties, but have given the description of three only. There was a female called Mābu Bannāl in the Eastern Country, for our mother Deyi was there called Mābu Bannāl. She was called Uppi Bannāl in the Western Country. Our mother was Deyi; our father Kāntanna; our uncle Sāyina. Our house was the Kāñchikadaṅga Palace, called Gejje Nandanonda Aramanē, on the high road. We are able to fight seven battles," said the heroes.

Six years and six months was the age of the Ēḍambūr Baidyas.

"We have had no meals, nothing to eat or drink. But the piercing of a dagger, equal to Rāma's *keṅguḷē*, satisfies our hunger. For us a feast is to be performed with cocoanut leaves only, and our birth place is Ēḍambūr," said they.

Beideruḷi was born in a different way. There was an Ani Gaṅgā, a strong wind, a strong rain, and very small drops of water, like *kuṅkuma*.<sup>3</sup> Drops of water fell on the ground and the ditches were filled up. Then the god Nārāyaṇa created a lotus, in which he created *kuṣumas* also, and in the middle of these he created a drake and a duck.

The duck said to the drake: — "He created us, but where is a tank for us to drink water out of? Where is a garden to eat fruit in? And now, too, we are on the earth below!"

Folding their wings together, they went to get a gift from the god in heaven. On the way they passed by a yard called Ajire Aṅgana, and by a small yard called Mujire Maṇḍal. They passed by a place where some people were talking together, and afterwards they went near the feet of the Sun and the Moon. When they reached the god Nārāyaṇa, he was sleeping on *jājī* and *malika*, and *kadika* flowers, with a golden umbrella and peacocks' feathers over him. At such a time the birds approached him.

"Why do you come?" asked the god.

"You created us, and we want our food and drink, a tree to sit on, another to sleep on at night, and a garden to eat fruit in. Where are they?" asked the birds.

"Being in his youth, Bālu Senva with a long pole—as long as a man—and with a small quantity of money, has gone to the Ganges in the north. To reach that is six years' journey and to return back six years' journey. You had better go there. You will have a tree to sleep on at night, a stone to sit upon, and a tank to drink water from," said the god.

While these birds were on the way, they saw a thousand birds copulating.

Then the duck said: — "Let us do as they do."

"We are brother and sister," said the drake.

He became very sorrowful, and said: — "An elephant worth a thousand *paḡodas* may be managed easily in the world. But a female is of the race of devils. She would take hold even a *piṇḍume*<sup>4</sup> of Yāma to have connection."

<sup>3</sup> Turmeric flour.

<sup>4</sup> A hot iron ball.

On which they became very sorrowful, and the duck turned back and fell at the feet of the god Nārāyaṇa, and asked of him a gift of sons.

Then he said to her : — “Where is your male bird ?”

She said : — “He is outside the palace.”

She begged the god to create love between them.

So the god called to the drake and said to him : — “You had better copulate together, and then she will become pregnant.”

So they copulated and the egg grew larger and larger in her belly. Six and three — together nine — months passed and the duck asked the drake for something.

He said to her : — “Where is the thing which you desire ?”

“In the Ganges in the north there is a flower as broad as an umbrella. I want you to go and bring the (holy) water in it,” said she.

He appointed a body guard for her and went to the Ganges in the north, and put his beak into the flower. Immediately the mouth of the flower shut, for the sun was setting. The duck was thinking at that time : —

“Why has the drake not returned back yet ? If my husband returns and comes back soon, I will offer my first egg at the feet of the god Sūrya Nārāyaṇa. I will offer the next egg to Íśvart,” said she.

It was morning, after the 31st *ghaṭīge* of the night, that the drake drew back his beak, brought the water out of that flower and asked the duck if she wanted any.

“I have made a promise. Will you fulfil it ?” asked she.

He said he would and told her to drink the water. She drank, and as soon as she had done so, she sighed so as to be heard in the four worlds, and cried so as to be heard in three worlds.

In six divisions of a flower and in three petals she laid the first egg, which was like a precious stone, and the second, which was like a golden *pūllī*,

The first egg fell into the Seventh Ocean, and being just like a diamond was found by a poor Brāhmaṇa, when he went to bathe in the Ocean on account of an eclipse of the new moon. The drake and the duck took both the eggs to fulfil their promise, and flying to the heaven of light on high offered the first egg at the god's feet. It was trodden upon by an elephant, and placed in a road, over which an army and many other persons were passing, but it was not broken !

“You had better take this back and be happy, and hatch it,” ordered the god.

The second egg was offered to the god Íśvara, who ordered them immediately to take it back and hatch it, and be glad.

From the first egg a boy Yekara Sater was produced at a palace called Kāñchikadaṅga, and from the second egg a girl Giṇḍe Gīḷi Rāma Deyar was produced. Yekara Sater grew to be a boy from his babyhood, and Giṇḍe Gīḷi Rāma Deyar to be a girl from her babyhood. Yekara Sater grew to be a man from his boyhood, and Giṇḍe Gīḷi Rāma Deyar a woman from her girlhood. Yekara Sater fell in love with the woman, and Giṇḍe Gīḷi Rāma Deyar in love with the man. Yekara Sater went to speak to Giṇḍe Gīḷi Rāma Deyar about marriage. She had been a beautiful child and was now a charming girl.

“It would be better if Deyar were taken to the palace Kāñchikadaṅga,” said Yekara Sater.

“This Tuesday one speaks of the marriage, and on the next Tuesday the jewel *dālībāndī* is to be presented according to the custom of the Arasu Ballakūla.<sup>5</sup> The bird is to be brought on

<sup>5</sup> The name of a caste.

Sunday, and the marriage is to be performed according to the custom of Arasu Ballakūla on Monday," said he.

Deyar was taken at a proper time to the palace at Kāñchikadaiga, and when she arrived Yekara Sater was being shaved. In the middle of his forehead a figure of the moon was made. The ceremony of marriage<sup>6</sup> was performed on Deyar, who entered the palace with her right foot first, when rice was sprinkled over her and flowers were thrown upon her. Then Deyar stood up, waved the lamps of coral and sprinkled pearls on her husband; and then both of them saluted all present. A year and six months passed after the marriage.

"When girls that are married reach the age of ten or eleven years in the world they usually attain puberty, and sit alone for four days. But this has not happened to Giṇḍe Gili Rama Deyar, although ten or sixteen years have passed over her," said some of the people in the morning.

"If I reach puberty and have to sit alone, I will offer a golden child, a cradle made of silver and a handful of money to Mahākālī Abbe at Māla; the more certainly if I become pregnant and bring forth a child," said she.

The hair on her head faded and the nipples of her breasts turned black, and six and three — together nine — months passed over her womb.

"Through which way shall I come, O my mother?" said her son Kumāraye, calling to his mother from her womb.

"If you come in the proper way, my son, I shall see your beauty, but if you come in any other way my son, how can I see your beauty?" replied his mother.

"Am I a wicked sinner that I should kill my mother? Am I an enemy that I should kill any person?" said he.

"If you come out, breaking through my head, you will become a Brahmārākshasa (Bhūta). If you come out, bursting through my back, you will become a serpent in Naraka. If you come out, bursting through my belly, you will become a Guliga in Pātālam," said his mother.

"My mother, I will come out, bursting through your right breast," said her son.

Then the tenth month approached and the blood flowed out. He was born at sunrise on Tuesday. As soon as her son was born he sat down, while the mother gave him the breast. He absorbed all her blood, even from the ends of her bones. When his mother came to understand that it was impossible to satisfy the son with the milk of her breast, she fed him first with a full cow's milk, and then with a second cow's milk.

The parents called ten or sixteen female servants and said: — "O you maids, take care of our child! We go to Mākālī Abbe at Māla and make her our offerings."

When they went out, the boy coaxed the maids and said: — "I will go to play and return back immediately."

In a certain place the Asuras were playing at ball in their play-room. They were many, but the boy was alone.

"If you stand on one side, we will stand on the other side," said the Asuras. Though the Asuras tried all they could, they were defeated; the boy alone was successful. The Asuras played on and being tired, threw the ball into a well called Rāsa Bhāmi.

"If you are a boy, born according to all the Śāstras, you can get that ball out," said they.

They let down a silken ladder, and the boy began to descend. When he went down to take out the ball, they took away the ladder, and placed a large stone on the mouth of the well, on which they put earth, and planted a pīpal tree also.

<sup>6</sup> Pouring water on the bride's and bridegroom's hands.

When his parents returned from making their offerings to Mākālī Abbe at Māla, they heard people speaking together : — “Who it is we do not know; but a man has been thrown into a well, which has been covered with a flat stone, on which a *pīpal* tree has been planted.”

“No one would go to such a place, except my son to play with the Asuras,” said Giṇḍī Giṇī Rāma Deyar to the people and went to the well.

“If my son was born to only one father and mother, the stone above will break in pieces; the soil put on it will be scattered; the tree planted on it will bend and fall to the ground, and then my son will come and take milk from my right breast,” said Deyar.

Her son grew inside up to the stone above. Then the stone broke in pieces; the soil was scattered away; the tree fell to the ground; and from out the well he opened his mouth to suckle his mother’s breast.

“My mother, I put my mouth to your breast, as you are my mother. You must see me. With single mind and wisdom you have fed me up to this time, and treated me well. Therefore, you must see me at my full height,” said he, and stood, stretching from the earth to the sky.

His mother fell senseless to the ground. Then he resumed his proper figure as a man and roused his mother : — “Mother, mother ! I am your son, Brāhṇā; and another son Parimāle Ballāl is to be born to you. He will be the very king of justice. If any body should abuse him, he will leave him crying. He will be a peaceful and charitable man. He will never give a harsh answer to any one,” said the boy to his mother.

In the Seventh Ocean the duck’s second egg fell. There was an eclipse at a certain new moon, and while the poor Brāhṇas were going to bathe in the Ocean, Ācha Machamma, the wife of a Brāhṇa, said : — “I am a barren woman. What is the use of bathing in the Ocean, or of not bathing?”

But she went nevertheless and bathed, and when she was bathing, the second egg came floating on the water like a lime. Ācha Machamma took it up and brought it to her house, and put it in a heap of rice. One Tuesday at midnight a female child cried aloud.

“What is the matter ? A child is crying ?” said her husband.

Then he went inside and saw that there was a child like an inhabitant of the Mahālōka Padinabha, her husband, put four leaves of a *kasanam* tree in the four corners of his house.

The neighbours said : — “This woman was not pregnant; what is this wonder ? She had no sign of pregnancy !”

She reared the child, and had her educated. On the eighth day the child looked like a child of a month, and in a month like one of a year and half. In this way this girl grew up. Among the Brāhṇas, one said he wanted to be married to her, and another said she must be married to him. In these disputes eleven years passed over the girl. She attained puberty. Then her eyes were bound up with a cloth and she was left in a forest by her parents.

They were very sorrowful and said : — “We bred the child and educated her up to this day. Now she is mature, and neither marriage nor any other ceremony can be performed.”

Thus they were very sorrowful and left her in the forest. In the meantime the dust of a *rahu* tree fell on her body from above.

“Who is it that draws toddy from the *rahu* tree ? If you untie the cloth from my eyes you are my brother and I am your sister,” said the girl.

“How can I untie the cloth from your eyes ? You are a Brāhṇa woman; but I am a Billavar by caste,” said Sayina Baidya of Asalājya Bail. “I shall go to my master and inform him of this matter at the temple of Ellūr Abbe, and then untie the cloth over your eyes.”

He went off to ask about this, and came to the *chāvāḍi* of Ēlūr Abbe and said:—"A Brāhmaṇ woman, whose eyes are bound up with a cloth, and who has been left in the *ind-tree* garden, called Saṅkamalla at Rāyanaḍ, has asked me to unbind her eyes. I told her that I would get my master's consent and go back to her," said he.

"You had better go back and take the cloth off the eyes of the woman, whose eyes were bound up, or her diamond-like eyes will be closed and she will fall. If she has eyes, she can see many countries. Therefore you had better bring her here and take care of her at Ērajha," said Ēlūr Abbe. "After a year and six months has passed, people will come to speak about marrying her, when you should get her married. It will be a deed of merit for you."

Sāyina went and brought the Brāhmaṇ woman to the *chāvāḍi* of Ēlūr Abbe, who saw her, gave her the name of Deyī Baidyatī, ordered her to go to Ērajha, and told her not to be ashamed and confused. A year and six months had not passed after she had gone to Ērajha, when Kāntanna Baidya came to speak about marrying her, and a promise of marriage for Deyī Baidyatī was given, to be performed on a Monday. The next week betel-leaves and nuts were received and given back, and on the ensuing week, on a Sunday, the bride was taken to the bridegroom, and the marriage, that is, pouring water on each other's hands, was performed on a Monday morning, and rice was sprinkled on the bridegroom. In this way was the ceremony of marriage performed, and a year and six months passed.

On a lucky day of the month of Sōna, the water of pregnancy came in the womb of Deyī, and her womb grew larger. In the beginning of the ninth month of her pregnancy she was called to the *bīḍu* of Parimāḷē Ballāl, to give him medicine. There was a large boil on his side. Birmana Baidya had applied to it a medicine with pieces of earthen rings and bottles, by which the disease was increased double.

"Who else can give medicine?" asked Parimāḷē Ballāl. "The day of death has approached me. Who can now protect me?"

"There is a woman, the wife of Kāntanna and the sister of Sāyina," said his servants.

"Tell me what her daily charges will be. Write a letter to Ērajha. Then she will receive the letter, read it and give me an answer," said the Ballāl.

So a servant was sent to Deyī Baidyatī. She looked at the letter, and said:—

"I do not know what is the end of a creeper which grows upwards. I do not know a root which creeps downwards. I do not know a branch of a tree, growing on the sides. But, though I can give a medicine which I know, I cannot see my feet," said she. "You, the bearer of the letter, had better take rice for your hire in Ērajha."

She brought a *sér* of rice, a cocoanut, and two cucumbers, and gave them to the bearer.

"If you want to cook and take your food here, there is a hut for travellers built by my brother. If you want to prepare your meal here, I can get pots made of bell-metal. If you are going away immediately, O my master, you may go. If you have any business, you may go soon," said she.

Then the bearer of the letter went away from Ērajha, and reached her master's *bīḍu*. As soon as she reached the *bīḍu*, the Ballāl asked her:—"O my servant, did you go there as a man or as a woman?"

"My master, I came as a man. Deyī said that she did not know the ends of creepers growing upwards, nor a root growing downwards, nor even a branch of a tree growing on the sides, and that, moreover, she cannot see her feet," said the bearer.

The Ballāl called his servants immediately and ordered them to take down the palanquin.

"Let a white umbrella and a large panlanquin go to Ērajha!"

<sup>1</sup> Owing to her pregnancy,



When the palanquin arrived at Ērajha, Deyī had untied the hair on the head of Kāntanna Baidya, and had his head on her lap, and was killing the lice on his head. When she stood up, she saw a palanquin coming near the paddy fields at Hantālājya, and called her husband and told him to get up at once.

"Get up soon, and tie up your hair immediately. O servants, put the palanquin in the hut, which is on the north side. O my husband, give the servants, who brought the palanquin rice, vegetables and vessels, such as pots of bell-metal," said she.

Then Deyī called out: — "Berodi! Berodi!" When he came, she ordered him to bring twelve handfuls of roots. And she called out: — "Sappodi! Sappodi!" and: — "Yellodi! Yellodi!" and ordered them to bring medicine. She prepared a medicine of tender leaves, and tied it up in a bundle, and put some presents in the palanquin. She placed a ladder against the upper story, took a dried coconut, and cut off its outer shell and scooped out inside too. She brought and put into the palanquin cucumbers, coloured like a squirrel, and a vegetable called *kañchalam* of the colour of oil. She called to her husband and asked him whether the bearers of the palanquin had prepared their meal and eaten. He inquired and told Deyī that they had taken their meals, and were now washing the vessels of bell-metal. Having heard this, she tied up some betel-leaves, areca-nuts with lusc, and another kind preserved in water, and the very best of tobacco. The time was as bright as the splendour of Rāma. All these things were put on a plate of silver.

"Is it done well, men? Is it all right?" asked Deyī Baidyāī. "Let the umbrella go first. Behind it the palanquin. You, my husband, follow them. I will follow you."

Sāyina Baidya, her uncle, followed behind her. In this manner they travelled to the *bīdu*. When the umbrella and palanquin reached the *bīdu*, they were put down. Sāyina and Kāntanna went first and saluted the Ballāl.

"O Kāntanna, where is Deyī?" asked the Ballāl. In the meanwhile she kept quiet, being ashamed and confused.

"Do not be ashamed and confused, mother Deyī! Let her hold my legs and apply a medicine! Let her sit on my bed!" said the Ballāl, and wept bitterly. "I was brought forth and bred by my mother Giṇḍi Gīlī Rāma Deiyar, but to-day I am to be born again from your womb."

"Who is there in the house? Please bring some leaves and prepare a decoction to wash his legs!" said Deyī, and made (them) prepare a decoction, washed his legs and took out thorns. She rubbed the wound with leaves and uttered *mantras*. Then the wound swelled and began to descend. It came descending to his middle first, and then from the middle to his knee, and then from his knee to his foot. At last it fell down on the ground from his foot. Then the Ballāl wished to take his food and was better. The wound was closed, while Deyī applied medicine.

"O my mother Deyī, I will give you great gifts, namely, leave to put on the left side the end of the cloth tied round the middle, one pair of ear-rings and also *mullukoppu* ear-rings; a jewel for your nose; for your hands rings fastened with gold, and balls of gold joined by cord; a *dwāria* for both hands and a *bājiband* for hands also; and a cloth of *barapatte*."

All these were presented; and he said to her:—"I shall present to the children born of you the paddy field in two pieces, known as **Kambula** at **Hanidoṭṭi Bāil**, and, if there is anything else you want, I will give that also. O Deyī! do you hear me! you have come to my palace, therefore you must take your food of pearl-like rice."

Then were curries prepared with curds of five hundred sorts, with tamarind of three hundred sorts, with cocoanuts of a thousand sorts. Pickles of limes known as *poṭṭikāñchi*, *narniga*, and so on, together with tender bamboos, and *kavade* berries. *Yelluri* and *mapala* were prepared, and moreover cakes of five or six kinds, and a cake of oil-colour, too.

"Now, Deyî, you had better take your food with *ghî* and wash your hands with milk!" said the Ballâl, and ordered his servants to give Kântanna and Sâyina water, and to make Deyî sit in the middle! And then Deyî and the others took their food with *ghî* and washed their hands with milk, and chewed betelnut; and then the Ballâl told her to go back to Ērajha. The right of *sallanēga*, which the Billavars cannot have,<sup>8</sup> and a *koranasēji*,<sup>9</sup> like a *mallika* flower and a jewel with the figure of a parrot, were presented to her by the Ballâl.

(To be continued.)

## NOTES ON THE SPIRIT BASIS OF BELIEF AND CUSTOM.

BY J. M. CAMPBELL, C.I.E., I.C.S.

(Continued from p. 65.)

**Bells.** — Spirits fear bells, because spirits fear music, and because they fear metal. In Hindu temples bells are generally tied in front of the shrine, and the worshipper rings them before he goes inside. That among Hindus the original object of ringing a bell before their gods was to drive away spirits, is shewn by the prayer repeated by Western India Brāhman in ringing a bell during the worship of their household gods:—"O! bell, raise a mighty sound near the shrine that the demons may be dispelled and the gods welcomed."<sup>88</sup> The members of one Liṅgāyat priesthood bind a ring of bells on the leg; and at a Poona Liṅgāyat's funeral a *jaṅgam* walks in front of the procession, ringing a bell and blowing a conch shell.<sup>89</sup> Among the wild Vaidus of Poona, on the eleventh day after a death, a *jaṅgam* comes and blows a conch and rings a bell in the house of mourning, and the mourning ends, that is, the dead is driven off.<sup>90</sup> In the Dekhan on the *Pôlâ*-day, necklaces of bells are tied round bullocks' necks. Among the Dekhan Rāmôsis, men wear a girdle of silver bells round their loins.<sup>91</sup> Some low class begging devotees in Poona wear a girdle of bells.<sup>92</sup> Bells are the emblems of Kedārling and Jotiba, two favourite Southern Marāṭhā gods. Belgaum Liṅgāyats have a story that the wedding of Nandi, or Basavēivar, could not go on till the heaven became a bell and the earth a bar of metal to strike the bell at the lucky moment. They have a class of converted Mhārs, called Chēlvādīs, who head Liṅgāyat processions carrying a bell and bar.<sup>93</sup> A bell is rung at a Mhār's marriage in Belgaum.<sup>94</sup> After a death the Gôls, or Gopāls, of Belgaum remain impure for five days, when a *jaṅgam* or Liṅgāyat priest, comes and purifies them by ringing a bell and blowing a shell.<sup>95</sup> Budbudkīs, a class of Dhārwar beggars, wear clothes, to whose skirts bells and shells are tied.<sup>96</sup> The Mādhava Brāhman women of Dhārwar wear small gold bells hung from their hair close above the ear.<sup>97</sup> The Pitrāḍavaras, or high-class prostitutes of Dhārwar, wear bells, or *gējjis*, on their legs.<sup>98</sup> The Lavānā women of Dhārwar wear a bell-shaped tube at the end of their small braids of hair.<sup>99</sup> In Bijāpur, the Liṅgāyat beadle sits in front of the dead and rings a bell. A division of *jaṅgam* beggars in Bijāpur sit on trees and ring bells all day long. Another begs from door to door, ringing a bell. The Gonds have a bell god, Ghagarā Pen, a string of tinkling bells.<sup>100</sup> The Mānā Ojhyāls, a class of Gond bell and ring makers, are held in special sanctity.<sup>101</sup> The Gond priest, at the great worship of Phārsi Pen, wears bells on his fore and third fingers.<sup>102</sup> Two bells, one of bell-metal and one of copper, were found in a cairn at Haidarabad in the Dekhan.<sup>1</sup> Certain Vaishṇava beggars of South India wear bells,<sup>2</sup> and in Chittāgong an image of Buddhā has a stand of bells before it.<sup>3</sup> When a Wadar or Telugu

<sup>8</sup> I. e., putting the end of the cloth on the left side. <sup>9</sup> Which they may not have, i. e., a jewel for the ears.

<sup>88</sup> Information from Mr. P. B. Joshi. The Sanskrit text is:—*Āgamanārtham devānām, gamanārtham tu rākṣasām, kuru ghantī mahā nādam, devatārchanā sannidhau.* Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. XVIII. p. 167.

<sup>89</sup> Op. cit. Vol. XVIII. p. 478.

<sup>90</sup> Op. cit. Vol. XVIII. p. 413.

<sup>91</sup> Op. cit. Vol. XVIII. p. 477.

<sup>92</sup> Op. cit. Vol. XVIII. p. 190.

<sup>93</sup> Op. cit. Vol. XVIII. p. 193.

<sup>94</sup> Op. cit. Vol. XVIII. p. 167.

<sup>95</sup> Op. cit. Vol. XXII. p. 200.

<sup>96</sup> Op. cit. Vol. XXII. p. 66.

<sup>97</sup> Op. cit. Vol. XXII. p. 119.

<sup>98</sup> Op. cit. Vol. XXII. pp. 121, 122.

<sup>99</sup> Hislop's *Aboriginal Tribes of the Central Provinces*, p. 47.

<sup>100</sup> Op. cit. p. 6.

<sup>101</sup> Op. cit. Ap. I. p. iii.

<sup>1</sup> Jour. Ethno. Soc. Vol. I. p. 170.

<sup>2</sup> Dubois, Vol. I. p. 149.

<sup>3</sup> Balfour's *Hindus*, Vol. V. p. 531.

earth-digger, says his prayers he rings a bell at intervals, and blows a conch.<sup>4</sup> The Vadagales, a sect of Śrī Vaiṣṇavas in Mysore, ring a bell at their prayers.<sup>5</sup> In South India, during the temple service, the ministrant holds a bell in his left hand, and keeps ringing it.<sup>6</sup>

Colonel Leslie suggests that bells obtained their original fame as anti-demoniacal in the forest-covered countries of Asia. The Troglodytæ, when they travelled by night, fastened bells round the necks of their cattle to drive away wild beasts, and, for the same reason, the practice is common in many countries of Asia. A bell is still rung at Adam's Peak in Ceylon as a security against spirits.<sup>7</sup> The Socotrans (1330) used to strike a piece of timber in lieu of a bell.<sup>8</sup> The kings of Persia had robes with bell skirts, and Arab courtizans wear bells round their ankles, neck and elbows.<sup>9</sup> The Shāmāns, or Tātār priests, are covered with tags of bells and bits of iron.<sup>10</sup> The Jewish high priest's robe was adorned with a row of golden bells and pomegranates.<sup>11</sup>

The Burmese love of bells is remarkable.<sup>12</sup> Most of the monasteries have a multitude of bells on all sides. The largest bells are struck with deer's horn and wood.<sup>13</sup> The object of ringing bells is to draw the attention of good spirits.<sup>14</sup> There are wooden bells in Burmese monasteries.<sup>15</sup> The Chinese consecrate bells to make them lucky or sacred; they smear them with the blood of some animal, generally a goat.<sup>16</sup> A sick cow in China has a bell tied to her horn.<sup>17</sup> In China, Buddhist priests ring a bell over a corpse: — Doolittle says to secure the repose of the dead.<sup>18</sup> Several reasons are given by the Chinese for binding bells on to cattle, horses and camels.<sup>19</sup> The Japanese temple-women — that is, the virgin priestesses who dance — have each of them a bunch of bells. The Japanese goddess Uzumê has bells hung from a bamboo cane.<sup>20</sup>

Little iron bells are worn as ornaments by the people of Ugari in East Africa.<sup>21</sup> Exorcists and diviners in West Africa, inland from Benguela, were, according to Cameron, followed by men carrying bells, which they struck with iron.<sup>22</sup> West African dancers wear bells.<sup>23</sup> Great iron bells precede the Monbuttu chief Munza.<sup>24</sup> Bells are worn at the garters by Moorish dancers.<sup>25</sup> Close to the tomb of Galitzin, the prince-priest of the Alleghany Mountain, is a large bell.<sup>26</sup>

Bells have been found at Nineveh. They were known to the Greeks, but apparently were not used by the Christians till A. D. 410.<sup>27</sup> In 1772 the Greek Church in Skandaroon had no bell. Instead of a bell they beat on a large iron bar.<sup>28</sup> The Romans rung a bell in the rites for driving off the unfriendly dead.<sup>29</sup> The Russians are very fond of bells. Bells are consecrated by them.<sup>30</sup> In Russia, the bishops have little bells fastened to their robes and mantles. All post-houses have bells.<sup>31</sup> The Russian church bells ring when the bishop comes.<sup>32</sup> Bells are of great importance in the Roman Catholic ceremonies. When the Spanish Saint Teresa (1567) started to found a convent at Medina-del-Campo in Spain, she took a picture or two, some candles, a bell, and the Sacrament.<sup>33</sup> When Isabella of Spain (1474) was proclaimed queen, the standards were unfurled, bells pealed, and cannons boomed.<sup>34</sup> The

<sup>4</sup> Buchanan's *Mysore*, Vol. I. p. 313.

<sup>5</sup> Dubois, Vol. II. p. 353.

<sup>6</sup> Yule's *Cathay*, Vol. I. p. 169.

<sup>7</sup> Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II. p. 155.

<sup>8</sup> Shway Yoe's *The Furman*, Vol. I. p. 242.

<sup>9</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 245.

<sup>10</sup> Gray's *China*, Vol. I. p. 161.

<sup>11</sup> *Notes and Queries*, April 1884.

<sup>12</sup> Reed's *Japan*, Vol. II. p. 174.

<sup>13</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 218.

<sup>14</sup> Schweinfurth's *Heart of Africa*, Vol. II. p. 96.

<sup>15</sup> Harper's *Monthly Magazine*, August 1883, p. 337.

<sup>16</sup> Parson's *Travels*, p. 9.

<sup>17</sup> Mrs. Romanoff's *Rites and Customs of the Græco-Russian Church*, p. 273.

<sup>18</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 416.

<sup>19</sup> *Quart. Rev.* October 1883, p. 415.

<sup>20</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 332.

<sup>21</sup> Leslie's *Early Races of Scotland*, pp. 503, 504.

<sup>22</sup> Maurice's *Indian Antiquities*, Vol. V. p. 902.

<sup>23</sup> Mackey's *Freemasonry*, p. 135.

<sup>24</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. I. pp. 155, 196, 197.

<sup>25</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 321.

<sup>26</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 180.

<sup>27</sup> Gray's *China*, Vol. II. p. 180.

<sup>28</sup> Cameron's *Across Africa*, Vol. I. p. 227.

<sup>29</sup> Park's *Travels*, Vol. I. p. 42.

<sup>30</sup> Chambers's *Book of Days*, p. 632.

<sup>31</sup> Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, Vol. VI. p. 25, note

<sup>32</sup> Ovid's *Fasts*, Vol. V. p. 441.

<sup>33</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 280.

<sup>34</sup> Jones' *Crowns*, p. 416.

Roman Catholics rid the air of spirits by ringing their hallowed bells.<sup>35</sup> In Germany bell-ringing is said to be hated by dwarfs and giants and by the devil: the devils tries to drag the bells from the churches. In the Middle Ages bells were rung to keep off lightning and the devil.<sup>36</sup>

In Ireland and Scotland St. Patrick (450) and St. Columba (550) are said to have used bells to drive out demons,<sup>37</sup> and a bell was said to be buried in St. Patrick's tomb when he died.<sup>38</sup> In early Christian times in Ireland (500-800) bells were used in cursing.<sup>39</sup> In Middle-Age Europe the curious said that the ringing of bells exceedingly disturbed spirits.<sup>40</sup> In the Middle Ages (1000-1500) church bells were rung to scare storms, which were evil spirits.<sup>41</sup> Bells used to be blessed and consecrated in the Middle Ages, and were then able to frighten demons and defeat the spirits of the storms.<sup>42</sup> In early England, a fiend-sick person was made to drink out of a church bell.<sup>43</sup> Burton (1621) notices that, in Roman Catholic churches, bells were consecrated and baptized to drive away devils, bugbears, and noisome smells.<sup>44</sup> In 1798 near Strafillan, in Tyndrum, Scotland, mad people were ducked in a pool and then laid in the churchyard with St. Fillan's bell on their heads.<sup>45</sup> St. Fillan's bell was kept loose in the churchyard. It was used in the ceremonies to cure lunatics.<sup>46</sup> In England, bells used to be rung at Halloween.<sup>47</sup> Large bells in England (A. D. 670) were at first consecrated and named after a saint. Bells were rung in storms (as storms are caused by spirits), and also when the Host was raised.<sup>48</sup> Bells in England could drive off storms, lightning and hail. Their sound exceedingly disturbed evil spirits.<sup>49</sup> In England, bells broke asunder lightning and thunder, they dispersed the fierce winds and assuaged men's cruel rage.<sup>50</sup> Bacon (1635) mentions that bells ring in the cities to charm thunder and scatter pestilent airs.<sup>51</sup> Wynkin de Worde says bells are rung during storms to scare the fiends and make them cease moving the storm.<sup>52</sup> In England, bells sometimes ring when people leave the church.<sup>53</sup> Bells are also rung at marriages. Bells used to be baptized, named, sprinkled with holy water, clothed in a fine garment and blessed. A christened bell had power to decay storms, divert thunderbolts, and drive away evil spirits.<sup>54</sup> A soul-bell was tolled for the dying, according to Grose and Douce, to drive off the evil spirit, who hovered about to seize the soul.<sup>55</sup> Formerly the funeral peal was a merry peal, as if, Scythian-like, the friends rejoiced at the escape of the dead from a world of troubles.<sup>56</sup> In Orkney, an old iron bell was found among the remains of burials. The bell was in a rough stone chest and was close to some skeletons, which have been decided to belong to the ninth century.<sup>57</sup> Bells have also been found buried, with other remains in North Ronaldsay and in Kingoldrum in Forfarshire.<sup>58</sup> St. Finan's bell near Ardnamurchan, West Scotland, is probably 800 years old. It is still carried in front of the dead at funerals.<sup>59</sup> Canterbury pilgrims decked their horses with small bells as charms and guards.<sup>60</sup> On Christmas Eve at Harbury, in North England, the devil's knell is rung.<sup>61</sup> The bells of Rylstone played their Sabbath music — "God us aid."<sup>62</sup> In Roman Catholic countries, bells are rung when people come to communicate.<sup>63</sup> In the Mass service a bell is rung three times by the acolyte before the Holy or Sanctus.<sup>64</sup> A bell is also rung before raising the Host,<sup>65</sup> and thrice at the elevation of the Host.<sup>66</sup> In England, bells are fastened to babies'

<sup>35</sup> Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 357.

<sup>36</sup> Grimm's *Teuto. Myth* Vol. III. p. 1022.

<sup>37</sup> Leslie's *Early Races of Scotland*, Vol. I. p. 66.

<sup>38</sup> Anderson's *Scotland in Early Christian Times*, Vol. I. p. 200.

<sup>39</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 206.

<sup>40</sup> Leslie's *Eur. Riv.* Vol. I. p. 304.

<sup>41</sup> Henderson's *Folk-Lore*, p. 11.

<sup>42</sup> *Notes on the Golden Legend*.

<sup>43</sup> Taylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II. p. 140.

<sup>44</sup> Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*, p. 738.

<sup>45</sup> Anderson's *Scotland in Early Christian Times*, Vol. I. p. 192.

<sup>46</sup> Chambers's *Book of Days*, p. 79.

<sup>47</sup> Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 304.

<sup>48</sup> Chambers's *Book of Days*, p. 301.

<sup>49</sup> Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, Vol. II. p. 317.

<sup>50</sup> Dyer's *Folk-Lore*, p. 263.

<sup>51</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 234.

<sup>52</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 264.

<sup>53</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 265.

<sup>54</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 266.

<sup>55</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 237.

<sup>56</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 247.

<sup>57</sup> Anderson's *Scotland in Early Christian Times*, Vol. I. p. 173.

<sup>58</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 175.

<sup>59</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 193.

<sup>60</sup> Chambers's *Book of Days*, Vol. I. p. 332.

<sup>61</sup> Henderson's *Folk-Lore*, p. 66.

<sup>62</sup> Wordsworth's *White Doe, Canto Seventh*.

<sup>63</sup> *Golden Manual*, p. 272.

<sup>64</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 252.

<sup>65</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 260.

<sup>66</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 261.

corals. In some parts of England, when banns are published, bells are rung.<sup>67</sup> The belief that bells are a charm, is shown in *Il Penseroso* (pp. 83, 84) :—

The bellman's drowy charm

To bless the doors from nightly harm.

The coronation of English kings is announced by the firing of guns and the ringing of bells.<sup>68</sup> *Notes and Queries* (April 19th, 1884, p. 308) contain the following Latin inscription copied from a bell :—“The living I call, the dead I bewail, the thunder I break. The true God I praise, the people I call, the priests I gather, the dead I bewail, the plague I scare, the feast I adorn.” The bells in Longfellow's *Golden Legend* ring :—“I praise the true God ; I call the people ; I assemble the clergy.” The devils tried to seize the bells, but could do nothing as the bells had been washed in holy water. In Wales (1815), a bell called Bangu, said to have belonged to St. David, cured sickness.<sup>69</sup> At Oxford, when a person of academic rank is buried, a bellman walks in front of the coffin, ringing a bell.<sup>70</sup>

**Blood.** — Blood is a tonic in cases of weakness, and blood-letting cures fits and nervous attacks. According to Pliny,<sup>71</sup> a draught of human blood cures epilepsy and other diseases ; and, according to Burton (1621), bleeding is a cure for sadness.<sup>72</sup>

In cases of piles the Ratnâgiri Marâthâs give warmed goat's blood, and in cases of typhus or red discolouration of the skin, the patient is cured by killing a cock, and smearing the red blotches with its blood. Ratnâgiri Marâthâs use the blood of the *ghôrpar*, or big lizard, as a cure in snake-bite.<sup>73</sup> Among certain low class Hindus in Poona, blood is poured down the nose of a patient suffering from a spirit-seizure.<sup>74</sup> Bleeding cures sickness by letting out the devil. So Fryer (p. 141) says :—“By bleeding a vein I let out the devil which was crept into my palanquin bearer's fancies.” The Bombay Pâtânê Prabhus, before a marriage, let drops of goat's blood fall on the heads of the family goddesses.<sup>75</sup> In Poona the blood of sheep and goats is sprinkled over the village idols.<sup>76</sup> In Dhârwar, every third or fourth year, a buffalo is killed in honour of the goddess Dayamava, and its blood sprinkled along the village boundary.<sup>77</sup> On the Dasara day Kalâdgi Râjput householders slaughter a goat, and sprinkle its blood on the door-posts of their houses.<sup>78</sup> Similarly at the Dasara festival, some Dekhan Kurbis used to sprinkle their houses with sheep's blood.<sup>79</sup> Most Bijâpur Hindus, before using the threshing-floor, kill a goat and sprinkle its blood on the floor. Even Brâhmanas and Lingâyats sometimes have their threshing floors blood-cleansed by a Marâthâ or Râjput neighbour or servant. The great Bijâpur gun is said to have been baptised in human blood by its maker, a Rûmî, or Greek. In 1829, in the Southern Marâthâ Country, in the village of Sérin, some fifty or sixty buffaloes and a hundred sheep used to be killed, and after some privileged persons had taken their heads, the villagers scrambled for the rest — watchmen, shepherds, outcastes and all low and high classes, even Brâhmanas rolling in the mass of blood.<sup>80</sup> In East Berâr, on the Dasara day, the blood of a buffalo is smeared on the brow of the village headman.<sup>81</sup>

The Kûs of the North-East frontier drink the blood of the sacrificial bull.<sup>82</sup> Among the Malers of West Bengal, in January every year, demoniacs are bound until a buffalo is slaughtered, and are then given some of its blood to drink.<sup>83</sup> So, when an epidemic comes, the Malers set up a pair of posts and a cross beam, and from the cross beam hang vessels

<sup>67</sup> Dyer's *Folk-Lore*, pp. 190, 191.

<sup>68</sup> *Notes and Queries*, 19th April 1884, p. 308.

<sup>71</sup> Pliny's *Natural History*, Book xxviii. Chap. 4.

<sup>73</sup> Information from the peon Bâhâji.

<sup>75</sup> Mr. K. Raghunâth's *Pâtânê Prabhus*.

<sup>77</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XXII. Appendix A.

<sup>79</sup> *Trans. By. Lit. Soc.* Vol. III. p. 224.

<sup>81</sup> Balfour's *Encyclopædia*, Vol. V. p. 28.

<sup>82</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 270.

<sup>69</sup> Jones' *Crowns*, p. 347.

<sup>70</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 312.

<sup>72</sup> Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*, p. 447.

<sup>74</sup> Information from Mr. Shâstri.

<sup>76</sup> *Op. cit.*

<sup>78</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XXIII. p. 157.

<sup>80</sup> *Jour. Ethno. Soc.* Vol. I. p. 99.

<sup>82</sup> Dalton's *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 118.

holding blood and spirits.<sup>84</sup> The Bengal Kurmis, or Kunbis, mark the brow of the bride and bridegroom with red lead and sometimes with blood.<sup>85</sup>

The object of the round red brow-mark worn by unwidowed women and other Hindus, which was probably originally of blood, seems to be to keep off spirits. It is also with the view of scaring evil spirits that, on investment, the brow of the Rājput chief is marked with blood taken from a man's thumb, the ceremony being a relic of human sacrifice. In Bengal the worshippers of Durgā, when a buffalo is offered, daub their bodies with earth soaked in the blood, and dance, singing indecent songs.<sup>86</sup> Blood is drunk by Hindu Śāktās.<sup>87</sup> The Indian overlord used to drink the blood of a defeated warrior, that the fierce spirit of the slain might be housed in him. Bhīma, one of the five Pāṇḍavas, when he killed his cousin Dussāsana, drank his blood; even Sitā, the gentle wife of Rāma, when she killed the thousand-headed Rāvaṇa, drank the blood of her victim.<sup>88</sup> Among the Beni-Isra'īl, at marriages, the bridegroom and bride walk along a path sprinkled with blood from the marriage porch to the house-door.

Among the Jews, when a murdered body was found, a heifer was brought from the nearest city, and the elders came and washed their hands over it in some waste land, and its head was cut off.<sup>89</sup> On the tenth day of the Jewish seventh month, the Jews sprinkled the Holy of Holies with bullocks' blood.<sup>90</sup> Blood is life. So the Jewish commandment runs:—"The flesh with the life thereof, which is the blood thereof, shall ye not eat."<sup>91</sup> So, in Egypt, to keep off the spirit of death, the Israelites,<sup>92</sup> smeared the side-posts and the upper door-posts with blood. This show of blood prevented the destroyer coming into the house to smite the inmates.<sup>93</sup> The horns of the Jewish altar were smeared with bullocks' blood.<sup>94</sup> Moses sprinkled half the blood on the altar.<sup>95</sup>

When a sick child is brought to a Chinese priest, he bleeds the child, mixes the blood with water, and dipping into the mixture a seal engraved with the name of an idol, marks the child's wrists, neck, back, and forehead.<sup>96</sup> In China, rags dipped in a criminal's blood and tied to a sick-bed cure the patient.<sup>97</sup> In China, when a person is sick or possessed by an evil spirit, a goat's blood is smeared on his forehead.<sup>98</sup>

The Australians, when they kill an animal, rub some of the blood on the idol's mouth.<sup>99</sup> The Gallas of East Africa, when they cut a cow's throat, suck the gushing blood.<sup>100</sup> Warm blood is a favourite draught with almost all Africans.<sup>1</sup> The Bedouins of Nubia are very fond of the warm blood of a sheep.<sup>2</sup> Human blood is sprinkled on the tombs of the ancestors of the kings of Dahomey, when their help is wanted in war.<sup>3</sup> The Hovas of Madagascar anoint the head-stones of tombs with blood.<sup>4</sup> Among the South Australians, when a boy is ten years old, several men cut themselves and smear the boy with their blood.<sup>5</sup> The American-Indian Kiowas of New Mexico drink warm buffalo blood.<sup>6</sup>

Pliny<sup>7</sup> notices that blood on door-posts keeps off enchantments. Early men delight in drinking blood; so the Australians, Fijians, Vateans, Haidalis and Vampyres are blood-suckers.<sup>8</sup> Greek ghosts drink the blood of the sacrifice, and the Mexicans' whole ritual consisted of offerings of blood.<sup>9</sup> In Greece, the priest of Cybele entered a room, whose roof was full of holes, a bull was killed on the roof and the priest was drenched with a shower of blood.<sup>10</sup> In North Europe, till A. D. 900, the blood of the sacrifice was mixed with ale, and

<sup>84</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 272.

<sup>85</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 319.

<sup>86</sup> Ward's *View of the Hindus*, Vol. I. p. 117.

<sup>87</sup> *Dabistān*, Vol. II. p. 135.

<sup>88</sup> Ward's *View of the Hindus*, Vol. I. p. 146.

<sup>89</sup> *Deuteronomy*, xxi.

<sup>90</sup> Balfour's *Encyclopædia*, Vol. V. p. 12.

<sup>91</sup> *Genesis*, ix. 4.

<sup>92</sup> *Exodus*, xii. 7.

<sup>93</sup> *Op. cit.* xii. 23.

<sup>94</sup> *Op. cit.* xxix. 12.

<sup>95</sup> *Op. cit.* xxiv. 6.

<sup>96</sup> Gray's *China*, Vol. I. p. 102.

<sup>97</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 31.

<sup>98</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 165.

<sup>99</sup> Hahn's *Tsuni Goan*, p. 141.

<sup>100</sup> New's *East Africa*, p. 189.

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 397.

<sup>2</sup> Burckhardt's *Nubia*, p. 149.

<sup>3</sup> Burton's *Dahomey*, Vol. II. p. 167.

<sup>4</sup> Sibree's *Madagascar*, p. 227.

<sup>5</sup> Wallace's *Australasia*, p. 101.

<sup>6</sup> *Jour. Ethno. Soc.* Vol. I. p. 313.

<sup>7</sup> Pliny's *Natural History*, Book xxviii. Chap. 7.

<sup>8</sup> Spencer's *Princ. of Sociology*, Vol. I. p. 290.

<sup>9</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 290.

<sup>10</sup> Maurice's *Indian Antiquities*, Vol. V. p. 958.

drunk.<sup>11</sup> The Norsemen sprinkled their sacred vessels and all people present with the victim's blood.<sup>12</sup> As late as the eleventh century the Swedes used to bring a horse, cut it in pieces, and redden the sacred tree with its blood.<sup>13</sup> In Iceland, worshippers were sprinkled with blood.<sup>14</sup> At the great nine-year festival at Upsala, in Sweden, the worshippers, the sacred groves, the gods, altars, benches and walls of the temples inside and outside were sprinkled with the blood of the human victim.<sup>15</sup>

In Austria, the blood of a criminal is a common cure for the falling sickness. Colonel J. H. White, Mint Master, Bombay, remembers (1884) that about the year 1825, when he was living on the Rhine, he one day went with a comrade to see a guillotine execution at Mayence, and, knowing the officer in command, got a place close to the platform. As the criminal's head rolled off, a man dashed from the crowd, jumped on the platform, and eagerly drank the blood as it gushed out. In Germany it is believed that, if a were-wolf, or man-wolf, is made to bleed, the spell is broken.<sup>16</sup>

The iron clasps of the wizard's book would not yield to un-Christian hands, till he smeared the cover with the Borderer's curdled gore.<sup>17</sup> The reason the clasp of Scott's book opened after smearing it with blood was that the guardian fiend was driven off. The book could not be opened without danger on account of the malignant feuds which were thereby invoked.<sup>18</sup> Draw blood from a witch, and her enchantment fails.<sup>19</sup> A patient's blood throws back the spell on the witch.<sup>20</sup> A spell is broken if you draw blood from the person who made the spell.<sup>21</sup> "Blood and fire" (the two great spirit-scarys) is the motto on the Salvationist banner: the banner of the religious ideas of the English and American lower orders — salvation, that is, spirit-scaring, being the object.<sup>22</sup> In Scotland, the epileptic is made to drink his own blood.<sup>23</sup>

**Bread.** — Hindu women, to ward off the effect of the Evil Eye, wave bread and water round the faces of their children. When a Marāṭhā chief returns home, a female servant comes forward with a pot of water and some bread. She waves them three times round the face of the chief, and then throws them away.<sup>24</sup> One of the *dēvaks*, or wedding guardians, of the Dekhan Mhārs is a piece of bread tied to a post in the marriage porch.<sup>25</sup> Among the Khāndēsh Mhārs, on the bridegroom approaching the bride's house, a piece of bread is waved round his head and thrown away.<sup>26</sup> The Jews placed show-bread on the table outside of the veil, close to the candlestick with seven lights.<sup>27</sup> In Germany, bread and salt protect against magic, and so witches abstain from bread and salt.<sup>28</sup> The Roman Catholic Bishop, after Confirmation, wipes his hands with bread crumbs.<sup>29</sup> Bread and wine are still the Sacrament in all Christian churches. In North England the bread and wine of the Sacrament are believed to cure bodily sickness.<sup>30</sup> This is because sickness is still believed to be due to spirit-possession of the body, as sin is due to spirit-possession of the mind. In Scotland a cake was broken over the bride's head.<sup>31</sup> In England, in 1657, it was believed that a crust of bread carried in the pocket at night kept off spirits.<sup>32</sup> In South Scotland, when the bride returns to her house from the church, a cake of short bread is thrown over her head and scrambled for.<sup>33</sup> Formerly cakes used to be thrown to be scrambled for on Palm Sunday,<sup>34</sup> and Good Friday cross buns were held sovran against diarrhoea.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Grimm's *Teuto. Myth.* Vol. I. p. 55.

<sup>12</sup> Mallet's *Northern Antiquities*, p. 109.

<sup>13</sup> Scott's *Lay*, Vol. III. p. 9.

<sup>14</sup> Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, Vol. III. p. 15.

<sup>15</sup> Henderson's *Folk-Lore*, p. 181.

<sup>16</sup> Mitchell's *Highland Superstitions*, p. 25.

<sup>17</sup> From MS. notes.

<sup>18</sup> Grimm's *Teuto. Myth.* Vol. III. p. 1103.

<sup>19</sup> Henderson's *Folk-Lore*, p. 143.

<sup>20</sup> Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, Vol. III. p. 310.

<sup>21</sup> Chambers's *Book of Days*, Vol. I. p. 396.

<sup>22</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 55.

<sup>23</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 113.

<sup>24</sup> Note 2 C. to *The Lay of the Last Minstrel*.

<sup>25</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. III. p. 20.

<sup>26</sup> From MS. Notes.

<sup>27</sup> Information from Mr. Govind Pandit.

<sup>28</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XII. p. 117. <sup>29</sup> *Exodus*, xxv. 30, 31.

<sup>30</sup> *Golden Manual*, p. 690.

<sup>31</sup> Scott's *Demonology and Witchcraft*, p. 95.

<sup>32</sup> Henderson's *Folk-Lore*, p. 36.

<sup>33</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 418.

<sup>34</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 48.

<sup>35</sup> Henderson's *Folk-Lore*, p. 182.

**Breath.** — The guardian's breath scares fiends. In the Kônkan, when a child is bewitched, the exorcist rubs ashes on the child's forehead and blows into his ears.<sup>36</sup> Among the Roman Catholic Christians of Thânâ, when a child is brought to the priest to be baptized, in order to drive the devil, or Inbred Sin, out of the child, and make him give place to the Holy Spirit, the priest thrice breathes upon the face of the child, saying "*Eai ab eo*, Go out of him."<sup>37</sup> *Kânphukhônê*, or ear-blowing, is a great ceremony among the Mhârs of Thânâ. The persons, whose children are to be initiated, invite caste fellows to the ceremony, and taking with them their children and camphor, incense, red powder, sugar and flowers, they go to their *guru's* or teacher's, house. The ceremony takes place at about eight at night. The teacher, sitting cross-legged on a wooden stool, worships his sacred book, and the whole company praise the gods with songs and music. The parents bring their children to the *guru*, and he, taking each child on his lap, breathes into both ears, and mutters some mystic words into the right ear.<sup>38</sup> The Kôrvî fortune-teller of Belgaum, when she is going to charm a female patient, covers the patient's head with her robe, and breathes on her eyes and into her ears.<sup>39</sup> Among the Roman Catholic Christians of Kânara, at the time of Baptism, the priest breathes three times into the child's mouth to drive out the evil spirit and make room for the Holy Ghost.<sup>40</sup> In 1624 the Lâmas of Tibet cured the sick by blowing on them.<sup>41</sup> On the Thursday before Good Friday, the Bishop and twelve priests breathe over sacred oil.<sup>42</sup> The Russian priest blows on the child's face before Baptism.<sup>43</sup>

**Brooms** — The *bêrésmâ*, or Pârâi besom, has special power over spirits.<sup>44</sup> In the Kônkan, on the first of Kârtik (October-November), called Balirâj, or the day of Bali, the ruler of the under-world, spirits are swept out of a Hindu house, and the sweepings are thrown into the sea. In Thânâ some old Hindu women, to cure a child affected by the Evil Eye, wave salt and water round its face, and strike the ground with a broom three times.<sup>45</sup> Similarly among the Beni-Isra'îls of Bombay, when the midwife drives off the blast of the Evil Eye, she holds in her left hand a shoe, a winnowing fan, and a broom.<sup>46</sup> To scare a demon out of a person, the Shânârs of Tinnevely apply a slipper, or a broom, to the shoulders of the possessed.<sup>47</sup> In Calabar, in West Africa, once in every three years, spirits are swept out of the village.<sup>48</sup> On the other hand, the negroes of the Congo River, about 600 miles south of Calabâr, after a death, do not sweep the house for a whole year, lest they should sweep out the ghost.<sup>49</sup> For the same reason, the people of Tongking do not sweep their houses during the days when the spirits come to pay their yearly visit.<sup>50</sup> So, too, the Romans used brooms, called *ex verrea*, to sweep the house after a death,<sup>51</sup> and at the Palilia (April 21) the stables were swept with a laurel broom. This, and the spirit's fear of a cane or rod, seem to be the reasons why in the Middle Ages European witches rode on broomsticks. The spirits of the air were afraid, and carried the witches wherever they wished to go. In England, spirits were believed to fear brooms. So we find in Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 254:—"Pales were filled, and hearths were swept against fairy elves and sprites."

**Canes.** — In fits, in swoons, and in seizures, beating with a cane restores the patient to consciousness; that is, beating puts to flight the spirit which has caused the disease or sickness. The cane is in Sanskrit called *yôgidaṇḍa*, the ascetic's rod, and a decoction of its root was believed to remove bile caused by evil spirits.<sup>52</sup> In the East Dekhan, the medium draws a circle round the possessed person with a cane, and when the medium threatens the spirit he holds a cane in his hand. The Ratnâgiri Marâthâs say that when a person is struck with an

<sup>36</sup> From MS. notes.

<sup>37</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XIII. p. 210.

<sup>38</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XIII. p. 194.

<sup>39</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XXI. p. 171.

<sup>40</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XV. p. 388.

<sup>41</sup> *Kerr's Voyages*, Vol. VII. p. 15.

<sup>42</sup> *Chambers's Book of Days*, Vol. I. p. 412.

<sup>43</sup> *Mrs. Romanoff's Rites and Customs of the Greeco-Russian Church*, p. 68.

<sup>44</sup> *Bleek's Khorâh Avesta*, Vol. I. p. 64.

<sup>45</sup> Information from Mr. P. B. Joshi.

<sup>46</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XVIII. p. 526.

<sup>47</sup> *Caldwell in Balfour's Encyclopædia*, article, *Funeralia, Hindus*.

<sup>48</sup> *Taylor's Primitive Culture*, Vol. II. p. 176.

<sup>49</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 455.

<sup>50</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 455.

<sup>51</sup> *Smith's Greek and Roman Antiquities*.

<sup>52</sup> *Narsinha's Nighantarâj*, p. 65.



incantation, he should at once seize a cane, as the "blow or *muth*" (that is the spirit in the incantation) fears cane. In the Kônkan, a cane is laid under the pillow of a person who is troubled by an evil spirit,<sup>53</sup> and in some Hindu shrines a ratan is placed beside the god.<sup>54</sup> If a person is brought to the god possessed with a *bhût*, he is beaten with a cane, and the spirit leaves him.<sup>55</sup> Vêtâl, the lord of spirits, the early Śiva, who is much worshipped in the Dekhan and Kônkan, is shewn with a racket-shaped cane as a sceptre. Sometimes he is represented solely by a cane, and it seems to be from the vêt, or cane, that Vêtâl takes his name. Among the Dekhan Chitpâvans, a cane is laid under the young mother's pillow.<sup>56</sup> In the Kônkan, when a medium is called to see a person who is possessed, he gives the possessed a few cuts with a cane. At the Bîjâpur Liugâyatinitiation, near the *guru* are placed a brass platter, a conch-shell and a cane. Among the Bengal Orâôis if a girl becomes possessed while she is dancing, the by-standers slap her:<sup>57</sup> to keep off spirits. Some of the Orâôis wear a cane girdle.<sup>58</sup> Among certain Hindus the belief prevails that, to induce a familiar spirit to dwell in him, the medium must go naked into water up to the middle, repeat a charm which has power to bring the spirit, and at each repetition beat himself with a cane, the object of the caning being to keep the house of his body empty and ready for the proper inmate.<sup>59</sup> The Pârsis use a cane, or reed of nine knots, to drive off evil.<sup>60</sup> In Central Asia, all Musalmâns take with them to the mosque long heavy ceremonial canes.<sup>61</sup> In Burma, possessed women are thrashed with a stick.<sup>62</sup> In the time of mourning the Motus wear armlets and waist-belts of a particular kind of cane.<sup>63</sup> The women of the Arru Islands, west of New Guinea, wear bands of plaited cane under the knee and above the elbow, and through them pass the leaves of a plant.<sup>64</sup> The Caroline tribes make their coffins of cane.<sup>64a</sup> The Mexican merchants worshipped their staff,<sup>65</sup> and the Roman herald's staff, topped with snakes, seems to have been used to keep off spirits. Among the early Christians spirits were driven out by blows.<sup>66</sup> In Scotland, in the seventeenth century, the queen of the fairies had a white rod,<sup>67</sup> witches were whipped,<sup>68</sup> and if a spirit or phantom was struck at, it would melt into air. The sense of the old Hindu gentleman's stout walking stick, of the fulldress eighteenth century physician's cane, of the Indian ceremonial *chôb* or mace, of the Bishop's crozier, of Aaron's rod, of Prospero's wand, of the field marshall's baton, of the royal sceptre, seem to lie in the sweet influences of the rod that keep far off the unhoused spirit, who seeks a lodging in the body-shrine of the honoured human being.

**Circles.** — As spirits fear circles and cannot cross them, devils can be kept in rings.<sup>69</sup> In the East Dekhan, the medium begins by drawing a circle with a cane round the patient, apparently to prevent the spirit from escaping. Sometimes the medium also makes a circle of ashes round the patient. The walking round an honoured guest, a god, or a corpse, which is one of the commonest Hindu observances, seems to mean the keeping evil spirits from the person, god, or corpse. All higher class Hindus, especially Brâhman, sprinkle water in a circle round their dining plates. Among the Kunbis of Gujarât, after a birth, about ten inches of the navel cord are left, and the end is tied to a red thread and put round the child's throat. Fevers are kept off in Gujarât, as well as in the Kônkan, by tying a thread round the waist or arm, so that the evil spirit cannot pass. So threads are wound round the bride and bridegroom at the wedding of many Hindus and Pârsis, and so, too, the making of seven circles is one of the chief parts of a Hindu wedding. Among the Gujarât Dhêdâs, a person suffering from an evil spirit has a thread tied round his arm. The Bhâtîâs fasten a bracelet round a woman's arm in her first pregnancy. So also do Gujarât Kunbis. Wedding wreaths of red thread are

<sup>53</sup> Information from Mr. Ovalekar.

<sup>54</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XVIII. p. 113.

<sup>55</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 249.

<sup>56</sup> Bleek's *Khordah Avesta*, p. 153.

<sup>57</sup> Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II. p. 186.

<sup>58</sup> Earl's *Papuans*, p. 98.

<sup>59</sup> Bancroft, Vol. III. p. 416.

<sup>60</sup> Scott's *Demonology and Witchcraft*, p. 110.

<sup>61</sup> Ditto.

<sup>62</sup> Ditto.

<sup>63</sup> Dalton's *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 256.

<sup>64</sup> Compare Balfour's *Hindus*, Vol. V. p. 537.

<sup>65</sup> Schuyler's *Turkistan*, Vol. I. p. 157.

<sup>66</sup> *Jour. Anthropol. Inst.* Vol. VII. p. 480.

<sup>67</sup> *First Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, Washington, p. 94.

<sup>68</sup> Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II. p. 139.

<sup>69</sup> *Eur. Rat.* Vol. I. p. 142. <sup>70</sup> Burton's *Anat. of Mel.* p. 123.

thrown round the necks of the Kunbî bride and bridegroom. The Rājputs of Kāṭhīāwār make three circles at different parts of the wedding service.<sup>70</sup> The Nāgar Chāmbhārs lay before Satvāī turmeric, sandal paste, flowers, a coil of thread, and wheat cakes.<sup>71</sup> Among the Dhruva Prabhūs of Poona, the priest passes a thread five or six times round the husband and wife. Among the Telugu Nhāvis, or barbers, of Poona, a thread is wound fourteen times round the bride and bridegroom, cut into two, and one part of it tied round the wrist of the bride and the other round the wrist of the bridegroom.<sup>72</sup> In Bijāpur, among many classes, the practice at a wedding is to have a *surgī*, or square, with a water-pot at each corner and a thread passed several times round the necks of the water-pots. Among the Mādhava Brāhmanas of Dhārwar, a thread is passed five times round a group of married women, who oil and turmeric themselves before the wedding.<sup>73</sup> In Belgaum the full-moon of Śrāvan (July-August) is called the thread-hank full-moon. Kunbīs make hanks of thread, colour them yellow, and throw them round the necks of the men and women of the family.<sup>74</sup> Among the Kulāchāri Hatgārs, a class of Belgaum hand-loom weavers, after the birth of a male child, a party of elderly married women come and gird the child's waist with a thread called *kadadōrā*.<sup>75</sup> Among the Kānara Shēnvīs, a Brāhman priest winds a thread in a double circle-of-eight pattern round the bride and bridegroom.<sup>76</sup> Among the Roman Catholics of Kānara, the dead have their hands tied together across the chest, and a crucifix is laid on them.<sup>77</sup>

To keep off spirits, the Orāons of Chuṭiā Nāgpur, wear a girdle of cords of tusser silk or of canes.<sup>78</sup> In Bengal, the Hindu wife worships her husband, walking round him seven times.<sup>79</sup> When the Hindus dedicate a temple, they walk thrice round it.<sup>80</sup> Hindu *satīs* tied threads round their wrists (to keep off spirits).<sup>81</sup> In India, if a Brāhman sees a temple, a cow, or a holy man, he ought to walk round them.<sup>82</sup>

The Supreme Ruler addressed Zoroaster from the midst of a vast and pure circle of fire.<sup>83</sup> The Pārsīs wear a girdle of thread, called *kastī*, round their waists. The Egyptian god Oneph was shewn holding a zone and a sceptre.<sup>84</sup> The Jews compassed the altar.<sup>85</sup> Mecca pilgrims go seven times round the Ka'ba, or sacred black stone.<sup>86</sup>

In Burma, when cholera breaks out, the Burmese get the priests to bless holy water and yellow threads, which they either wear as bracelets or hang round the eaves of their houses.<sup>87</sup> The Burman king at his crowning goes round the city, beginning from the east.<sup>88</sup> The object of the Nāgas in wearing a ring of hart's horn round the point of the penis is probably to scare spirits.<sup>89</sup> The Chinese villagers paint a circle on farm walls to keep off wolves, panthers, and foxes.<sup>90</sup>

The Dinkas of the White Nile, as a sign of grief, wear a necklace of cord.<sup>91</sup> In East Africa, the wizard is tied to a stake, and a circle of fire is lighted round him, and he is roasted.<sup>92</sup> The Hottentots wear many rings of leather round the ankle, circles of simple cords above or below the knee, and bracelets of beads.<sup>93</sup>

The Romans wore crowns at their feasts (to keep off spirits); their dead were wreathed, and their victors, crowned with laurel and bay. The Romans had great faith in the virtue of the ring. When the table was spread, a ring was laid on the Roman table.<sup>94</sup> To move a ring from the left hand to the right cured cough.<sup>94</sup> A morsel of goat's brain passed

<sup>70</sup> Information from Colonel Barton.

<sup>72</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XVIII. p. 382.

<sup>76</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XXI. p. 137.

<sup>78</sup> Dalton's *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 249.

<sup>80</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 7. <sup>81</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 89.

<sup>83</sup> Maurice's *Indian Antiquities*, Vol. II. p. 225.

<sup>85</sup> *Psalm*, xxvi. 6.

<sup>87</sup> Shway Yoe's *The Burman*, Vol. II. p. 108.

<sup>89</sup> Fytche's *Burmah*, Vol. I. pp. 350, 351.

<sup>91</sup> Schweinfurth's *Heart of Africa*, Vol. I. p. 154.

<sup>93</sup> Burchell's *Africa*, Vol. I. p. 396.

<sup>71</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XVII. p. 137.

<sup>73</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XXII. p. 80.

<sup>75</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XV. p. 153.

<sup>77</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XV. p. 393.

<sup>79</sup> Ward's *View of the Hindus*, Vol. II. p. 75.

<sup>82</sup> *Dābistān*, Vol. II. p. 84.

<sup>84</sup> Kennedy's *Hindu Mythology*, p. 33.

<sup>86</sup> Burekhardt's *Arabia*, Vol. I. p. 172.

<sup>88</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 171.

<sup>90</sup> Gray's *China*, Vol. II. p. 111.

<sup>92</sup> Cameron's *Across Africa*, Vol. I. p. 116.

<sup>94</sup> Pliny's *Natural History*, Book xxviii. Chaps. 2 and 6.

through a gold ring, and dropped into a new-born infant's mouth, saved it from falling sickness.<sup>95</sup> The Romans also believed in the value of circles. The hair of a young child tied round the leg cured gout;<sup>96</sup> to take a knife or dagger, and with its point to cut two or three imaginary circles round a child and then walk two or three times round the child, was a preventive against sorcery.<sup>97</sup> Roman slaves wore iron rings.<sup>98</sup> Procession round the altar was part of the Greek ceremonies. People walked thrice round the altar singing a sacred hymn.<sup>99</sup>

In Skandinavia, girdles were believed to renew the wearer's strength. So Thor's girdle was strength-renewing.<sup>100</sup> The Skandinavian judges used to sit in a circle, called the Domhringre, made with hazel twigs or stones fastened together with ropes.<sup>1</sup> The Skandinavians made a circle of huge stones, and in the middle set a seat for the king when the king was crowned.<sup>2</sup> The Doge of Venice was invested with a ring emblematic of the ring with which he was yearly married to the Adriatic.<sup>3</sup> In the Russian baptism, the child is carried three times round the font.<sup>4</sup> Pope Boniface VIII. was said to have drawn a circle round him and called up a spirit,<sup>5</sup> and among the Scotch Highlanders, till 1700, it was usual to make a circle with an oak sapling to keep off spirits.<sup>6</sup>

In Scotland, till the end of the eighteenth century, people used to walk three times round the dead. They walked round the church at marriages, churchings, and burials; and walked round fields with torches: all apparently to keep off spirits.<sup>7</sup> They walked round the standing, or Druid, stones three times, and were careful to walk with the sun, that is, to keep the right side to the stone. An epileptic person walked three times round a holy well.<sup>8</sup> In all labour, in their lodges, such as passing round the ballot box, freemasons move with the sun.<sup>9</sup> Similarly, at St. Malonah, in Lewis, in the Western Islands of Scotland, mad people are made to make seven circuits.<sup>10</sup> Moving round the church appears to have been held lucky, or rather peace-giving, in the Hebrides. Thus, St. Coivin is said to have invited all unhappy couples to meet at his cell on a given night, when, having blind-folded each person, he started them on a race thrice sun-wise round the church. At the end of the third round the saint would cry "Cabhag," that is, seize quickly, and each swain must catch what lass he could, and be true to her for one whole year, at the end of which, if still dissatisfied, he might return to the saintly cell and try a new assortment in the next matrimonial game practised as before.<sup>11</sup> Belts, being circles, scare spirits. So Thorne Reid, a fairy, gave his friend Bessie Dunlop<sup>12</sup> a lace to tie round women in child-birth, to give them easy delivery.<sup>13</sup> In East Scotland, in 1803, in the waxing March moon, wasting and hectic women and children were passed through wreaths of oak and ivy.<sup>14</sup> In Scotland (1860), people tied threads round women and cows to prevent miscarriage.<sup>15</sup> In Scotland it is still believed that any piece of a wedding cake, that has to be dreamed on, should first be passed through a gold ring.

Rings were used in the coronations of English kings.<sup>16</sup> King Edward blessed cramp rings.<sup>17</sup> Rings were hallowed in England on Good Friday by the Kings of England.<sup>18</sup> These rings cured cramp and falling sickness.<sup>19</sup> Conquerors and sorcerers defended themselves against charms by drawing circles.<sup>20</sup> In England, in the sixteenth century, rings were believed to cure cramp.<sup>21</sup> In the eighteenth century, in Orkney, people drew magic circles, and placed knives in their

<sup>95</sup> *Op. cit.* Book xxviii. Chap. 19.

<sup>97</sup> *Op. cit.* Book xxxiv. Chap. 15.

<sup>99</sup> Mackenzie's *Freemasonry*, p. 57.

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 291.

<sup>4</sup> Mrs. Romanoff's *Rites and Customs of the Græco-Russian Church*, p. 74.

<sup>5</sup> Leslie's *Early Races of Scotland*, Vol. II. p. 499.

<sup>8</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 107. <sup>9</sup> Mackey's *Freemasonry*, p. 32.

<sup>11</sup> In *The Hebrides*, p. 25.

<sup>13</sup> Scott's *Demonology and Witchcraft*, p. 150.

<sup>15</sup> Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, Vol. III. p. 54.

<sup>17</sup> Dyer's *Folk-Lore*, p. 163.

<sup>20</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. III. p. 57.

<sup>96</sup> *Op. cit.* Book xxviii. Chap. 4.

<sup>98</sup> Browne, *Bohn's Ed.* Vol. I. p. 387.

<sup>100</sup> Mallet's *Northern Antiquities*, p. 94.

<sup>2</sup> Jones' *Crowns*, p. 372.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 411.

<sup>6</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 172.

<sup>7</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 133.

<sup>10</sup> Mitchell's *Highland Superstitions*, p. 20.

<sup>12</sup> Ayrshire, Scotland, c. 1576 A.D.

<sup>14</sup> Scott's *Border Minstrelsy*, p. 466.

<sup>16</sup> Jones' *Crowns*, p. 51.

<sup>18</sup> Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 150.

<sup>19</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 150.

<sup>21</sup> Chambers's *Book of Days*, Vol. I. p. 418.

house walls to guard against witches.<sup>22</sup> In cases of fits it was common to make the patient wear a ring as a cure. So the Devonshire saying was: — "Get seven sixpences each from a maiden in a separate parish and make a ring, and you will cure the patient of fits."<sup>23</sup> In Somersetshire, if a ring finger is stroked over a wound, the wound will heal.<sup>24</sup> In Queen Elizabeth's time, rings were given away in great numbers at weddings.<sup>25</sup> The wedding ring is worn on the fourth finger, because an artery was believed to pass from that finger direct to the heart.<sup>26</sup> It is unlucky to take off a wedding ring.<sup>27</sup> If a wedding ring wears out, the woman or her husband will die. If a woman breaks her wedding ring, her husband will die.<sup>27a</sup> In the Roman Catholic marriage service, a gold ring is blessed, signed with the cross, sprinkled with holy water, and put on the bride's left hand, on the thumb, and on the second, third and fourth fingers, and then allowed to remain on the fourth finger.<sup>28</sup> In North England, to cure epilepsy, a half crown is taken out of the church bag and made into a ring.<sup>29</sup> Galvanic, or copper, rings cure rheumatism. A Sacrament shilling out of church plate cures epilepsy.<sup>30</sup> In England, a wedding ring heals warts.<sup>31</sup> In 1854, in North Devonshire, a young woman subject to fits went to church with thirty young men. At the end of the service she sat in the porch, and each of the young men dropped a penny in her lap. The last took the pennies and gave her half a crown. She held the half-crown in her hand, and walked thrice round the Communion table. She made the half crown into a ring, and wore it to recover her health.<sup>32</sup> In Herefordshire, a ring made from a Sacrament shilling cures fits.<sup>33</sup>

Knots are circles, and so, like circles, spirits are afraid of knots. So the Vādvāl and Kolī exorcists of Thānā lay a spirit by tying several knots on a black silk or cotton thread. In the Kōnkan, fevers, especially intermittent fevers, are stopped by the exorcist tying a knotted armlet round the arm of the patient.<sup>34</sup> In the Kōnkan, it is a common Hindu belief that spirits are afraid of the Brāhmaṇ's sacred thread, because it has several knots, called *Brahma-granthīs*, or God's knots.<sup>35</sup> In the Kōnkan, on the bright fifteenth of Śrāvan (July-August), a knotted silk or cotton thread called *rakshā* or *rākṣā*, that is, guardian, is tied by Hindu men round the right wrist and by women round the neck. This thread is believed to guard the wearer against sickness or misfortune.<sup>36</sup> In Gujarāt, if a man takes seven cotton threads, goes to a place where an owl is hooting, strips naked, ties a knot at each hoot and fastens the thread round the right arm of a fever patient, the fever flees. In the *Munj* or Thread Ceremony, the *munj*-grass thread that is put round the Brāhmaṇ boy has a knot for every year of his age.<sup>37</sup> The Hindu *sannyāsi*'s staff should have seven knots.<sup>38</sup> The object of tying or knotting the robes of the bride and bridegroom at almost all Hindu weddings seems to be to keep spirits away.<sup>39</sup> The Pārsis set special value on a stick with nine knots.<sup>40</sup> The object of wearing the Pārsi thread is more clearly told than the object of wearing the Brāhmaṇ thread. The thread, which is of white wool, is worn by men, women and children after seven. It is bound on several times a day, and always with the prayer — "May the devil and all his angels be broken."<sup>41</sup> Like the Pārsi *haṣṭī*,<sup>42</sup> with its four knots, the sacred thread of the Jews is knotted.<sup>43</sup> Pārsi corpse-bearers tie a cord round their wrists.<sup>44</sup> In Burma, to prevent spirits escaping, a knotted, charmed thread is thrown round the neck of the bewitched person,<sup>45</sup> and to keep off diseases the Burmans insert little knots under the skin.<sup>46</sup> A Roman knot with no ends stopped bleeding.<sup>47</sup> Witches in the Isle of Man tied strings into knots and

<sup>22</sup> Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, Vol. III. p. 32.

<sup>23</sup> Dyer's *Folk-Lore*, p. 194.

<sup>27</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 193.

<sup>27a</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 193.

<sup>29</sup> Henderson's *Folk-Lore*, p. 146.

<sup>31</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 723.

<sup>34</sup> Information from Mr. P. B. Joshi.

<sup>36</sup> Information from Mr. P. B. Joshi.

<sup>38</sup> Dubois, Vol. II. p. 231.

<sup>41</sup> *Khord Avesta* in Bleek's *Avesta*, Vol. IV. p. 4.

<sup>43</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 341.

<sup>44</sup> From MS. notes.

<sup>46</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 51.

<sup>23</sup> Henderson's *Folk-Lore*, p. 146.

<sup>26</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 194.

<sup>26</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 193.

<sup>28</sup> *Golden Manual*, p. 700.

<sup>30</sup> Chambers's *Book of Days*, Vol. I. p. 732.

<sup>32</sup> Dyer's *Folk-Lore*, pp. 145, 146.

<sup>33</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 143.

<sup>35</sup> Information from Mr. P. B. Joshi.

<sup>37</sup> Information from Mr. P. B. Joshi.

<sup>39</sup> *Op. cit.*, loc. cit. <sup>40</sup> *Vendidad Fargard*, Vol. IX. p. 84.

<sup>42</sup> *Dābistān*, Vol. I. p. 314.

<sup>45</sup> Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II. p. 136.

<sup>47</sup> Pliny's *Natural History*, Book xxviii. Chap. 6.

sold them.<sup>48</sup> In England there was a belief that on St. Agnes' Eve, if the left garter was knotted round the right stocking, the wearer would dream of her future husband.<sup>49</sup>

Arches are half circles, and, like full circles, scare fiends. So the Kônkanî Kunbis of Poona make an arch of mango leaves over the door of the wedding porch,<sup>50</sup> and among the Lâkhâris, or Mârwarî, lac-bracelet makers in Alinadnagar, a tinsel arch is made before the bride's house.<sup>51</sup> So in times of cholera a *tôran* or arch is set up outside a Gujarât village to stay the entrance of Mother Cholera.<sup>52</sup> Charms are hung on arches in front of the palace at Dahomey.<sup>53</sup> And at Dahomey they have also tall gallows of thin poles with a fringe of palm-leaf to keep off spirits.<sup>54</sup> These African gallows, like the cholera or small-pox-stopping *tôrans* of Gujarât villages, and the Bengal Malers posts and cross-beams, seem to be the rude originals of the richly carved gateways of Sâñchî and other topes, which, like them, are crowned with charms, the Buddhist emblem of luck or evil-scaring.<sup>55</sup> In Devonshire, black head, or pinsoles, is cured by thrice creeping on hands and knees under or through a bramble. The bramble ought to form a natural arch, and the roots and rooted branch tips should be in different properties.<sup>56</sup>

(To be continued.)

## DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF OBJECTS MADE AND USED BY THE NATIVES OF THE NICOBAR ISLANDS.

BY E. H. MAN, C.I.E.

(Continued from p. 112.)

### 12. Articles for preparing and taking Food.

- 113 (m). **Shinlo**. Wooden scoop for serving boiled rice to guests and others.
- 114 (m). **Tanōnga** (C. N. *Sanōng-terīla*). Wooden pestle, used in preparing the *Cycas*-paste in a wooden trough (*vide* No. 117).
- 115 (m). **Danūa-hañ**. Pestle of smaller size: used for pounding chillies in a cocoanut-shell mortar (*vide* No. 38).
- 116 (m). **Entāna-momūa**. Grating, used when preparing *Cycas*-paste (*vide* No. 47).
- 117 (m). **Holshoal** (C. N. *Takachāwōh*). Wooden trough, used for feeding pigs and dogs. Similar troughs of smaller size are used in preparing *Cycas* and cocoanut paste, boiled rice, etc., for their own consumption. Sometimes a large clam, i. e., *Tridacna*-shell, is used as a trough for feeding their animals.
- 118 (m). **Shāla** or **Shāla-larōm**. Plain wooden board, used in preparing *Pandanus*-paste
- 119 (m). **Shanōa** (C. N. *Lanaichya*). Spit, on which fowls, birds, and fish are broiled over a fire; the other end is stuck into the ground beside the fire or held in the hand. The *shanōa* used for fish is kept apart, and not used for other descriptions of meat. This implement is likewise employed for taking meat, vegetables, etc., out of a pot when cooking. It is generally made of the wood of the *Areca catechu*.
- 120 (m). **Chanep-nōt**. Pointed stick, for taking boiling pork out of a pot.
- 121 (m). **Kanlōk-nōt**. Pointed stick, used for killing a domestic pig. It is thrust into his body immediately below the breast bone, and upwards towards his heart, thereby causing death in a few seconds, and with the expenditure of only a few drops of blood. Sometimes an iron spike, bayonet, or even a ram-rod (obtained from ship-traders) has been used for this purpose. In like manner, a fowl is frequently killed

<sup>48</sup> Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, Vol. III. p. 5.

<sup>49</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XVIII. p. 302.

<sup>50</sup> From MS. Notes.

<sup>51</sup> Fergusson's *Tree and Serpent-Worship*.

<sup>48</sup> Chambers's *Book of Days*, Vol. I. p. 140.

<sup>51</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XVII. p. 115.

<sup>53</sup> Burton's *Dahomey*, Vol. I. p. 218.

<sup>56</sup> Dyer's *Folk-Lore*, p. 172.

<sup>54</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 286.

by piercing the cavity behind the skull (*Medulla oblongata*) with a stout feather plucked from its own wing.]

- 122 (m). **Shanòh-hishōya** or **Tendūha** (C. N. **Kenviap-ñih**). Curved iron implement with sharp edge at the upper end and fixed in a bamboo handle: used for scooping out the kernel from ripe cocoanuts, when required for making **hishōya** (*vide* No. 33).

### 13. Household Articles.

- 123 (m). **Hifaish** or **Hifaish** (C. N. **Sanap**). Hoe, used in digging up yams, etc., and in planting seedlings. Similar, but separate, hoes are used for digging a grave, and for the disinterments which occur at the concluding memorial-feast.
- 124 (m). **Kenwāh-enchōn** or **Wane-enchōn** (C. N. **Kondrah-chōn**). Rake, for scraping away rubbish from the vicinity of a hut.
- 125 (m). **Kanwōl-enchōn** (C. N. **Hanāk-chōn**). Wooden scraper, used for making a channel for rain-water in the sand under the eaves of a hut.
- 126 (m). **Kanāla** (C. N. **Tanōma**). Wooden pillow. Various descriptions are made and used. At Car Nicobar, the floor-beams are sometimes so made as to be a few inches above the rest of the floor. They thereby serve for providing a substitute for pillows for several persons.
- 127 (f). **Entōma-kōi**. Cloth-pad in the form of a pillow, used in the Central and Southern Groups for flattening the occiput in infants. No pressure is used, the babe being merely kept flat on its back, generally in its mother's lap, for as long as possible, with its head resting on the pad. By the time the child is about 18 months old the desired flatness of the occiput has generally been attained. The natives of Car Nicobar, Chowra, Teressa, and Bompoka have apparently never adopted the practice.
- 128 (m). **Kenrāta**. A description of calendar, generally in the form of a wooden sword-blade, used at Car Nicobar. Along the narrow space each incision denotes a "moon" (lunar month), and along the broad space the intermediate incisions indicate a day. The number of diagonal cuts in one or other direction denote respectively the number of days in each stage of the waxing and waning moon. After one side of this blade-like object has been thus marked, the other side is similarly treated. The object of this calendar is to record the time occupied by some event, such as that of an infant in learning to walk. Parents are thereby enabled to compare the relative precocity of their respective offspring.
- 129 (m). **Sanāt-tabāka**. Cigarette-holder, used by Car Nicobarese women for the first two months after child-birth, their hands being held to be unclean during that period. The cigarettes are made and placed in the holder by some friend.
- 130 (f). **Lam-tabāka**. Cigarette, made and used at Car Nicobar.
- 131 (m). **Hen-hen** (C. N. **Enkōt**). Long pole provided with an iron blade at the upper end and used for severing bunches of *Pandanus* fruit, betel-nuts, and *Chavica* leaves, which are otherwise out of reach.
- 132 (m). **Henhēat-hishōya** (C. N. **Kenwōk**). Hooked pole, used for lowering and raising a pair of **hishōya** (*vide* No. 33), when drawing water at a well.
- 133 (m). **Henhēat-enyūn**. Similar implement for lifting an **enyūn** (*vide* No. 95), in order to take out any fish which have been entrapped in it. At Car Nicobar a float is provided for raising the **enyūn**.

## 14. Articles of Shells and Fibres.

134. **Ok-kanlai** (C. N. Ko-niat). *Capsa rugosa*, *Arecu*, or *Analinidia* shells, used for scraping the kernel of the ripe cocoanut in order to form paste. When so employed it is styled **kanchūat-ngoat**, *lit.*, scratch-cocoanut (*vide* No. 41).
135. **Ok-kanīahan** (C. N. Kannih). *Cardium* and similar shells, used in the same way and for the same purpose as the **ok-kanlai** (*vide* No. 134).
136. **Ok-heŕu**. Shell of the genus *Mytilus*. Is used for removing the pellicle of *Pandanus* drupes, by scraping with the sharp edge of the shell, and prior to using the *Cyrena* shell (*vide* No. 137).
137. **Ok-hangai** (C. N. Kenfūat or Tenkōh). *Cyrena* shell, used for removing the pulp from partially boiled *Pandanus* drupes when preparing the paste: also at Chowra, when pot-moulding, in order to remove particles of stone, etc., from the clay surfaces of the utensil in process of manufacture. Small specimens are sometimes used by old persons as spoons, when eating the soft fruit of the unripe cocoanut. For this purpose, however, it is more usual to improvise a spoon by cutting off with a *dāo* a small portion of the outer husk of the nut.
138. **Ok-pūka**. *Cypræa* shell, used at Chowra for smoothing the surfaces of a newly-moulded pot, prior to baking.
139. **Ok-dēyā** (C. N. Ok-mopiāt). Dried ray-fish hide, used as a grater in preparing an ointment called **Kala-fēha** (composed of the powder of a certain jungle-seed mixed with cocoanut-oil), which is applied to the temples as a cure for head-ache. Also employed, like emery-cloth, or sand-paper, for smoothing surfaces of wood and cocoanut-shells.
- 140 (f). **Ok-ho**. Bark-cloth, prepared from the bark of the *Ficus breviscapis*, chiefly by the women of the coast and inland tribes of Great Nicobar. It is worn, in the form of skirts, by the coast-women of Great Nicobar when mourning. Many of the Shom Peñ women wear it continually, when unable to procure calico from their coast neighbours. The process of manufacture is simply soaking a piece of the bark of the requisite dimensions in a fresh-water stream till the pulpy substance can be readily extracted by pounding the material between large smooth stones. When only the fibrous substance remains the piece is spread, or suspended, in the sun to dry.
- 141 (f). **Iī**. Fibre obtained from the bark of the *Anodendrum paniculatum*. It was formerly used for providing thread for sewing, but cotton thread, purchased from ship-traders, is now in common use. It is sometimes used for cleaning *Pandanus* paste, when **hennōat** fibre is not at hand (*vide* No. 144). The Andamanese regard this as the most valuable fibre obtainable on their islands; their bow-strings, arrow-fastenings, fine-nets, etc., are made of it.
- 142 (f). **Iī-dai-shuru**. Fibre of the pineapple-leaf. It has at times been used for sewing purposes, and also for cleaning *Pandanus*-paste (*vide* No. 144).
- 143 (f). **Paiyua**. Fibre of the *Gnetum edule*. Although known to the Nicobarese, their wants being better supplied by other plants or means, they have apparently never had recourse to this fibre, which is extensively used by Andamanese in the manufacture of their hand-fishing-nets, sleeping-mats, and occasionally for arrow-fastenings.
- 144 (f). **Hennōat** (C. N. Hanāu). Fibre obtained from the *Melochia velutina* (Nio, Henpōan). One of these fibres serves the useful purpose of removing the fine filaments from a loaf of freshly-prepared *Pandanus*-paste. This work is performed

by women, who, in its preparation, pass the fibre continually through the mass of doughy substance, very much after the manner that a grocer cuts through a cheese with a piece of wire. The operation is continued until no more filaments are extracted by the fibre, which, when employed in this way, is called *Kanewat*. Since the abandonment of the harbour at Nancowry as a Government Penal Settlement, the natives have discovered that the fibre of the aloes planted by the English surpasses that of the *Melochia velutina* for this purpose. A stout strip of the fibrous-bark, tied into a loop and placed over the ankles, is used when ascending cocoanut-trees. It is called *Yiāp* when so used. The Andamanese make use of this fibre in the construction of their turtle-lines, nets, etc.

- 145 (m). *Het-toit* (C. N. *Tako-wāha*). Fibre of the *Gnetum gnemon*. This is the most valued and useful fibre of the Nicobarese: their cross-bow strings, spear-fastenings, harpoon- and fishing-lines are made of it.

#### 15. Articles connected with Superstitions.

- 146 (m). *Fūm* (C. N. *Anūma*). Plantain-leaf necklaces. These are made by slitting young plantain-leaves. The numerous narrow shreds thus formed are suspended round the neck by members of both sexes at memorial-feasts. These temporary necklaces, when freshly made, are attractive. They are also placed round the necks of the *kareau* (*vide* No. 152), where they remain till they wither or are renewed at some subsequent feast. The object of these necklaces is to please the spirits of those they are commemorating, as well as the *iwi-ka*, the friendly spirits.
- 147 (m). *Shīm*. A peculiar description of cage made of young cocoanut-leaves: used for entrapping evil spirits at a time when there is any unusual sickness in a village. Certain leaves, which are placed inside the *shīm*, are supposed to possess the virtue of attracting the spirits. With the object of ridding the village and island of the presence of the evil spirits, a singular raft, called *henmai* (*vide* No. 148), is constructed and provided with sails, consisting of trimmed cocoanut-fronds. When the *henmai* is ready the *Shāmans* (*Menlūana*), after great exertions, succeed in capturing the malign spirits and imprisoning them in the *shīm* or *shīms*, which are then placed on the *henmai*. This is then launched and towed out to sea by men in canoes. A similar object, called *en-tōh*, is made and used for the same purpose at Car Nicobar. It sometimes happens that a *henmai* drifts to some other village, in which case it has been usual for the men there to shew their resentment by turning out with their fighting-sticks (*vide* No. 28), and attacking the men of the village whence the *henmai* was despatched.
- 147 a. (m). *Henmai* (C. N. *En-tōh*). Picturesque raft, constructed of light spars and provided with small masts and cocoanut-leaf sails. One or more of these is made and launched on various occasions for the conveyance to sea of evil spirits; *viz.*, (1) on the completion of a new hut, in order to ensure that no wandering spirits that may be lurking about may enter in and take possession prior to its intended occupants; (2) at the *entōin* memorial-feast, provided the wind be favourable, *i. e.*, off the land; and (3) when much sickness is prevalent, or any misfortune has occurred, such as a fatal accident. For the mode of capturing evil spirits for shipment to sea by means of the *henmai* see No. 146.
- 148 (m). *Kirāha*. Cocoanut-leaf tray, on which food for the use of the evicted spirits is placed in the *henmai*, before this raft is towed out to sea.
- 149 (m). *Halāla-kamapāh* or *Halāla-kemili*. A hat, which differs only from No. 29 in being ornamented with cloth in folds: placed on a disinterred male skull on the night of the final memorial-feast (Central Group).



- 150 (m). **Hoto-kamapāh**. A hat placed on a disinterred female skull on the night of the final memorial-feast. The greater portion of the rim consists of cigarettes, neatly arranged round the crown.
- 151 (m). **Da-yung**. A narrow board (sometimes cut from a canoe belonging to the deceased), placed beneath the corpse before wrapping the winding sheets, the object being to stiffen the corpse for conveyance to the place of interment.
- 152 (m). **Kareau**. Carved wooden human figure, generally about life-size, kept in a hut to frighten away the *iwl*, i. e., the evil spirits. When newly-made, and on the occasion of any sickness in the hut, it is regarded as a *hentā-kōi* (*vile* No. 153). Those representing a woman are assumed to be equally feared by the bad spirits, as they are credited with the faculty of giving notice to the other *kareaus* whenever the spirits intend mischief (Central Group). At certain villages on Teressa and Bom-poka, the *kareau* is hollowed out in the trunk, and contains the bones of some famous *Menlūana*, i. e., "medicine-man" or exorcist, many years deceased, while his skull and jaw-bone are fixed in a socket provided for the purpose between the shoulders of the figure, which is usually, if not invariably, represented sitting cross-legged. On the skull is generally to be seen an old silk-hat or other foreign head-gear. These *kareau* are so highly esteemed that no reasonable offer would serve to secure a specimen. In the Southern Group and at Chowra, there are but few *kareau*, and those small and inferior and copied from the type in the Central Group. At Car Nicobar, none are to be seen.
- 153 (m). **Pomāk-ōñh**. A large neatly-constructed bundle of trimmed firewood in the form of a cylinder, commonly seen under huts in the Central Group for the purpose of being offered by its owner on the grave of any relative who may die. It is never kindled, but is merely regarded as an offering, which has cost the donor some time and labor to prepare.

#### 16. Domestic Objects.

- 154(m & f). **Minōl-ōñh** (*Car Nic. Ngōh*). A roll of ordinary firewood, consisting merely of faggots tied together and forming a cylindrical bundle. A number of these are kept dry under the hut for use when required.
155. **Inūain**. Tool used in scooping a log in order to form a canoe. The iron head is obtained from ship-traders. The chief peculiarity in this object is that, by altering its position in respect to the handle, it can be used for scooping any portion of the interior of a canoe-shell. A small specimen is styled *kenlañh*.
- 155 (a). European axes (*Enlōin*), and adzes (*Danan*), are imported and extensively used.
156. **Tanāp**. Burmese lacquered betel-boxes, imported and to be seen at most villages especially at Car Nicobar.

(To be continued.)

#### MISCELLANEA.

THE TENTH CONGRESS OF ORIENTALISTS,  
GENEVA, 1894.

I REPRESENTED the Bengal Government, the Bengal Asiatic Society, and the Calcutta University, at the Tenth International Congress of Orientalists held at Geneva, in September 1894, and the following notes and extracts from the diary kept during the meeting may, therefore,

prove of interest and value to the readers of the *Indian Antiquary*.—

#### Notes.

It will be seen from the extracts from the diary that the thorny question of transliteration was attacked by a strong committee of the *savans* present, and at last a scheme (admittedly a com-

promise) has been adopted for general use over the civilized world. It may be hoped that uniformity will, in future, exist in the transcription of Oriental languages by scholars of all nations. Although not a member myself of the committee, I was in constant friendly communication with its members, and was examined as a witness, or, perhaps more accurately, was allowed to plead the cause of India before it. I am glad to be able to state, as the direct result of my efforts, that a scheme has been adopted which can be accepted without difficulty not only by Indian scholars, but also for the purposes of ordinary common life. The system originally proposed and half adopted, though admirably scientific, and preferable from a scholar's point of view, had no chance of being accepted for general use in India. Now, however, the needs of Hindûstânî, Hindî, and other modern Indian languages have been considered, and very few and unimportant changes in the Jonesian system at present in use will be required.

Another subject of considerable interest to the Indian public was discussed by the Congress. I allude to the present uncared-for condition of the Asôka inscriptions, and to the efforts which the Trustees of the Indian Museum are making for their preservation. In connexion with this, a resolution was passed by the Congress thanking the Trustees for their action, and urging the importance of the matter upon the attention of the Government of India. As Philological Secretary and Delegate of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and as a Trustee of the Indian Museum, I was enabled to give the Congress accurate information concerning the subject. The resolution was the result of important speeches by three of the greatest authorities on Indian epigraphy now living—Dr. G. Bühler of Vienna, M. E. Senart of Paris (both of whom have made a special study of the Asôka inscriptions), and Dr. Burgess.

In the matter of social arrangements, nothing more cordial can be conceived than the welcome accorded to those assembled, not only by the President of the Congress, but by the Canton and by the town of Geneva, as well as by the private inhabitants of the neighbourhood. Almost every day while the Congress lasted there was an excursion, a garden party, or a dinner, and, although the hospitality was shewn on the widest scale, each guest somehow felt that he was receiving the personal attentions of his host in a manner as flattering as it was gracious. It must not, however, be imagined that the Congress was a mere round of festivities. A great deal of important and solid work was got through. But this hospitality happily forwarded another of the

great objects of these Congresses, the bringing together into personal intercourse of scholars who, but for them, could never meet, and who have hitherto communicated with each other only by correspondence, or, perhaps, by somewhat heated polemics. Putting the public sectional papers to one side, many disputed points were discussed in friendly conversations, and many scholars found that, after all, they did not differ so widely from their *confrères* as they had imagined.

#### Extracts from the Diary.

1. I arrived in Geneva on Sunday, the 2nd of September. On Monday, evening, the 3rd, there was an informal *réunion* at the Hotel National, where all the members, who had by that time arrived, renewed old acquaintances and made new ones.

2. The formal opening of the Congress took place in the *Aula* of the fine University buildings at 10 a. m., on Tuesday, the 4th September. The proceedings commenced with a short speech from Colonel Frey, President of the Swiss Confederation, and ex-Honorary President of the Congress, in which he welcomed the foreign members in the name of Switzerland. He was followed by Mr. Richard, President of the Council of the Republic and Canton of Geneva, and Honorary President of the Congress, who welcomed us in the name of the former body. M. Naville, the learned Egyptologist, the President of the Congress, then gave his presidential address. He gave a rapid summary of the history of Oriental studies in Geneva, and maintained that one of the great features of modern discoveries was the close connexion which existed between the ancient civilizations of the world. He made special reference to the intimate relations which have lately been found to have existed between the civilizations of Greece, Egypt and Nineveh. He thanked the Federal and Cantonal authorities for the support which they had lent to the Congress, the sovereigns and members of sovereign families who had accepted the titles of Patrons and Honorary Vice-Presidents, and finally the *savans*, who had responded in such large numbers to the invitation of the Committee of Organization. M. Maspero in the name of the Government of France, Lord Reay in the name of his fellow-countrymen, Professor Windisch in that of the German scholars, Count de Gubernatis in the name of Italy, and Ahmed Zeky in the name of the Khedive, wished success to the Congress, and thanked Geneva for its hospitality. A number of presentations of Oriental works were then made to the Congress by authors, by learned societies,

and by Governments. A committee to settle a uniform system of transliteration to be adopted by all Oriental Societies and by Oriental scholars of all countries was then appointed. The members were Messrs. Socin, Barbier de Meynard, de Gœje, Plunkett, Lyon, Buhler, Senart, Windisch, and de Saussure. The proceedings terminated at midday with the appointment of the Consultative Committee.

3. The members of the Congress divided themselves in the afternoon into the following sections:—

I. — India —

President, Lord Reay; Vice-Presidents, Messrs. Weber of Berlin, and Bühler of Vienna.

I bis. — Aryan Linguistics —

President, Signor Ascoli; Vice-Presidents, Messrs. Bréal and Schmidt.

II. — Semitic Languages (non-Musalmân) —

President, M. Kautzsch; Vice-Presidents, Messrs. J. Oppert, Tiele, and Almkvist.

III. — Musalmân Languages —

President, M. Scheffer; Vice-Presidents, Messrs. de Gœje, Goldziher, and Sachau.

IV. — Egypt and African Languages —

President, M. Maspero; Vice-Presidents, Messrs. Lepage, Renouf, and Lieblein.

V. — The Far East —

President, M. Schlegel; Vice-Presidents, Messrs. Cordier and Valenziani.

VI. — Greece and the East —

President, M. Merriam; Vice-Presidents, Messrs. Perrot and Bikélas.

This was a new section, opened for the reasons given in M. Naville's presidential address.

VII. — Oriental Geography and Ethnography —

President, Professor A. Vambéry; Vice-Presidents, Prince Roland Bonaparte, and M. de Claparède.

This also was a new section.

4. *Section I. (India).*—This section held seven sittings, and among the subjects of interest may be mentioned the following:—

(a) Professor Weber spoke in moving terms on the late regretted death of Prof. Whitney, the great American Sanskritist. On the motion of Lord Reay, the President of the section, a message of condolence was sent to the widow of the deceased scholar.

(b) M. Senart laid before the members present some photographs of inscriptions lately discovered by Major Deane in Afghan territory. They

were in an unknown character and had not yet been deciphered. Rubbings of these inscriptions were exhibited at a meeting of the Asiatic Society of Bengal some months ago.

(c) Mr. Cecil Bendall shewed rubbings of a short inscription in the Indian Museum. The inscription is interesting, as being written in the somewhat rare "wedge-headed" characters hitherto only found in Népâl, and was a unique example of an epigraph couched in literary Pâli. It formed a portion of the collection made by Mr. Broadley in Bihâr.

(d) Professor H. Oldenberg read a paper on the Vedic religion, in which he endeavoured to distinguish the mythical, the popular, the Indo-European, the Indo-Iranian, and the Indian elements of the *Vêdas*. He maintained that Varuna (the god of the ocean), was primitively a lunar deity. This paper provoked some lively criticism on the part of Dr. Pischel, the leader of the Euhemeristic School of Vedic scholars.

(e) Professor von Schröder read an important paper on the Kâṭhaka recension of the *Yajur Vêda*, its manuscripts, its system of accentuation, and its relationship with the works of the Indian Grammarians and Lexicographers. A manuscript of the work recently found by Dr. Stein in Kâśmîr has revealed many peculiarities, and has enabled Dr. von Schröder to recognize several allusions to the work in the *sûtras* of Pâṇini.

(f) Professor Leumann gave an interesting account of the *Jaina Avasyaka*, more especially of the two first parts of that work,—the *Samdyika*, a kind of prose creed, and the *Chaturvîṃśatistava*. He presented a facsimile of a manuscript of this work, which he intends to publish by subscription. Professor Weber drew attention to the great antiquity and importance of the *Samdyika*. The members present congratulated Prof. Leumann and wished him every success in his enterprise.

(g) A short paper was read by Dr. Pfungst on "Esoteric Buddhism," which he described as based on ideas held by a number of incompetent persons. Messrs. Kuhn, Weber, Leumann and Bühler, etc., cordially agreed with Dr. Pfungst and the so-called system was denounced on all sides as *ein vollständiger schwindel*. Dr. Pfungst proposed that the section should pass a formal resolution to that effect, but this did not meet with the approval of the *savans* present, as the general opinion was that the subject was beneath the cognizance of scholars. The remarks of Prof. Weber on the political importance of the movement were specially noteworthy, as shewing the close interest taken in Indian affairs by German scholars.

(h) Mr. Bhownaggee, the Delegate of the Mahārāja of Bhāvnagar, presented three communications — one by Mr. J. N. Unvala on *Zoroastrianism*, one by Mr. J. J. Kaniā, on *The Philosophical Schools of India*, and one by Shēkh Muhammad Isfahānī on *Sufism*. He presented to the Congress a handsome volume of Sanskrit and Prākṛit inscriptions existing in the Bhāvnagar State published at the expense of the Mahārāja, and concluded by reading a work by Mr. S. D. Bharucha on *The Persian Desatir*.

(i) Dr. Bühler made an important communication regarding the well-known Aśōka inscriptions of India. The historical and linguistic value of these ancient monuments cannot be overstated. Nevertheless, they are lying exposed to the weather, and within recent years have suffered considerable injuries both from that source and from iconoclasts or relic hunting tourists. They are also inconveniently situated, some in the extreme North-West, others in Orissa, others in Maisur, others in Gujarāt, others in Central India, and others again in Nēpāl. Even when approached, some of them are so placed that they cannot be read without using scaffolding. I was enabled to report to the Congress that, to remedy this state of affairs, the Trustees of the Indian Museum had offered, if funds were made available, to take facsimile casts of all these inscriptions, and to form an Aśōka gallery in their building, where these casts could be collected and made accessible to students. Messrs. Bühler, Weber, Burgess, Senart, Bhownaggee, and Lord Reay, all spoke warmly in support of this proposal, and the following resolution, which was subsequently adopted by the Congress as a whole, was passed by acclamation:—

“Que l'administration du Musée Indien de Calcutta sera remerciée, au nom du Congrès, des efforts qu'elle fait pour la préparation de moulages des inscriptions d'Aśōka; et que le Gouvernement de l'Inde et les Gouvernements qui en dépendent seront priés, au nom du Congrès, d'adopter les mesures de préservation et de reproduction de ces monuments, proposées par la dite administration”

(j) Count de Gubernatis presented some interesting notes on the influence of the Indian tradition on the representation of Hell in the poetry of Dante, and on the frescos in the Campo Santo at Pisa.

(k) Professor Sylvain Lévi, one of the most rising of the younger school of Sanskrit scholars in Paris, and who is one of the few who knows at once Sanskrit, Tibetan, and Chinese, gave a most interesting account of a Sanskrit poem by Harsha Charita of Kāśmīr, discovered by him in a Chinese version of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka

Although in Sanskrit, the whole was written in Chinese characters, and besides its intrinsic value, it gives us information of the greatest practical importance as to the system adopted by the Chinese in transliterating Indian words into their character. The lecturer illustrated this by applying the results obtained by him to some doubtful names of peoples mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang.

5. *Section Ibis.* (Aryan Linguistics). — Few papers in this section were of interest to Indian students.

Most interest was excited by Prof. J. Schmidt's paper on the vocalic *r*, *l*, *m*, *n*, the existence of which in the original Indo-Germanic language has been asserted by the new school of comparative philologists, headed by Prof. Brugmann. Professor Schmidt, representing the older and more conservative school, strongly combated the existence of these vowels. His arguments are too technical to reproduce here, but they were listened to with great attention, and the reading of his paper and the ensuing discussion took up the whole of one sitting, the latter being continued on the following day.

Professor Leumann read a short paper on the exchanges of forms such as *khid* and *khād* in the same root in the Vedic language, in connexion with the presence or absence of a prefix, and with accentuation.

Professor Wackernagel read a paper on the place of Sanskrit in modern philology. He combated the opinions of those who would diminish the linguistic importance of that language. He pointed out the special importance of the knowledge which we possess of the different periods in the history of the language, from the Vedic times down to the Sanskrit of the *Renaissance*. Moreover, some peculiarities of Sanskrit syntax could be used to explain certain obscure phenomena in allied languages. He finally defended the accuracy of the Hindū grammarians against the assaults which have been made against them of late years.

At the first meeting of this section Signor Ascoli lamented the deaths of Profs Whitney and Schweizer-Sidler, and in this he was followed by M. Bréal and Prof. Weber.

6. *Section II.* (Semitic, non-Musalmān languages). — As might be expected, nothing of interest to Indian scholars took place in this section. Considerable interest was excited by the presentation by Doctor Bullinger of a copy of the new edition of the Hebrew Bible, just completed by Dr. Ginsburg. Mrs. Lewis gave an account of two Palestinian Syriac Lectionaries and of a Syriac manuscript of the gospels, disco-

vered by her at Mount Sinai; this also excited much interest. Professor Haupt made a learned communication on the situation of the Paradise of the Bible, and was not able to locate it in any definite place. Dr. Cust contributed an interesting printed essay on the ancient religions of the world before the Christian era, and M. Halévy maintained the importance of Assyriological research in connection with sound Biblical criticism.

7. *Section III.* (Musalmân languages).—The proceedings commenced with a special mention of the loss of Prof. Robertson Smith, made by Prof. Goldziher, and the same scholar at a subsequent meeting read an important paper entitled "Observations on the primitive history of poetry among the Arabs." It is thus summarised in the *Procès Verbal*:—"Poetry began with magic incantations. The Arabic poet is first of all an enchanter. His name, *shâir*, the knower, is identical with the Hebrew *yid'ôni*. The principal duty of the poet was to injure the enemies of the tribe by magic formulas. We find the most ancient example of this function of a poet in the Old Testament, in the history of Balaam. Professor Goldziher endeavoured to reconstitute these formulas, as they were amongst the ancient Arabs, and shewed that their form was that of the saga, in which metre was a later development. In the course of centuries these magic formulas gave rise to satirical poetry, the primitive recitation of which was accompanied by various external gestures. The old terminology of Arabic poetry has preserved many traces of this origin. For instance, the term *kafja*, of which the original meaning is "formula overwhelming the head of the adversary."

Professor D. Margoliouth described the correspondence of Ibn-al-athir al-Jazari, preserved at the Bodleian Library. These letters are dated from 621 to 627 A. H.

M. Grünert gave an account of Dr. Glaser's recent discoveries in Arabia, and a valuable paper was read by Dr. Horn on his discoveries in Persian and Turkish in the Vatican library. Dr. Seybold read a paper on the Arab dialect spoken at Grenada, pointing out how much still remained

to be done for the accurate study of the Moorish régime in Spain.

8. *Section IV.* (Egypt and African languages).—The chief papers were from Prof. Piehl on Egyptian Lexicography, and from Drs. Hess and Krall on a Demotic work discovered in the Rainer Collection. Much interest was likewise excited by the report from M. de Morgan of his discoveries in Egypt.

9. *Section V.* (The Far East).—A huge rubbing of an inscription in six languages found at Kiu-Yong-Koan, to the north of Peking, was exhibited by M. Chavannes. Dr. J. P. N. Land gave a paper on the music of Java, which seems to shew a curious analogy to the elements from which counterpoint was developed in the West, though the tonal basis is quite different. Dr. Waddell's paper on a Mystery-play of the Tibetan Lamas was read for him, and an important communication was made by Prof. Radlov on his discoveries and readings of inscriptions from Central Asia, near Lake Baikal. This paper was the great event of this section of the Congress. Professor Schlegel read a paper, to which ladies were specially invited, on the social position of Chinese women.

10. *Section VI.* (Greece and the East), and *Section VII.* (Oriental Geography and Ethnology).—These sections were not largely attended, nor were the papers read of interest, except to specialists in the subjects dealt with. In neither of them had any of the papers reference to India.

11. The Congress was formally closed at 9 a. m. on Wednesday, the 12th September. At the final general meeting several resolutions were adopted, after having passed through the ordeal of the Consultative Committee. Amongst them may be mentioned the resolution regarding the Aśôka Inscriptions, and one embodying the results of the labours of the Transliteration Committee. It is hoped that a scheme of transliteration has at length been adopted, which can be accepted in all countries, and by scholars of all nationalities.

G. A. GRIERSON.

## NOTES AND QUERIES.

### NAMES FOR, AND OFFERINGS TO, THE GODDESS OF SMALL-POX.

Small-pox is popularly known by the name of *Sitlâ* meaning "cool," from *st*, and as *Thandî* meaning also "cool." Why should the attribute of coolness be applied to a fever? I may also

<sup>1</sup> [This may be merely another of the innumerable instances of sympathetic magic. Cool names and cool

point out that cold water and cold food are offered to *Sitlâ* (or *Thandî*), as the Goddess of Small-pox, at her shrines, but I am not sure that this would explain her name. Why should cool offerings be given her? <sup>1</sup>

GURDYAL SINGH in *P. N. and Q.* 1883.

offerings are used to induce the demon of heat to become cool. — ED.]

## THE DEVIL WORSHIP OF THE TULUVAS.

FROM THE PAPERS OF THE LATE A. C. BURNELL.

(Continued from page 121.)

BURNELL MSS. No. 15 — *continued.*THE STORY OF KOTI AND CHANNAYYA—*continued.*

THE Ballâl made one Sinnappa Naikar sit at the gate to see whether Deyî went happily or in sorrow, when she went to Ērajha. She passed by Sinnappa Naikar. She passed by Budi Pamma, and when she passed by Muguli Sanlaya, she began to sigh. Sâyina Baidya went running to the *bîḍu* of Parimâle Ballâl, who said: — “There is an ancient *bîḍu* built by me, where she may bring forth her child and get well.”

“I will not bring forth my child at the *bîḍu* built by you,” said she.

The Ballâl got her a hut and a yard belonging to one Birmana, a tenant of some dry land. He took off his waist-belt of silver, and placed it for her to hold on to.

“By holding this, with one single pain, will you bring forth two children from your womb, and be well. I shall come to give names to your children,” said he.

Thus did she bring forth, and the first *śatakam* was passed, and the second also. And at the time of passing the fifth *śatakam*, the holy water of the God was brought to her, and she bathed on the fortieth day.

After some days and months were passed, Deyî went to a temple to obtain merit, and offered at the feet of the god an Areca flower and a handful of money.

“Deyî, do you receive *sandal* and flowers from the god, and bear children,” said the priest.

When Deyî returned back, the Ballâl sent a man to her: — “Come to my house! You have already bathed on the fortieth day; therefore you should take your food in my house,” said the Ballâl.

“The food which I take at home is yours; and the food which I take in this hut is your also,” said she.

When the Ballâl came to her house to give her children names, a stool with three legs was placed for him to sit on.

“Do you, Deyî, call your children, as I want to see them,” said the Ballâl.

Then she went inside and brought out Kôṭi, who was born first.

“O Deyî, you had better give this child the name Kôṭi, that he may endure for ever, like the corner-stone of the temple at Kôṭṣavar; and to the second child the name Channayya, that he may endure like the corner-stone at the corner of the temple at Chattîsvar,” said the Ballâl. “Keep these children in a cradle and swing it.”

Then she went out with some dirty clothes of her children, and cried aloud: — “Râma! alas for the sin of Brahmahatti! Alo! Alo!”

She went to the tank called Padirâḍ Koval and put her children's clothes into the water. She was washing the clothes, bending down, and beating them on a stone, when a leaf of a red cocoanut tree fell on her, which Murka Baidya at Murkoṭṭi saw.

Deyî said: — “I cannot live! I cannot live!”

Then Murka Baidya of Murkoṭṭi went running to Parimâle Ballâl, who came himself running, and made her stand up. The Ballâl asked her what was the matter.

“I cannot live! I cannot live!” said she, and was taken home, leaning on the others' shoulders.

Deyî was carried to one **Birmanā Baidya**. When they made Deyî sit down, she saw the people around her and said :—"O men ! I am called by the God ; so bring my children "

She looked well at her children and wept bitterly.

"Why do you weep so bitterly ?" asked **Parimāle Ballāl**.

"Ballāl ! Ballāl ! Pour into my mouth water from a pot with *tulasi* leaves in it. I leave my body here and enter **Kailāsa**," said she. "Hold up the *tulasi* plant and pour water into my mouth. I will leave my body here and enter **Vaikuṇṭha**."

Saying this again and again, she left her body and went away to **Kailāsa**. She went to **Kailāsa** first, and then to **Vaikuṇṭha**. Wood for burning was placed at the burial ground, a mango tree before and a jack tree behind, being cut down. Sixty bundles of sandal-wood were put upon Deyî, and she was burnt with oil and *ghṛ*. Then her caste-people were called and told to appoint a day for her funeral ceremony. The day was appointed. On the third day after her burning, the ashes were gathered, and on the fourteenth day the funeral ceremony was performed.

"Now, take the children to my *b'ḍu*," said the **Ballāl** (to his servants).

He reared the children, supplying them with food, a *mōra* of rice, and a piece of thick *pachade* cloth, and of *mandīri*. He presented them also with a white silk cloth from **Bôlūr**, a black silk cloth from **Kālūr**, and a girdle, too. He presented them with coats also. After they began to take their meals at the *biḍu* of the **Ballāl** they waxed fat.

"It is not enough for us to drink only water, we should live in the world like ornaments of gold," said **Kôṭi** and **Channayya**. "It is not enough that we walk round the four sides of a *kambula*, we must live together with our caste-people. We must go to the wars. We have inquired at **Adumañja Kôṭya** about some playmates, and we want to persuade the **Ballāl** to help us in this matter."

Accordingly they induced him to help them.

"A letter is to be sent by a man to our uncle **Sâyina Baidya** at **Ērajha**," said they.

A letter was written to him telling him to start at once, without taking a meal or looking to his dress. The letter was carried to **Ērajha**, where it was read, and when it was read, there was found to be written in it, that **Sâyina** should go to the *biḍu* in a *ghaliḡe*. **Sâyina** went to the *biḍu* in a *ghaliḡe*, and saluted the **Ballāl**. He sent for the children and said :—

"Send those boys to play as happily as they have been reared carefully up to this time."

So **Sâyina** took them to **Ērajha**. When he left the *b'ḍu*, it was known to **Ēllūr Abbe** of the **Châvaḍi**, and as the children were leaving the *b'ḍu* **Ēllūr Abbe** saw them. She took off her *padumāreke* girdle of silver and presented it to them. She brought a hat of parrot-colour for **Kôṭi Baidya**, and a hat of the colour of the *puda* bird for **Channayya**. She had them dressed in these, and presented them by her own hand with a dagger called **Rāma Kengude**.

"Your food is like that of the **Baidya**, of **Ēḍambūr** !" said **Ēllūr Abbe**, as she blessed them.

"O **Sâyina** ! take the children home ! Such children as these have never yet been born, nor will be born hereafter."

He took them to **Ērajha**, and made them sit on a swinging cot hung from a rafter.

"We will go to play, uncle," said the children.

"Ah, my children ! Other children of your age cannot even crawl on the ground upon their bellies. The oil and the *gnī* on your heads are not dry yet, and the smell of birth is still upon you," said their uncle to them.

"Our mother died at our birth, and so you make reflections on us and are too plain. Send us to play, or we go, uncle," said they.

And they became quite angry, and went through the gate, and entered the house by a small door. They stood there, touching the walls, and holding the roof of the house, and weeping bitterly. Their uncle's wife, Sâyina Baidyati, asked them:— "What is it, children? why do you cry?"

"If we had our mother and father, they would have allowed us to go and play, and come back," said they.

So their aunt called her husband, and told him to let the children play, and to let them go.

"Let them go and play, and come back," said she.

Then Uncle Sâyina called them, seated them on the swinging cot hung from a rafter, and gave them permission to go and play and come back. In this way he told them to go and play.

"You have told us to go and play, but you have not told us how," said they.

"O my children, you know how to play, but you do not know the toys," said their uncle "Go to the bank of a river, and get round and heavy stones. Go to the bushes and get some *palle* berries; a basket full of them. Go to the thorny shrubs, and get some *kaniñja* berries. Go to the prickly shrubs for *kadeñjekai* berries. Go to the reeds, and get some bundles of thin canes. Go to the bell-metal smith, and get some small bells of bell-metal. Go to the black-smith, and get a shield for your dagger, called Râma Keñgude."

They got all the toys in three days, which ordinarily required about twelve days to make.

"Toys are ready for the play, uncle! We go to the play, uncle! We go to the play. Listen, Uncle Sâyina!" said they.

They put on their dresses themselves.

"Children, go and play happily," said Sâyina Baidya.

Then they went and asked some boys if they might join in their play.

"We do not tell heroes, who wish to come, to go away. And we do not call to any heroes who are going away! If you like, you may come and play!" said the boys.

Channayya Baidya and the boys played together, and he was beaten by the boys.

"O boys, please lend me a *palle* berry and one *kaniñja*!" said Channayya. "No debt is allowed in the play-room. No *chunam* is to be given even to a brother. There is no defilement in the refuse rice! No interest for two *târu*," said the boys.

"Kôti, my brother! do you get me a *palle* berry and a *kaniñja*."

"Brother, will you play with a single *palle* and a *kadeñja*?" said the brother, and gave him a single *palle* and a *kadeñja* berry.

In the second game Channayya defeated all the boys.

"Channayya, lend us a *palle* and a *kadeñja*!" said the boys.

Then Channayya Baidya said:— "'There is no debt in the play-room,' you said to me. That is the beam you have put up and this is the rope we have placed on it," said he.

Channayya tied them all together and left the play-room.

"The heroes, who came to-day, must come to play to-morrow also," said the boys.

Channayya threw stones, round as a ball, at them. A cry was raised, and an outcry of women, too. The boys' mother at Buddyanda's house sent a man across to them saying:— "Give my boys a *palle* berry and a *gajjiga*."

"We will not give them even a pie found on the road; but if they come to Êrajha we will present them with many *murus*," said Kôti and Channayya.

She would not listen to this, and made a maid-servant take the berries by violence, beating the boys.



"O maid, though we are young to-day, we shall grow old to-morrow," said they. "O maid, do not raise up envy and quarrels among Billavar boys! You had better keep the berries carefully in a heap. Though we are young to-day, we shall grow old to-morrow. There is a proverb:— 'The body is hurt by a Kannadi snake's touch, and poison is increased by a Nagara snake's bite.'"

They went to Ērajha, and then they went and sat there.

"What is it, children? and how is it that dust is on your caps," asked their uncle. "It is the dust that we had at first.<sup>10</sup> It is not gone yet," said the elder brother.

"O uncle, Buddyanda's wife took away our berries by force and beat us," said Channayya.

"You did not listen to my advice," said their uncle.

"As she took the berries away by force, they belong to her now; but, Uncle Sâyina, where is that which the Ballâl presented to our mother?" asked Kôti and Channayya.

"There are two divisions of a *kambula* at Hanidoṭṭi Bail," said Sâyina. "Now you young children! go to the *bîḍu*," said he. "The Ballâl has got his face shaved and looks well; but there is hair on our faces. We will not go as we are to see such a handsome face," said they.

"Children, take *pañchoḷi* betel-leaves from a vine on an Areca tree and *mundolli* from a vine on a Mango tree, dress yourselves with *kayeri karṇoli* cloths, put those betel-leaves into a thick cloth and go to the *bîḍu*," said their uncle.

"You had better go there, yourself, uncle, and visit the king," said they.

He went to the *bîḍu* and saluted the Ballâl, standing on lower ground.

"Come, Sâyina, and sit down," said the Ballâl. "Where are the heroes whom I bred?"

"The children are not shaved yet. They say that they will not see your handsome face, while theirs are unshaven," said Sâyina.

"Do you, Sâyina, get the boys shaved immediately," said the Ballâl. "Do you get them shaved and get some one to shave their faces well."

"Who is to be barber, and where is he to shave them?" asked Sâyina.

"There is one Siddu Bandâri, an aunt's son, at the town of Karmin Sâle in the upper countries on the Ghâts, and there is another Pernu Bandâri, a grandmother's son. These are barbers. Do you write them a letter, Sâyina! and make them come here. Then I will supply them with what they require," said the Ballâl.

Soon after that Sâyina returned to Ērajha.

"I want to call all my caste-people, and make them gather at my Ērajha," said he.

All of them assembled at Ērajha one day and wrote a letter. The letter was sent to the Ghâts by one Bagga.

Bagga asked them:— "On what day is the barber to come?"

"To-day is Monday. Next Monday he is to come," said they.

When Bagga went to the Ghâts, Parimâle Ballâl sent to Sâyina rice, *ghî*, and all the other articles necessary for the shaving ceremony. Some days after, i. e., on the next Monday, Siddu Bandâri, the aunt's son, came there and saluted all his and other caste-people, who were collected there.

"Who is that there? Son Bagga! Fan the barber with a fan, and give him a green cocoanut leaf to sit on," said Sâyina.

<sup>10</sup> I. e., when we came into the world from our mother's womb.

When the barber sat down, it was time to shave, and the children were seated for having rice sprinkled over them. Then the rice was sprinkled over them, and the children got up. Parnu Bandâri sat down to shave Kôti, and Siddu Bandâri to shave Channayya. Milk was applied to their right sides and water was applied to their left sides.

"Where is a looking glass?" asked Kôti.

A figure of the moon was formed in the middle of the head, and then their faces were shaved. Then they had to bathe in cold water to expiate the sin of touching a barber. They bathed, and dressed themselves. They sat on a beautiful plank. *Sandal* and turmeric powder and rose water were rubbed on them. They were adorned with gold, jewels, and flowers and silk cloths, and lace. That day all their caste-people came and said:—"O children! there are proverbs:—'It is not an earthen pot.' 'No meals with flesh.' 'No relation with a Brâhmaṇa.'"

Then the children were sprinkled and got up. They bowed down to their caste-people, who prepared to take their dinner there. They took their food and chewed betel-nut.

"We beg leave of the Ballâl to go," said the heroes to their caste-people.

They put on shoes and took umbrellas, and while they were running along the roots of trees touched by their feet were ground into powder, as if by stones, and birds' wings were broken. The heroes went to the Ballâl's *ôidu*, and saluted the Ballâl, standing on lower ground.

"Heroes! come and sit down," said the Ballâl.

"The business for which we came comes first; sitting comes next," said the heroes. They said, "Râma! Râma!" and "Brahmâti!" and presented him with what they brought.

"Master! where is what you presented to Deyî for our sake?" asked they.

"There is a field for you, named *Kalaya Kari*, in which plantain trees are planted, and another, named *Punkare*, in which flowers are planted, and which is cultivated by one *Buddyanda*. They are in a large kambula field at *Hanidoṭṭi Bâil*, for the cultivation of which you had better arrange with *Buddyanda*," said the Ballâl.

"We will go there. Give us permission, sir," said the heroes.

"Heroes! chew betel-nut and go home happily," said the Ballâl.

"We will not chew betel-nut before we have ploughed four turns at least in the middle of the field, and before we have sown. Moreover, we will not take our food until then," said they.

"Then take away the things which you have brought me," said he.

"We do not take back what we have given! We will have connection only with a pure woman! We will not make friendship with bad company! We do not put our hands into a chump of thistles! We do not chew again betel-nut that has been spat out. We do not ascend the *châvadi*, if once we have come down. We do not see again the Master's face, when once we have seen it. We shew our belly when we come, and shew our back on our return. The remainder is at the beginning of seven battles. We shall see it that day. At that time you will know us," said Kôti and Channayya.

They left there what they brought him. They went to the shop of *Râma Kamma*. They paid him two pice and brought a cocoanut to take to *Buddyanda*. *Buddyanda* saw them while they were still at a distance. As soon as he saw them, he concealed himself behind some torn pieces of matting. Kôti and Channayya ascended the *châvadi* at once, and called out:—"Buddyanda! Buddyanda!"

"No males are here! No males are here!" answered *Buddyanda's* wife. "O children! the Ballâl has gone to *Parimâle*. He went as an arbitrator to settle an oath between an uncle and a nephew, and between a grand-father and a grandson in the Upper Country."

Buddyanda ploughed and sowed his *kambula* and returned to his *biḍu*. The heroes having ploughed and sown their *kambula* went back to Ērajha. The charitable heroes gave to each of those, who had ploughed with buffaloes, three *sērs* of rice and a leaf full of boiled rice. They gave to each, who had ploughed, over two *sērs* of rice, and a leaf full of boiled rice. They presented all the villagers with oil to rub on themselves. They passed through the *biḍu* of Buddyanda, and Buddyanda sent the villagers, who had ploughed for him, to the door of the heroes.

"It is your turn to-morrow to go to the *kambula* at Hanidoṭṭi. Our paddy field requires much water. The soil of it will crack, even in the moonlight. Then the dry grass can neither be cut with a sickle, nor be plucked by the hand. Therefore, brother, shall you go or I?" asked the younger brother.

"You, Channayya, are cruel! Anger and strife may happen between you and the foolish Buddyanda. Our caste occupation is to extract *tārī*. Do you, Channayya, attend to that business," said Kōṭi.

Channayya went to a forest called *San̄ka Matē* to draw toddy from the trees.

"Then I shall go to Hanidoṭṭi," said Kōṭi.

Kōṭi Baidya took a thick coloured cloth and sufficient seeds, and he took also a harrow, which had been worn by being used on a field producing sixty *muṛas* of rice. Then Buddyanda let in the water and filled the heroes' fields.

"Aho, Buddyanda! there is no water that I can see in your *kambula* for even a goose to sit in on the mud heaps, and for a frog to sit in in the holes. But our *kambula* is like the sea of Rāma Samudram," said Kōṭi Baidya. "Although there are a thousand men and women to take their food at Ērajha, we have also to take our food at our Ērajha. Therefore, Buddyanda how much can I endure? If it had been my brother that was here, the result of the ploughing would have reached to one and a half, while it will now be only one," said Kōṭi.

"You praise your brother. Has he conquered the land, hunting a large tiger? Has he been presented with a *sēr* of gold rings for having killed a tiger? Has he been covered with peacock's feathers? Has he fought a battle, riding on a noseless horse? Has he put the sky above the earth?" said Buddyanda.

While Kōṭi and Buddyanda were thus disputing, Channayya heard them with his ears and said:—"What is this, Kōṭi? Buddyanda's voice is heard for a long distance, but yours only for a short distance."

"Brother! look at Buddyanda's *kambula*, and brother, look at ours!" said Kōṭi.

Channayya Baidya never stopped running till he reached Ērajha, got his dagger of steel, rubbed it over with a powder of white stones, made it sharp and came back. When he came back, Buddyanda was sitting on a verandah by a cocoaunt tree at Ajamañja Kōṭya. Channayya bowed down to him and said:—

"I saluted a *kayēri* tree, growing on a hill! What do you see, brother Kōṭi? Let one of my salutations be for the god Nārāyaṇa on high. Let the other one be for Bhūmī Dēvi. And let the last one be for the seventy-seven *karōṭas* of gods! Now what do you see, Kōṭi? Tie the bow with a string."

They cut one of the banks of Buddyanda's *kambula* and let the water off. Then Buddyanda took a harrow and came to drive them off.

Then said Channayya:—"What do you see, brother?"

They took a log out of the water and beat him, until his joints were broken. They took a green leaf of a cocoaunt and beat him, till his bones were broken. They took a bundle of small *turi-muḷḷu* thistles and beat him, till his face was wounded. They took an arrow, and plunged it into his breast. They took his body, holding his hands and legs, and put it north

and south, on a broad bank in his *kambula*. They tore his thick cloth, and tied his toes with it. They took three harrow-loads of soil and said : —

“The three harrow-loads of soil are three hundred cakes for your supper. Three harrow-loads of soil out of our *kambula* put on your heart are for *sandal* to rub on you.”

Afterwards they dressed up at Padumakattê a harrow and made it like Buddyanda. Then they went to Buddyanda's *bîdu*, and called : — “Woman ! Woman.”

His wife heard the second call, and answered the third call.

“Who is it that called,” asked she.

“No one, but we heroes !” said they.

“Why do you children come here, who have not come up to this time ? You, who have never spoken to me ? You, who were against my husband, as if he were a Nâga or a Kandodi ? Who induced you to be friendly ? O Râma ! Râma ! Brahmâti !” said she.

“O woman ! wise people of Upper Parmâl and Brâhmanas of the lower country reconciled us. With one flower and nut we have healed the ill-will between us. We have become friends.”

“If you are heroes who are not envious, you will pass by the *bîdu*,” said she.

“Woman ! Buddyanda was tired by the morning sun, and the moisture in his throat was dried up. Therefore he wants you to take him milk in a small tumbler, water in a jug, and betel-nut on a plate,” said they.

“I shall take them, children ! You, who have never yet come, have come here ! The day has come near for me to leave off wearing my nose jewel, and my *kariya mani* necklace. For your meal at the master's house there are boiled rice in an earthen jar, curds in a basket, pickles in a wooden vessel, five hundred sorts of curries prepared with curds and three hundred kinds of curries with tamarind, and a thousand curries with cocoanut,” said she.

“Râma ! Râma ! Brahmâti ! Woman, hear us ! We came here, having finished our meal of boiled rice-water. We take our meals twice a day, but not thrice,” said they.

“So let it be, children ! If you will not take your dinner, there is betel-nut of your master's to chew !” said she. “Where is that girl ? O Jaina girl, give the heroes betel-nut into their hand.”

“Girl, have you experienced wisdom in the heart, pain of the back, and knowledge of the world ?” asked Channayya. When she brought betel-nut, the younger took it in his hand.

“Woman ! we have taken betel-nut,” said they, and called out again :—“O woman, where are those *muras* of *pallê* berries, the small *mura* of *kaleñja* berries, and the bundle of canes, which were taken from us by force in our childhood ?” asked they.

She began to think, and said :—“They are upstairs by my bath-room, children ! take them !”

The younger brother Channayya took his Râma Keugude dagger, struck the *muras* with it and took them away. Then they passed by the border of the yard, and by a small opening closed with two sticks across it.

“Woman ! we have taken your betel-nut. We have put in this stick fastened here,” said they.

Then the woman said :—“Is there any remainder, heroes ? or is it finished ?”

“If Buddyanda is finished, you will burn yourselves, but if he remains, we shall give him blows,” said Kôti and Channayya.

The children went onwards and sat by the way at Uddanda Buttu. Buddyanda's wife took milk in a small tumbler and made a maid take a jug of water, and on the road to Handyottn Bâil she saw blood flowing into a small drain.

"Oh my maid! this must be the water that my husband spat out when chewing betel-nut," said she.

"This is not water spat out after chewing betel-nut, but blood," said the maids.

When they had passed on a little, they saw a harrow<sup>11</sup> dressed up. As soon as Buddyanda's wife saw the harrow dressed up, she began to cry out and beat her head. The inhabitants of Upper Parimâl and Brâhmanas of the lower country came running when they heard her crying out.

"You men who have come running, what do you see of my beauty?" said Buddyanda's wife. "You men hold the dead body by its hands and legs, and put it south and north on a bank of the *kumbula*."

They took it, holding the legs and hands, and put it on the bank of the *kumbula*.

"Let a nose-jewel and a neck-jewel, too, be on the heroes' breasts," said she.

"You break them on your husband's bosom when you are married, but why do you break them for our sake?" asked the heroes.

They saw the beauty of Buddyanda's wife, as they went to Êrajha. When they reached Êrajha, they sat on the swinging cot, and Sâyina, their uncle, came to them.

"What is that stain, children, on your faces?" asked he.

"It is the stain that we had, when we were brought out from our mother's womb," said Kôti.

"Buddyanda came forward and we killed him," said Channayya.

"When I reared you with a handful of rice during my life time, I hoped you would burn me into five *sêrs* of ashes, when I died," said their uncle.

"Where is a present for us, uncle?" asked they.

"O children! go to the Êdambûr Châvaḍi, and get a present in addition to the former one, such as *sallabêjâ* and *sattânêjâ*," said Sâyina.

They went to the Ballâl and said to him:—"On the north part of your house there is a paddy field producing three hundred *muras* of rice, and sowing three *sêrs* (of paddy). Please, give us that field."

"The produce of that field is for Government taxes. Do not ask for it! Ask for another, children!" said the Ballâl.

"There is a paddy field to the south of the *bîḍu* producing five hundred *muras* of rice, and sowing five *sêrs* of paddy. Please, give us that one," said they.

"The produce of that is to be used for the servants of my house. Therefore, heroes, ask for another present," said he.

"In the south of the house there is a jack tree. One of its branches produces soft jack fruits and another branch produces hard fruits. Please, give us that tree."

"Those are the fruits that the children of the house eat publicly. Ask for something else, heroes!" said he.

"There are a harrow and a pickaxe, called Râma Lachana. Give us them," said they.

"I have dry grounds, sowing sixty *muras* of paddy, banks which burst, and walls which fall down. Therefore, I want that harrow and pickaxe," said he.

"On a round verandah, called Padma Kaṭṭê, at your palace, there is a red cocoanut. One bunch produces an earthen jar full of *târâ*, and the other shoot produces a thousand cocoanuts. Give us that!"

<sup>11</sup> Always described as "Basurûr Paṇṇu Kotturê" in the text.

"That tree is for the cocoanuts and oil used for the people of the house. Therefore, I cannot give you it," said he.

"Let it be, if you cannot give us that tree. There are five large she-buffaloes. Please, give us them at least," asked the heroes.

"O heroes, there are four mothers in my palace. You have asked to-day for the she-buffaloes, and you will ask for the mothers, too, to-morrow," said the Ballâl.

"We will never set our feet in the land, where sons are married to their mothers! We will not drink water there," said they, and went to a distance of four feet.

At this time a letter from Sâyina about the murder of Buddyanda was brought in through the small door. The Ballâl read the letter, and sent a man for the heroes.

"A thousand of such as Buddyanda can be found hereafter, but heroes like these cannot be found again. I will give them my palace. I will give them my land. Let the heroes come back!" said he, and gave them a letter.

They saw the letter, made answer and said: — "We went back from you and will never return again."

Then they went on to the hut of Hînkiri Bânâr, and said: — "Where are the one-pointed iron nails and the two-pointed iron instrument? They were given to you to repair? Where are the handle of *heruva*, and the plough of *baṅga*?"

"What is it, that the heroes say?" said Hînkiri of his wife. "They are not even so wise as to cease taking their meals at Parimâl. I will pierce their breasts with the handle of *heruva*, the plough of *baṅga*, the one-pointed nail and the two-pointed tapering instrument."

"Brother, does the plough come on the heart, when it passes over the fields? He is a wise man. I shall ask him again and return. Brother, do you go on," said Channayya.

Channayya made him go three times round his hut, and pierced his breast with the dagger, and the men and women made an outcry. The neighbours came running up, and asked: — "What is the outcry about?"

"The blacksmith tried an impossible work, when a spark of fire flew out and the hut was burnt," said the younger brother.

They went on further, and then to one Bâlu, the washerman. They called out to the washerman and said: — "We have given you dirty clothes; have you washed and returned them?"

"No," said Bâlu the washerman.

They speared Bâlu the washerman, and went on further, and came to one Saṅku, the oil-maker.

"Where is Saṅku the oil-maker? We have given him a *kalasé* of oil-seeds. Where is one-fourth of the *muṇḍ* of oil?" asked they.

"I do not know, heroes! you have given and I have taken it," said he.

They speared Saṅku the oil-maker, and went on to one Abbu, the potter.

"We have given you a *kalasé* of paddy, where are small and large earthen vessels?" asked they.

He shewed them a broken pot and told them to take it away. They stabbed Abbu the potter with their dagger.

"So have we killed Abbu. Now let us go to the toll gate!" said they.

Dêrê, the toll-taker, saw them from a distance, and came down from his verandah and ran away, but they waited for Dêrê, till his return. They saw him coming from a distance,

and started onwards, and said : — “ Who is that going along ? Is he a ‘Sambhōg ? A son of a Jaina Sēṭṭi ? Is he a Baraga, the son of a Baṇṭ ?”

“ No matter who you are, you must pay the daily toll at Baṅga’s verandah,” said Dêrê.

“ Why do you ask toll, Dêrê ? Have we loads on our heads, Dêrê ? Have we loads on our backs, Dêrê ? Do men or women follow us, Dêrê ?” asked they.

“ The toll is for your dagger of steel, which you have on,” said Dêrê.

“ No one has ever taken toll from us in the whole world up to this day, not even from the creation of the sun and the moon,” said they.

“ Brother ! Dêrê has good sense. I will ask him the remaining questions and follow you,” said Channayya.

Then he stabbed Dêrê in the breast. Dêrê vomited blood and white rice. Then Channayya put three coins on his breast and said : — “ Take toll from every body going along the road.”

They went to a shed for water, and asked the Brâhmana : — “ Holy one, have you pure water ?”

“ I have water, but I have only three cups in my house. One is used for giving water in the hot season to kings and great people, and a second one is for Brâhmanas. But, children ! there is a small spout of bell-metal. Shall I pour water out of it ?” said he.

“ We do not drink water from a spout, in which people of twelve religions and one hundred castes have drunk,” said they.

Kôṭi held out his dagger’s point, on which the Brâhmana poured water, and drank water through the handle.

“ Oh ! Brother, you have drunk water and rested. How can I drink water ?” asked Channayya.

The Brâhmana gazed at Channayya’s face, and when he saw the red eyes, the brown hair on his face, the mustaches bent like a horn, and his breast, the Brâhmana was attacked by a devil that can never be routed. His hands were drawn back of themselves as if he were pouring out water, and then the water went suddenly up to his head and he became senseless. Then Kôṭi asked of the people : — “ Is this water put here by yourselves or by the permission of the king ?”

The younger brother knew what to do. He stood up at once and began dragging away the Brâhmana.

Then Kôṭi said : — “ Do not go, brother ! Do not go. If you think two ways of the Brâhmana, you will become a sinner that has killed a red cow at Kâśī. If you do not heed my advice and go any further, you will become as a sinner that has killed me. If you disregard this advice, you will have committed seventy-seven *karors* of sins.” Channayya was not the brother to disregard Kôṭi’s advice.

“ O Brother ! I will give you an oracle. If it is useless, treat it as useless ; and if it is good, treat it as good,” said the Brâhmana.

He brought sixty handfuls of *jûṭakams* and thirty handfuls of *granṭhams*. He brought golden balls and wires of silver, and put them on a plank of white *kadrôli*, and he also shed tears.

“ Do not try on any injustice : tell the truth now, putting down a handful of the balls,” said Channayya.

“ At Nelli and at Savalandâdka enemies with swords are waiting both on the trees and on the ground. A little further on a berry with a white stone will fall on Channayya’s hat, and if you go on further, you will see a woman named Kantakke, who is selling Areca-nut,” said the astrologer. “ O Channayya and Kôṭi, let me fold up the wires.”

"Do you, Brāhmaṇa, perform *pūja* to your tables, and we now pay your charges," said the brothers, and gave him nine *pagodas*. "Do you, Brahmana, think to yourself that these nine *pagodas* are equal to nine *lākhs* of rupees!"

Then they proceeded further and saw Kantakke selling Areca-nuts.

"O mother Kantakke! put the basket of nuts aside!" said they.

"Do you remember the Ēḍambār Baidyas, who give rice at interest, and money at interest?" said they.

They went on. At Savalandāḍka a berry with a white stone fell into Channayya's hat, and so he made five hundred berries fall down with the point of his dagger, and with the handle of it three hundred more. They appeared like diamond flies at Nelli and Savalandāḍka.<sup>12</sup> When the people at Nelli and Savalandāḍka asked about this wonder and enchantment, they saw the brave heroes. Some of them ran away as soon as they saw them, and ran up hills, and he who could not run bit the grass.

"Is not he, who has flown away, a bird? Let him be an army! Now let us go on further," said they.

(To be continued.)

## NOTES ON THE SPIRIT BASIS OF BELIEF AND CUSTOM.

BY J. M. CAMPBELL, C.I.E., I.C.S.

(Continued from p. 132.)

**Clothes.** — Cloth and clothes, the guardians against cold, ward off spirit-attacks. So, according to the *Rūs Mālā*, a dark cloth is an amulet against the evil eye.<sup>57</sup> A Hindu mother with a young child, passing a haunted place, draws her robe over the child. At the time of teaching the Chitpāvan boy the sacred *Gāyatrī*, or Sun-hymn, his hands are tied in a cloth and covered by his father's hand, and both the father and the boy are covered with a cloth.<sup>58</sup> Similarly, in one part of the wedding service, the Chitpāvan bride has her head covered with a piece of broad-cloth.<sup>59</sup> Gujarāt Srāvaks draw a cloth over the cooking place and drinking vessels.<sup>60</sup> Gujarāt Musalmāns believe that black indigo, cloth and black cotton threads keep off spirits.<sup>61</sup> Gujarāt Hindus, when settling a bargain, put their hands under a mantle.<sup>62</sup> The Dekhan Rāmōsis tie the ends of the bride and bridegroom's robes to a cloth, which four men of the family hold over them.<sup>63</sup> Among the Uchliās, or pick-pockets, of Poona, when a girl comes of age, five half cocoanuts, five dry dates, turmeric roots, betel-nuts and rice and a bodice-cloth are put in her lap.<sup>64</sup> At a Dekhan Kūnbī's death, before the body is taken out of the house, the chief mourner is given a piece of cloth to tie round his chest,<sup>65</sup> and, at the wedding of an Ahmednagar Kōlī, pieces of bodice-cloth are put on stick ends, instead of flags, and they are held round the bridegroom.<sup>66</sup> The Jingers of Poona, on the fifth day after a birth, roll the child from head to foot in cloth, and lay it on the ground.<sup>67</sup> The dead Dhruva Prabhu of Poona is laid on a white woollen cloth.<sup>68</sup> Among the Dekhan Pātānē Prabhus, at their thread-girding, the boy is rolled in a sheet, lifted by his mother's uncle, and taken into the porch.<sup>69</sup> When the *gurū*, or religious teacher, of the Dekhan Mhārs, initiates a child, he covers himself and the child with a blanket or a cloth, or a curtain is held between him and the rest of the people.<sup>70</sup> The Kōragar women of South Kānara continue to wear the leaf-aprons they used to

<sup>12</sup> By berries are here intended men.

<sup>57</sup> Balfour's *Encyclopædia*, Vol. V. p. 29.

<sup>58</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XVIII. p. 128.

<sup>59</sup> Information from Mr. Fazal Lutfullah.

<sup>60</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XVIII. p. 417.

<sup>61</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XVIII. p. 308.

<sup>62</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XVIII. p. 341.

<sup>63</sup> *Op. cit.*

<sup>58</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XVIII. p. 118.

<sup>60</sup> Information from Mr. Bhimbhai.

<sup>62</sup> Fryer, p. 112.

<sup>64</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XVIII. p. 478.

<sup>66</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XVII. p. 201.

<sup>68</sup> K. Raghunāth's *Pātānē Prabhus*.

<sup>70</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XVIII. p. 441.



wear when they had no other clothing.<sup>71</sup> The Dhôrs of Poona put a face-cloth on the dead.<sup>72</sup> The Belgaum Kômtis, at their weddings, stretch a three-cornered cloth in front of the boy's house, and at a rich Mudliar's funeral a cloth is spread for the procession to walk on.<sup>73</sup> When a high caste Dhârwarî girl comes of age, a washerman is called. He folds a cloth, draws coloured lines on it, spreads it in the *makhar*, or wooden frame, and the girl is made to sit on it.<sup>74</sup> The Bijâpur Brâhman, when a child is being named, apparently to keep spirits off the mother as that would affect the child, set her standing on a wooden stool with a cap on her head and with shoes on.<sup>75</sup> A cloth is held between the bride and bridegroom in the Bijâpur Ghisâdî's wedding procession.<sup>76</sup> In Bijâpur Silvant and Holiyachibalki Lingâyats cover their water-pots with a cloth.<sup>77</sup> Among the Marâthâ Gavandîs of Shôlâpur, the chief mourner ties a piece of cloth across his shoulder and chest.<sup>78</sup> When a Kânara Havig Brâhman teaches a son the *Gâyatrî*; or Sun-hymn, he covers himself and the boy with a cloth.<sup>79</sup> Among the Roman Catholics of Kânara, at their Baptism, the priest draws the end of his stole over the child's face, when he takes it into the church.<sup>80</sup> When a Beni-Isrâ'îl babe is being circumcised, his father sits, praying, covered with a veil.<sup>81</sup>

Among the Bengal Khârwârs women dance doubly veiled.<sup>82</sup> In the Brâhman marriage, in Bengal, Brihaspati, or the gods' teacher, is called on to guard children till they wear clothes.<sup>83</sup> In Bengal, when a buffalo is sacrificed to Durgâ, a cloth is laid on its back.<sup>84</sup> Gloves used to be worn by Pârsî women in their monthly sickness,<sup>85</sup> and most Pârsî women cover their hair with a piece of cloth.<sup>86</sup> Musalmân women in Turkistân wear thick, dark, horse-hair veils.<sup>87</sup>

A Burman, when attacked with cholera has a cloth thrown over his face.<sup>88</sup> In China, strips of cloth and paper are used to drive away spirits,<sup>89</sup> and a strip of white or yellow cloth is sometimes hung at the end of streets to keep off spirits.<sup>90</sup> Before 1868, the Japanese emperor used never to leave his palace or be seen. If he walked, as he rarely did, cloths were spread to keep him from touching the earth.<sup>91</sup> The Shinto god at Mishima is a pole with bits of paper or rags fastened to it.<sup>92</sup> Across the archway of the Shinto temple of Ise, in Japan, a simple white cloth or curtain hangs.<sup>93</sup>

The Nicobar people keep off spirits by putting up a screen made of pieces of cloth, which hides from their baneful sight the place where the houses stand.<sup>94</sup> The Papuan mother covers her child with leaves when any stranger looks at it.<sup>95</sup> The emperor of Uganda, in East Africa, has crimson and white standards.<sup>96</sup> The disease spirit in Central Africa is put into a rag and carried to some tree, and there laid by nailing it into the tree-stem.<sup>97</sup> Rag-trees are no specialty of Central Africa. They are common in India, Persia, Ethiopia, America, and Western Europe.<sup>98</sup>

In Russia, to get rid of an ague, make a rag doll, whisper words into it, and throw it somewhere where it will be noticed. Whoever picks up the rag will pick up the ague.<sup>99</sup>

<sup>71</sup> Walhouse in *Jour. Anthropol. Inst.* Vol. V. p. 473. [So do Andamanese when clothed in petticoats by Europeans. — Ed.]

<sup>72</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XVIII. p. 435.

<sup>73</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XXIII. p. 84.

<sup>74</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XXIII. p. 221.

<sup>75</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XV. p. 124.

<sup>76</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XVIII. p. 528.

<sup>77</sup> Colebrooke's *Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. I. p. 213.

<sup>78</sup> *Ravast*, 22nd August 1478.

<sup>79</sup> Schuyler's *Turkistân*, Vol. I. p. 124.

<sup>80</sup> Gray's *China*, Vol. II. p. 32.

<sup>81</sup> Reed's *Japan*, Vol. II. p. 301.

<sup>82</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 247.

<sup>83</sup> Earl's *Papuans*, p. 49.

<sup>84</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 143.

<sup>85</sup> Mrs. Romanoff's *Rites and Customs of the Græco-Russian Church*, p. 228.

<sup>73</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XXI. p. 98. <sup>74</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XXII. p. 189.

<sup>76</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XXIII. p. 192.

<sup>78</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XX. p. 93.

<sup>80</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XV. p. 338.

<sup>82</sup> Dalton's *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 130.

<sup>84</sup> Ward's *View of the Hindus*, Vol. I. p. 117.

<sup>86</sup> From MS. notes.

<sup>88</sup> Shway Yoe's *The Burman*, Vol. II. p. 110.

<sup>90</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 32.

<sup>92</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 301.

<sup>94</sup> Spencer's *Principles of Sociology*, Vol. I. p. 189.

<sup>96</sup> Stanley's *Dark Continent*, Vol. I. p. 391.

<sup>98</sup> Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II. p. 150.

The Russian babe's cradle is hung round with a curtain of dark print or silk, apparently to keep off the evil eye. Formerly nurses were more afraid of the evil eye, and used to draw the curtain close round the babe.<sup>100</sup> The Communion cloth is sacred in Russia. Laymen and the lowest order of the clergy may not touch it. No church can be consecrated without its cloth.<sup>1</sup> Formerly, at a Swedish wedding, the bride and bridegroom sat under a canopy.<sup>2</sup> The Russian Czar goes to be crowned under a canopy of eagles, cloth of gold and ostrich feathers.<sup>3</sup> In the Russian Church a curtain or veil is drawn between the body of the church and the altar.<sup>4</sup> At the mysteries of the Cabiri candidates were given a girdle, which they wore like an apron, as an amulet to keep off danger.<sup>5</sup> The mason wears a white leather apron; the Persians in the mysteries of Mithra, and also the Jewish priest, wore an apron coloured blue, purple, and scarlet.<sup>6</sup> The Germans put a right shirt sleeve, or a left stocking, in a cradle of an unbaptised babe to keep off Nickert;<sup>7</sup> and it is a German belief that, if you find a treasure, you should either throw bread over it, or a piece of clothing that has been worn next the skin.<sup>8</sup> In Germany, there was a belief that if a shirt is spun and stitched by a maiden who has kept silence for seven years, it not only undoes charms, but makes the wearer spell-proof and victorious.<sup>9</sup> Dreams are driven away by wearing a nightcap, because dreams are caused by the cold driving the blood to the brain.<sup>10</sup> Saint Teresa of Spain (1540) was presented by the Virgin with an invisible cope, which guarded her from sin.<sup>11</sup> The guardian virtue of cloth seems to be the origin of the Scotch and French belief, that the child born with a caul (a veil or holy hood) will be lucky.<sup>12</sup> Compare the Roman Catholic *scapulaire* "two bits of cloth, an inch and a half square, which they join at the corners with tapes, throw them over their heads, and make one end lie on the breast and the other on the back."<sup>13</sup> On State occasions, a silk canopy is carried over the Pope.<sup>14</sup> From a time of which no memory remains, a canopy of cloth of gold or purple silk, with a gilt bell at each corner, has been carried over the king and queen of England on the coronation day.<sup>15</sup> After the king of England is anointed on the chest, between the shoulders, and on the arms, palms and head, he is arrayed in his robes, a cap is put on his head and gloves on his hands.<sup>16</sup> After being anointed, Richard I. had his head covered with a linen cloth.<sup>17</sup> Cloth gives power over spirits. Compare the invisible coat and Prospero's magic garment. The Anglo-Saxons held a care-cloth over the bride and bridegroom.<sup>18</sup> Cloth, like other scarers, is also either a spirit-prison or a spirit-home. This explains the invisible-making coat of Middle Age legends and Prospero's magic garment,<sup>19</sup> the hiding and other magical properties being due to the dwelling in the cloth of some charmed spirit. So the sense of the practice in North-West Scotland and elsewhere of covering bushes near holy wells with pieces of cloth nailed on by patients<sup>20</sup> is that the disease-spirit is prisoned by the guardian spirit of the well. The English sovereign on the day of coronation walks on cloth from the door of Westminster Hall to the Abbey. If clothes are offered to a Brownie or working spirit, or to a Devonshire Pixie, they fly away.<sup>21</sup> On St. Agnes's Eve, North England girls lay their stockings and garters cross-wise.<sup>22</sup> A cure for boils is to lay the poultice-cloth in a coffin with a dead body.<sup>23</sup> In England, it was believed that to lay part of the father's clothes over a girl's body and a petticoat over a boy, was to ensure them favour with the opposite sex.<sup>24</sup> So a girl's spell for procuring a sight of her future husband, is to wash her sash and lay it on a chair, to roll the left garter round the right stocking, or to lay a pair of garters across at the

<sup>100</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 59.

<sup>3</sup> Jones' *Crowns*, p. 385.

<sup>6</sup> Mackey's *Freemasonry*, p. 45.

<sup>7</sup> Henderson's *Folk-Lore*, p. 14.

<sup>9</sup> *Op. cit.* pp. 1098, 1099.

<sup>11</sup> *Quar Rev.* October 1883, p. 413.

<sup>13</sup> Hume, Vol. II. p. 415.

<sup>15</sup> Jones' *Crowns*, p. 113.

<sup>18</sup> *The Tempest*, Act I. Scene 2.

<sup>21</sup> Dyer's *Folk-Lore*, p. 195.

<sup>23</sup> Dyer's *Folk-Lore*, p. 171.

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 51.

<sup>2</sup> Chambers's *Book of Days*, p. 720.

<sup>4</sup> Mrs. Romanoff's *Rites and Customs of the Græco-Russian Church*, p. 84.

<sup>6</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 22.

<sup>8</sup> Grimm's *Teuto. Myth.* Vol. III. p. 971.

<sup>10</sup> *St. James's Budget*, 25th December 1883.

<sup>12</sup> Henderson's *Folk-Lore*, p. 22.

<sup>14</sup> Chambers's *Book of Days*, Vol. I. p. 427.

<sup>16</sup> *Op. cit.* pp. 290, 291.

<sup>17</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 195.

<sup>19</sup> Jones' *Crowns*, p. 118.

<sup>20</sup> Mitchell's *Highland Superstitions*, p. 5.

<sup>22</sup> Henderson's *Folk-Lore*, p. 249.

<sup>24</sup> Thorpe's *Mythology*, Vol. II. p. 109.

foot of the bed.<sup>25</sup> In Durham, a garter tied round the left leg below the knee cures cramp.<sup>26</sup> In England, the newly-christened child continued to wear the christening cap till the morning after the christening.<sup>27</sup>

**Colours.**—Spirits seem to hold in special dread the three colours, yellow, red and black, and perhaps white.

**Yellow.**—For six days before the wedding the Indian Musalmân bride wears old tattered yellow clothes. The admitted object of the practice is to drive away the spirits or *jinn*s that hover round the bride and bridegroom. So when a wife prepares to meet a long absent husband she dresses in yellow from head to foot. A North-Indian Hindi song runs: "Her husband returns at eve, the fair one makes ready to meet him with yellow saffron on her brow, with a golden ring in her nose, with a garland of yellow gold hung round her neck. Golden, too, is her vestment and yellow sandal shines on her body. Ripe yellow *pân* she chews. The dear one makes herself yellow to meet her lord."<sup>28</sup> Among Gujarât Musalmâns the marriage turmeric-rubbing, *pithâ-lagânâ*, is confessedly with the object of keeping off evil spirits, with whose presence the wedding-day air is so heavy-laden as to give rise to the proverb:—"*Shādî hā waḥt badā bhāri waḥt hai*. The time of marriage is a very heavy time." To silence any possible grumble of the bride:—"Of what use is this yellow-paste rubbing," the elders are primed with stories:—"Khudâ Bakhsh, the Paidhônî weaver, had his wedding-day close at hand. Hirâ his bride was at her house. The *pithî*, or turmeric paste, was ready. The time of rubbing it on had come. The bride missed her nose-ring. She was allowed by mistake to go herself to fetch it. She found the ring and came back. When the rubbing on of the paste began, almost at the very sight of the paste, she fell into convulsions. For two or three days the fits came back at intervals. Her mother heard of a good exorcist and took Hirâ to see him. The power of the exorcist forced the spirit in the girl to speak. 'I am the spirit of a Sîdî,' he said. 'I am a gnome half a span high. I saw this girl when she went for the nose-ring. I liked her. I noticed neither yellow clothes nor yellow paste to keep me off. I took possession of her.'" "Yes," says another of the elder ladies, "and Miriam Hasan of Mâhim, with her new ideas, was looking about her just before the paste was put on. She fell in a fit. She had looked into the tamarind tree in front of the house and the *jinn* who lived in the tamarind tree had seen her looking and took possession of her. It was long before they could get the *jinn* to confess and leave her . . ." During the spirit laden days of Dasara or Dîwālî no careful Musalmân mother lets a child out of doors without a yellow lemon in his pocket. A Bombay inspector, a Sûrat Musalmân, going his rounds after dark on Dîwālî eve, felt something bob against his legs. He tried with his hand and found that the dear house-mother had dropped a lemon into each tail-pocket. Most Hindus of Western India make yellow the bodies of the bride and bridegroom by rubbing them with turmeric. Among most high-class Hindus the bride's cloth, or *vadhuvâstra*, is always yellow, and the *kankans*, or marriage wristlets, tied round the wrists of the bride and bridegroom have generally inside of them a piece of turmeric root and a betel-nut. Before a thread-girding, the Brâhman boy is rubbed with yellow, and among several classes, when a girl comes of age, she is covered with yellow clothes, or is rubbed with turmeric. That it is the yellow colour, not the turmeric, that is valued, is shewn by the fact that several classes use yellow earth instead of turmeric. The Vaishṇava use of yellow earth, known as *gopî-chandan*, or milk-maid's sandalwood, seems based on the belief that yellow scares spirits. That this is not because yellow is a festive colour, is proved by the practice of marking the face and chest of the dead with lines of yellow. The explanation that the object is to drive away spirits is supported by the belief among some Hindus that spirits fear yellow. When they re-thatch their houses at the beginning of the rains, the Marâṭhâ Hindus of the Kônkan give the thatcher a bundle of cloth, in which are tied turmeric, marking nuts, an iron nail, and rice, to lay on the roof peak or ridge, that the

<sup>25</sup> Henderson's *Folk-Lore*, pp. 101, 102.

<sup>27</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 15.

<sup>26</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 155.

<sup>28</sup> Information from Mr. Fazl Lutfullah.

lightning may see them and flee. In the Kōnkan, some Hindu mothers in child-bed tie a piece of turmeric round their neck to keep off evil spirits, and continue to wear it for a year.<sup>29</sup> At a Dekhan Kunt's wedding yellow lines are drawn on the cloth, which is held between the boy and the girl,<sup>30</sup> and at a Dekhan Rāmōśi's wedding yellow rice is thrown over the bride and bridegroom.<sup>31</sup> Kānara Liṅgāyats tie turmeric roots round the wrists of the bride and bridegroom.<sup>32</sup> In Shōlāpur, Komtī women, rub their faces with turmeric powder.<sup>33</sup> In Kānara, Havig Brāhmaṇ women, when in full dress, colour with turmeric paste the parts of the body which remain uncovered.<sup>34</sup> In the Karnāṭak, among the Mādhava Brāhmaṇs, before marriage and thread-girding, the chief relations are rubbed with turmeric and bathed in warm water.<sup>35</sup> The Khōnds gird their head-man with a necklace of yellow thread,<sup>36</sup> and they bind a yellow thread round the bride and bridegroom's necks and sprinkle their faces with turmeric.<sup>37</sup> The Hos and Mundas of South-West Bengal anoint the dead with oil and turmeric.<sup>38</sup> The Gonds tie a yellow thread round the wrist of the bride and bridegroom.<sup>39</sup> On the fifth day after a birth the Gonds call women and rub them with turmeric.<sup>40</sup> The Hindu *sannyāsī* wears yellow clothes.<sup>41</sup> Among fire-worshipping Persians a yellow dog with four eye-like spots, or a white dog with yellow ears drives off the pollution spirit.<sup>42</sup> The Persians held gold to be the purest metal; one washing cleaned a gold dish, a silver dish wanted six.<sup>43</sup> Burman women, and some Burman men, rub a sweet straw-coloured powder on their cheeks.<sup>44</sup> Among the Malays, no one but the king may wear yellow.<sup>45</sup> The road along which the emperor of China passes in bridal procession is covered with yellow cloths.<sup>46</sup> The Lāma of Thibet wears a long yellowish robe.<sup>47</sup> At the spring-ploughing festival in China, a husbandman wearing a yellow coat goes before the plough.<sup>48</sup> In China, when a person is sick with headache or fever, the enchanter writes with a red pencil on a yellow paper, burns the paper and gives the ashes to the sick man to drink.<sup>49</sup> At a Buddhist funeral in Japan, women in mourning wear yellow clothes.<sup>50</sup> In the Fiji Islands, vermilion and turmeric are rubbed on the faces and bosoms of wives, who are killed to accompany their dead husbands.<sup>51</sup> The people of Melville Island daub themselves with yellow.<sup>52</sup> The Wagogos of East Africa wear yellow wristlets of goat skin to keep off spirits.<sup>53</sup> The Mexicans stained the successful warrior yellow,<sup>54</sup> and at Mexican festivals the people painted their faces yellow.<sup>55</sup> Greek virgins, at the fifth yearly sacrifice to Diana, wore yellow gowns, though, with this exception, to wear any coloured dress at a festival was against the law.<sup>56</sup> In Greece pills made of yellow silk and live spiders are believed to cure ague.<sup>57</sup> The pedestal of the Guardian of Ulster in Ireland was a golden yellow stone.<sup>58</sup> In Middle Age England gold rings were worn to cure patients suffering from the attacks of evil spirits.<sup>59</sup>

*Red.* — On almost all great Hindu occasions red or vermilion, *kunkū*, is used along with yellow turmeric. Hindu women, whose husbands are alive, mark their brows with red powder. In Thānā, when a high-class Hindu woman goes to visit a neighbour, at the close of her visit her brow is marked with red.<sup>60</sup> In the Dekhan, the Chitpāvan bridegroom's face is marked with black and red.<sup>61</sup> The Poona Uchliās, in preparing the oil for the ordeal caldron, paint

<sup>29</sup> Information from Mr. Govind Pandit.

<sup>30</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XVIII. p. 419.

<sup>31</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XX. p. 53.

<sup>32</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XXII. p. 79.

<sup>33</sup> *Op. cit.* pp. 54, 55.

<sup>34</sup> Hislop's *Aboriginal Tribes of the Central Provinces*, p. 23.

<sup>35</sup> Maurice's *Indian Antiquities*, Vol. V. p. 1008.

<sup>36</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 65.

<sup>37</sup> *Comment. of D'Albuquerque*, Vol. III. p. 83.

<sup>38</sup> Gray's *China*, Vol. I. p. 134.

<sup>39</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. II. pp. 17, 18.

<sup>40</sup> Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. I. p. 459.

<sup>41</sup> Cameron's *Across Africa*, p. 100.

<sup>42</sup> Clarke's *Travels in Greece*, Vol. IV. p. 17.

<sup>43</sup> Toland's *Celtic Religion* (1700), p. 134.

<sup>44</sup> Information from Mr. Govind Pandit.

<sup>45</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XVIII. p. 305.

<sup>46</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XV. p. 178.

<sup>47</sup> Information from Mr. DeSouza.

<sup>48</sup> Macpherson's *Khonds*, p. 31.

<sup>49</sup> Dalton's *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 202.

<sup>50</sup> *Op. cit.* Ap. I. p. iv.

<sup>51</sup> Bleek's *Khordah Avesta*, p. 71.

<sup>52</sup> Shway Yoe's *The Burman*, Vol. II. p. 22.

<sup>53</sup> Snopson's *Meeting the Sun*, pp. 157, 158.

<sup>54</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 117.

<sup>55</sup> St. John's *Nipon*, p. 220.

<sup>56</sup> Earl's *Papuan*, p. 194.

<sup>57</sup> Bancroft, Vol. III. p. 245. <sup>58</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. III. p. 360.

<sup>59</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. IV. p. 52.

<sup>60</sup> Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*, p. 435.

<sup>61</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XVIII. p. 131.

red and yellow both the oil-mill and the ballock that works it.<sup>62</sup> Dekhan Rāmōsis rub the bridegroom's foot with red powder;<sup>63</sup> and Gujarāt Muhammadans, when the bride enters her husband's house for the first time, kill a goat, and mark the soles of the bride's feet with its blood.<sup>64</sup> In Poona, at a wedding dinner, the place for each guest is marked with lines of red powder.<sup>65</sup> At a Dekhan Kunbī's wedding, when the boy is seated outside of the girl's house, Brāhmaṇs draw red lines on the walls.<sup>66</sup> Some Dekhan Kunbīs paint gaudy pictures and stripes of colour on their houses to keep off the evil eye.<sup>67</sup> The dome of the Tārkeśwar temple at Nāsik is coloured red and white.<sup>68</sup> The Komtīs of Shōlāpur, on the fifth day after a birth, wash the cot, and paint it with red and white lines.<sup>69</sup> In the Karnāṭak, all clothes given away as presents are rubbed with red powder. Some Belgaum Brāhmaṇs have their houses painted with alternate stripes of white and red.<sup>70</sup> In Nāgar, the pile of pots at the corners of the square, in which Gujarāt Brāhmaṇs are married, are striped red and white.<sup>71</sup> The Bedars, or Biadars, of Dhārwar smear their bodies with red, white and yellow earth.<sup>72</sup> The Gavandīs of Bijāpur throw red-coloured rice over the bride and bridegroom.<sup>73</sup> The Beni-Isrā'īls of Western India redden the bridegroom's hands and feet with henna.<sup>74</sup> At Malēr marriages the bridegroom marks the bride's brow with red.<sup>75</sup> Among the Gonds, at the Pōlā festival, the bullocks and drivers are covered with red,<sup>76</sup> and this reddening is part of the Pōlā festival in many parts of Western India. On the sixth day after a birth the Gonds mark the ground with vermilion.<sup>77</sup> Red powder is perpetually thrown at Gond weddings.<sup>78</sup> In Bengal, as in Bombay and other parts of India, on the Phālgun fullmoon,<sup>79</sup> the Hindus drench each other with red water.<sup>80</sup> The village stones, or *Isrāhalla*, of Mysore, are painted in vertical lines red and white.<sup>81</sup> The Gānapatiās, a sect of Hindus, mark their brows with red minium.<sup>82</sup> Formerly in Burma,<sup>83</sup> no one but the king could use vermilion. Similarly, when a Burman prince was executed, he was tied in a red velvet bag and drowned in a river.<sup>84</sup> Red cloth is used at Chinese weddings.<sup>85</sup> Children in China, at the festival of Middle Heaven, have their foreheads and navels marked with vermilion to keep off evil spirits.<sup>86</sup> In the Andaman Islands, *upla*, or red oxide of iron, mixed with the fat of pigs or turtles, is applied to the body as an ornament or to cure disease.<sup>87</sup> Some tribes in North Australia cover themselves with red earth.<sup>88</sup> The Melville islanders, when in mourning, paint their bodies red or white.<sup>89</sup> Hottentot women mark sacred stones and cairns with red ochre.<sup>90</sup> In Madagascar, Hova women stain their nails red.<sup>91</sup> The Gallas of East Africa anoint themselves with oil and red ochre.<sup>92</sup> The Bongos of the White Nile apply red ochre to wounds as reducent and antiseptic.<sup>93</sup> Red and yellow are the great colours at the Dahomey court.<sup>94</sup> In South Africa, the chief's wife covers herself with oil and red ochre.<sup>95</sup> Dr. Livingstone noticed in South Africa an idol with marks of red ochre and white pipe clay.<sup>96</sup> Some tribes in South Africa smear themselves with fat and ochre to keep out the influence of the sun by day and of cold by night.<sup>97</sup> The Muhammadan women of North-West Africa stain their hands and feet red with henna.<sup>98</sup> The Dakotas of

<sup>62</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XVIII. p. 47.<sup>63</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XVIII. p. 421.<sup>64</sup> Information from Mr. Syed Dāūd.<sup>65</sup> Information from Mr. M. M. Kunte.<sup>66</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XVIII. p. 304.<sup>67</sup> *Trans. By. Lit. Soc.* Vol. III. p. 219.<sup>68</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XVI. p. 507.<sup>69</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XX. p. 56.<sup>70</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XXI. p. 92.<sup>71</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XVII. p. 57.<sup>72</sup> Information from Mr. Tirmaṇṛāo.<sup>73</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XXIII. p. 101.<sup>74</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XVIII. p. 517.<sup>75</sup> Dalton's *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 273.<sup>76</sup> Huxlop's *Aboriginal Tribes of the Central Provinces*, App. I. p. iii.<sup>77</sup> *Op. cit.* App. I. p. iv.<sup>78</sup> *Op. cit.* App. I. p. v.<sup>79</sup> March-April.<sup>80</sup> Ward's *View of the Hindus*, Vol. I. p. 199.<sup>81</sup> Rice's *Mysore*, Vol. I. p. 336.<sup>82</sup> Colebrooke's *Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. I. p. 199.<sup>83</sup> Shway Yoe's *The Burman*, Vol. II. p. 123.<sup>84</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 124.<sup>85</sup> Gray's *China*, Vol. I. p. 201.<sup>86</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 280.<sup>87</sup> *Jour. Anthropol. Inst.* Vol. VII. p. 431.<sup>88</sup> Earl's *Papuans*, p. 227. <sup>89</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 200.<sup>90</sup> Hahn's *Tsuni Goam*, p. 140.<sup>91</sup> Sibree's *Madagascar*, p. 210.<sup>92</sup> News' *East Africa*, p. 275.<sup>93</sup> Schweinfurth's *Heart of Africa*, Vol. I. p. 309.<sup>94</sup> Burton's *Dahomey*, Vol. I. p. 243.<sup>95</sup> Dr. Livingstone's *Travels in South Africa*, p. 276.<sup>96</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 275.<sup>97</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 103.<sup>98</sup> Hay's *Western Barbary*, p. 43.

America paint the dead with vermilion or red earth.<sup>99</sup> Mexican warriors smeared their bodies with bright paint.<sup>100</sup> Greek girls had their toe and finger nails rose-tipped to keep spirits from coming in.<sup>1</sup>

*Black.* — Spirits fear black, particularly lamp-black. Hindu women commonly use lamp-black to anoint their eyes and lamp-black is sometimes applied to cure itch.<sup>2</sup> When a Hindu woman takes a young child out of doors, she marks its cheeks with lamp-black to keep off the Evil Eye. The Vaishnava marks his brow with an up-and-down line of lamp-black, or *angār*, as a guard against spirits. The black marks in tattooing are admitted by Gujarāt Bhils to have the power of scaring spirits, and it seems to be its power of marking black that gives its holiness to the marking-nut. The special value of jet as an ornament seems to have been due to its power over spirits.<sup>3</sup> The use of jet and of other forms of black clothing and ornament in mourning was apparently because black was able to shield the wearer from spirits. So also, perhaps, the Buddhists, Jains and Vaishnavas colour their gods black. The Śrāvaka bridegroom in Gujarāt wears a black silk-thread round his right ankle. In Gujarāt, Muhammadan women, before taking a child out, mark its feet, cheeks and palms with black to keep off evil spirits,<sup>4</sup> and to ward off the Evil Eye they put a bit of charcoal into milk.<sup>5</sup> The Poona Halālkhōrs, as a part of the wedding ceremony, blacken the bride and bridegroom's teeth.<sup>6</sup> Hindu lying-in women in the Dekhan sometimes rub their teeth with black dentifrice. Black thread and black nuts are hung round a Dekhan Kunbī child's neck, to help it to hold up its head.<sup>7</sup> Among the Ahmednagar Kolis, to keep off the Evil Eye, the child's eyes are marked with soot.<sup>8</sup> In Dhârwâr, Liṅgâyat women blacken their teeth.<sup>9</sup> The Vaishnava sect-mark for men is an up-and-down black mark with a red water-like circle of turmeric and cement. Kanarese women blacken their teeth with antimony.<sup>10</sup> Among Bijâpur Brâhmaṇs, on the fourth day after a marriage, when the bride and bridegroom are making ready to go to the boy's house, the girl's mother goes to the house-shrine, and, holding a tray with a burning lamp over her head, walks five times round the marriage guardian. As she walks, her brother holds a sword above the flame. When the fifth turn is ended, the soot is scraped off the sword blade, and it is spotted over the boy's and girl's faces.<sup>11</sup> The Bijâpur Liṅgâyat Kumbhârs mark the bride and bridegroom's brows with soot to keep off the evil eye.<sup>12</sup> Karnâtak Brâhmaṇs, in thread-girding, blacken the boy's eye-lids,<sup>13</sup> and among Karnâtak Muhammadans, when a man is attacked with severe fever, a black cloth, black grain, and a black hen are waved round the man and taken out to a river side. The black hen is possessed by the fever-spirit, and is allowed to go into the jungle. Arab and Persian women make a black circle round the eye.<sup>14</sup> According to the ancient Persians of the Sipasian faith, Saturn was a black stone, his temple was black, and his ministrants negroes, who were clad in blue.<sup>15</sup> Women in Central Asia used to blacken their teeth.<sup>16</sup> In Burma, at the fish festival, some boys walk with their faces chalked, and others with their faces sooted.<sup>17</sup> Japanese girls at marriage blacken their teeth.<sup>18</sup> Women in the Philippine Islands blacken their teeth.<sup>19</sup> The Motus of New Guinea, when in mourning, blacken their whole body.<sup>20</sup> In Central Africa,

<sup>99</sup> *First Report of the American Ethnographic Society*, p. 163.

<sup>100</sup> *Jour. Ethno. Soc.* Vol. I. p. 260.

<sup>2</sup> Information from Mr. P. B. Joshi.

<sup>1</sup> Chandler in Clarke's *Travels in Greece*, Vol. IV. p. 8.

<sup>3</sup> Of *gagates*, or jet, Pliny, *Natural History*, Book xxxvi. Chap. 19, says: "The smell of burning jet chaasteth serpents and recovereth women that lie in a trance. It discovereth the falling sickness, and sheweth whether a damsel be a maiden or no. Boiled with wine it helpeth tooth-ache, and tempered with wax it cureth the king's evil. It is much used by magicians."

<sup>4</sup> Information from Mr. Fazl Lutfullah.

<sup>5</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*. Vol. XVIII. p. 438.

<sup>6</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XVII. p. 203.

<sup>7</sup> Moore's *Little*, p. 239.

<sup>8</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XXIII. p. 250.

<sup>9</sup> *Dābistān*, Vol. I. p. 35.

<sup>17</sup> Shway Yoe's *The Burman*, Vol. II. p. 45.

<sup>19</sup> Churchill, Vol. IV. p. 429.

<sup>5</sup> Information from Mr. Fazl Lutfullah.

<sup>7</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XVIII. p. 299.

<sup>9</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XXII. p. 122.

<sup>11</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XXIII. p. 87.

<sup>13</sup> Dubois, Vol. II. p. 221.

<sup>15</sup> Schuyler's *Turkistan*, Vol. I. p. 181.

<sup>18</sup> *Manners and Customs of the Japanese*, p. 179.

<sup>20</sup> *Jour. Anthropol. Inst.* Vol. VII. p. 430.

after the wife's death, the husband for two and half years wears a thick daub of charcoal paste over his face; widows wear a blackened band of dry banyan leaf round the forehead.<sup>21</sup> Lamp-black and oil are applied to their eyes by Msuahili women in East Africa.<sup>22</sup> Among the Colorado North American Indians mourners cover their faces with black paint.<sup>23</sup> In Mediæval Europe, black oxen and black cows were specially valued as sacrificial animals.<sup>24</sup> Russian women wear black in mourning.<sup>25</sup> The Germans put black cummin seed in a babe's cradle before its christening to keep off evil spirits.<sup>26</sup> Sir W. Scott found beads of coral with bones and ashes in a burial urn in a cairn at Liddesdale in Scotland.<sup>27</sup> In Scotland a thread of black wool with nine knots cures a sprain.<sup>28</sup> When a death happens in a Devonshire house, some crape or other black stuff is tied to the hive, or the bees die.<sup>29</sup> The practice has its root in the belief that the dead will come back and will go into the bees, unless he be scared by black. So it was held that to find treasure, that is, to scare the fiends which guard and hide the treasure, the seeker should use a black he-goat and a black hen.<sup>30</sup>

*White.*—White is the ghostly colour, and whitewash is much used in the worship of the rural and early gods. Siva, the lord of spirits, is white.<sup>31</sup> The Lingâyats smear the brow with white ashes.<sup>32</sup> To keep the Evil Eye from blighting a crop, the Dekhan Kunt sets in his field a white pot at the end of a pole.<sup>33</sup> Among most Brahmanic Hindus the wedding dress is white. According to Dr. Buchanan the people of North Kanara wash their houses with a white clay called *jaydi manu*, that is, earth from Mount Jaydi, which they mix with the ashes of *mudli* bark.<sup>34</sup> Some Karnâṭak Brâhman, in the thread-girding ceremony, cover with chalk the outside of a copper vessel, into which they entice the boy's special guardian.<sup>35</sup> The Burmese king has a white throne, a white umbrella, and a white elephant.<sup>36</sup> In China, at a Buddhist priest's funeral, all present wear white waist-bands.<sup>37</sup> On her coronation day, Queen Ranavalona I. of Madagascar had her brow marked with white clay.<sup>38</sup> The people in the outlying parts of Nubia, when they suddenly saw Burkhardt, said:—“Save us from the devil.”<sup>39</sup> White horses and snow-white pigs were considered inviolable in Mediæval Europe.<sup>40</sup> The Russian babe, after baptism, is clad in white.<sup>41</sup> In the early Christian Church in Ireland and Scotland, white was the baptism colour.<sup>42</sup> Pennant (1800) in his *Tour through South Wales*, p. 28, noticing the whitening of the houses, says:—“This custom, which we observed to be so universally followed from the time we entered Glamorganshire, made me curious enough to inquire into its origin. It was entirely due to superstition, the good people thinking that by means of this general whitening they shut the door of their houses against the devil.”<sup>43</sup> In England, at the funerals of unmarried persons of both sexes, as well as of infants, the scarves, hat-bands and gloves given as mourning used to be white.<sup>44</sup> White is an unlucky colour for English kings. Charles the First was crowned in white.<sup>45</sup> In ancient times, in England, people used to raise the devil by making a white circle with chalk, setting an old hat in the centre of the circle, and repeating the Lord's Prayer.<sup>46</sup>

*Comb.*—Among high-class Hindus in Bombay, when a girl comes of age, her lap is filled with fruit, rice, betel-nuts and leaves, and a comb.<sup>47</sup> Among the Beni-Isrâ'îl coming of age and

<sup>21</sup> Stanley's *Dark Continent*, Vol. II. p. 141.

<sup>22</sup> *Pall Mall Gazette in Bombay Gazette*, 30th May 1884.

<sup>23</sup> Mrs. Romanoff's *Rites and Customs of the Græco-Russian Church*, p. 289.

<sup>24</sup> Henderson's *Folk-Lore*, p. 14.

<sup>25</sup> Dyer's *Folk-Lore*, p. 149. <sup>26</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 127.

<sup>27</sup> Ward's *View of the Hindus*, Vol. I. p. xxviii.

<sup>28</sup> *Trans. By. Lit. Soc.* Vol. III. p. 219.

<sup>29</sup> Dubois, Vol. I. p. 222.

<sup>30</sup> Gray's *China*, Vol. I. p. 123.

<sup>31</sup> Burkhardt's *Nubia*, p. 377.

<sup>32</sup> Mrs. Romanoff's *Rites and Customs of the Græco-Russian Church*, p. 73.

<sup>33</sup> Anderson's *Early Church of Scotland*, Vol. I. p. 197.

<sup>34</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 283.

<sup>35</sup> Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, Vol. III. p. 58.

<sup>36</sup> *News' East Africa*, p. 61.

<sup>37</sup> Grimm's *Teuto. Myth.* Vol. I. p. 50.

<sup>38</sup> Note 2 to *Lay of the Last Minstrel*.

<sup>39</sup> Grimm's *Teuto. Myth.* Vol. III. p. 977.

<sup>40</sup> Information from Mr. Tirmalrão.

<sup>41</sup> Buchanan's *Mysore*, Vol. III. p. 229.

<sup>42</sup> Shway Yoe's *The Burman*, Vol. II. p. 211.

<sup>43</sup> Sibree's *Madagascar*, p. 293.

<sup>44</sup> Grimm's *Teuto. Myth.* Vol. I. p. 54.

<sup>45</sup> Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, Vol. II. p. 521.

<sup>46</sup> Jones' *Crown*, p. 812.

<sup>47</sup> Information from Mr. P. B. Joshi.

pregnancy rites, the first rite is to comb the girl's hair.<sup>48</sup> The Sinhalese wear a comb in their hair. The Papuans of North Guinea wear a bamboo comb in their hair with a cloth hanging from the points of the comb like a flag.<sup>49</sup> The comb was considered a sacred emblem in pre-Christian times, and was often used in divination. In Christian days it preserved so much of its sanctity that we find a comb mentioned among the appliances needed at a solemn High Mass, especially when sung by a Bishop. Some sacred combs were of ivory, some were plain, some were adorned with elaborate carving, even gemmed with precious stones. A list of sacred combs is given by Dr. Rock as having belonged to St. Cuthbert, St. Neot, St. Dunstan and other Saints. Various combs were long preserved at Durham, Canterbury, Glastonbury and other holy minsters. At Thetford, in the church of St. Sepulchre, may still be seen the comb of St. Thomas, the martyr of Canterbury, and at Durham the comb that was found inside St. Cuthbert's coffin.<sup>50</sup>

**Coral.** — In Gujarât, a coral ring is worn to keep off the evil influence of the sun. The Poona Vaidus, an early tribe of wild doctors, wear coral necklaces.<sup>51</sup> *Pravdl bhasma*, or coral ashes, is a Hindu medicine.<sup>52</sup> The Lepchas of Darjeeling wear a profusion of mock coral and coloured beads.<sup>53</sup> In Bengal, coral is touched by mourners when they are purified.<sup>54</sup> Barbosa in 1514, noticed that Hindu women in Vijayadurg wore five strings of coral round their arms.<sup>55</sup> Coral and tortoise-shell are worn as ornaments by the Andaman Islanders.<sup>56</sup> Arab women, in North-West Africa, wear long strings of coral round their necks.<sup>57</sup> Coral is worn on the neck in Nubia.<sup>58</sup> The South Central African diviner holds a white coral in his hand.<sup>59</sup> Coral keeps off fear.<sup>60</sup> A coral worn round a child's neck helps it to cut its teeth. It is an amulet against fascination. According to a Latin work (1536) witches say that coral keeps lightning, whirlwinds, tempests and storms from ships and houses.<sup>61</sup> In England, coral was used as an amulet against epilepsy.<sup>62</sup>

**Cross.** — In many parts of the world, long before it became a Christian symbol, the cross had a magic or spirit-scaring power. Its presence on early remains shews that, from the thirteenth century before Christ, the cross was a common and favourite ornament or shape in Asia Minor, Greece, Italy, Central Europe, the British Islands, Skandinavia, and Iceland. Besides the even-limbed Greek cross and the shafted Roman cross, two forms of cross have been held in widespread honour as lucky or talismanic. These are the ring-topped cross or *crux ansata* of Egypt, Asia Minor and Chaldea, and the guarded cross, the gammadion or *svastika*, of Skandinavia, Central Europe, the Caucasus, India, Tibet, China and Japan. At present, with no trace of connection with any of the higher religions, the sign of the cross is held to be lucky and a scarer of evil spirits by many of the lower classes in India, in Ashantee and other parts of Africa, and in North and South America.<sup>63</sup> Spirits fear crossed lines. So, to keep off sickness, the Masâlarus, a class of Dhârwar beggars, brand with a red-hot needle their new-born babes with the form of the cross.<sup>64</sup> The *tristûla*, or trident, is one of the weapons of Śiva, the lord of spirits.<sup>65</sup> At the ear-boring ceremony among the Belgaum Gôśavis, the teacher, who performs the ceremony, begins by setting a trident in the ground and worshipping it.<sup>66</sup> The Bijâpur Lamânîs mark the backs of the bride and bridegroom with a turmeric cross.<sup>67</sup> The Sûryavamśî Lâds of Bijâpur mark with a cross the cloth that is held between the bride and bridegroom.<sup>68</sup> The Bijâpur Gavandîs have a yellow cross in the centre of the cloth which is held between the

<sup>48</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XVIII. p. 532.

<sup>49</sup> Cumming's *In the Hebrides*, pp. 64, 65.

<sup>50</sup> Information from Mr. P. B. Joshi.

<sup>51</sup> Colebrooke's *Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. I. p. 174.

<sup>52</sup> *Jour. Anthropol. Inst.* Vol. VII. p. 430.

<sup>53</sup> Pinto's *How I Crossed Africa*, Vol. I. p. 130.

<sup>54</sup> Dyer's *Folk-Lore*, p. 179.

<sup>55</sup> Moore's *Oriental Fragments*, p. 189.

<sup>56</sup> Information from Mr. P. B. Joshi.

<sup>57</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XXIII. p. 209.

<sup>49</sup> Earl's *Papuans*, p. 69.

<sup>51</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XVIII. p. 477.

<sup>53</sup> Dr. A. Campbell in *Jour. Ethnol. Soc.* Vol. I. p. 148.

<sup>55</sup> Stanley's *Barbosa*, p. 88.

<sup>56</sup> Hay's *Western Barbary*, p. 143. <sup>58</sup> Burkhardt's *Nubia*, p. 303.

<sup>60</sup> Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, Vol. III. p. 282.

<sup>62</sup> Mitchell's *Highland Superstitions*, p. 31.

<sup>64</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XXII. p. 211.

<sup>66</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XXI. p. 183.

<sup>68</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XXIII. p. 172.



bride and bridgroom.<sup>69</sup> The Bijâpur Bedars, before marriage, draw a red-powder cross, in the lucky or *svastik* shape, on a white sheet.<sup>70</sup> Among the Roman Catholics of Kânara, at baptism, the priest signs the child's head and breast with the sign of the cross.<sup>71</sup> The Dekhan Râmôsis, at a marriage, spread on the ground a square of wheat and millet grains, and divide it into four by two lines drawn from opposite corners.<sup>72</sup> The *svastik*, or end-guarded cross, holds the first place among Jain lucky marks. Gujarât Jains, or Śrāvaks, on marriage days draw lucky crosses on the shaven heads of children. A red circle, with a *svastik* in the centre, is marked on the place where the family gods are kept.<sup>73</sup> The Jews are said to have marked the brow with the *tau*, or T cross, to secure safety.<sup>74</sup> Certain Egyptian amulets were marked with a cross.<sup>75</sup> The Chinese set iron tridents on the tops of their houses to keep off evil spirits, and place them on the taffrails of ships to ward off evil.<sup>76</sup> Chinese spirits write with a T-shaped planchette made of peach wood.<sup>77</sup> In the expedition despatched by the Emperor Maurice to assist Chosroe II. against Behrâm (A. D. 600), General Narses sent to Constantinople some Turks taken as prisoners who bore, marked on their forehead, the sign of the cross. The emperor inquired why barbarians bore this token. They said that once, during a virulent pestilence, certain Christians had persuaded their mothers to prick a cross on the foreheads of their children.<sup>78</sup> In the Hawaii and other islands<sup>79</sup> the ground floor of some of the temples was shaped like a cross. According to Hahn, the Hottentots (1600-1700) went into caves and said prayers, raising their eyes to heaven, while one makes the mark of the cross on the other's forehead.<sup>80</sup> The cross is a common symbol in South America.<sup>81</sup> Constantine's cross standard, the Labarum, was a Roman cavalry standard, a long pole with a cross beam or silken veil hung from its end.<sup>82</sup> In Europe, in the Middle Ages, the cross was supposed to restore life.<sup>83</sup> A cross is worn round the neck by all Russians night and day. It is also hung in cradles.<sup>84</sup> The Russian priest crosses the child over its brow, lips, and breast.<sup>85</sup> At a Roman Catholic baptism the cross is signed eight times on the adult's ears, eyes, nostrils, mouth, heart, and shoulders, and thrice in the air.<sup>86</sup> The Germans believe that on the three nights of Yule a cross should be made on stable doors, or the horses will be fairy-ridden.<sup>87</sup> According to Grimm the belief that witches and devils shun the cross is the reason why so many crosses are seen on German doors on the first night in May. According to Count D'Alviella,<sup>88</sup> in Flemish Brabant, a whitewash cross saves a wall from lightning, and guards the inmates from fire and sickness. Whitewash wall crosses are common in Belgaum and other parts of Western India to keep off sickness and the effects of the Evil Eye. The German peasant used to plough a cross into each corner of his field, and, to guard unchristened children against elf or devil, a cross was hung over the cradle.<sup>89</sup> Saint Teresa, the great Spanish Saint (1540), seeing the devil in a vision, put him to flight by making the sign of the cross. Charlemagne, of France and Germany, retained among his symbols of rule the cross which from time immemorial served in all countries as a magic symbol, significant of power over the elements, especially over water.<sup>90</sup> Among the Roman Catholics, at the beginning of the confirmation ceremony, the Bishop signs himself with the cross.<sup>91</sup> At baptism the priest makes a sign of the cross, and says:—"Satan, fly; behold God, great and mighty, draweth near."<sup>92</sup> The signing of the cross in consecrating salt at baptism is expressly said to be made to exorcise the evil spirit out

<sup>69</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XXIII. p. 101.

<sup>71</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XV. p. 388.

<sup>73</sup> Information from Paṇḍit Bhagvānlāl.

<sup>75</sup> Moore's *Fragments*, p. 290.

<sup>77</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 21.

<sup>79</sup> Fornander's *Polynesian Races*, Vol. II. p. 102.

<sup>81</sup> *Jour. Ethno. Soc.* Vol. II. p. 231.

<sup>83</sup> Brome's *Rel. Med.* ed. 1884, p. 40.

<sup>85</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 68.

<sup>87</sup> Grimm's *Teuto. Myth.* Vol. III. p. 946.

<sup>89</sup> Grimm's *Teuto. Myth.* Vol. III. p. 1103.

<sup>91</sup> *Golden Manual*, p. 689.

<sup>70</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XXIII. p. 95.

<sup>72</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XVIII. p. 417.

<sup>74</sup> Ezekiel, ix. 4, 6; Moore's *Fragments*, p. 477.

<sup>76</sup> Gray's *China*, Vol. II. pp. 42, 43.

<sup>78</sup> Yule's *Cathay*, Vol. I. p. xcvi.

<sup>80</sup> Hahn's *Tsuni Goam*, p. 40.

<sup>82</sup> Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, Vol. II. p. 353.

<sup>84</sup> Mr. Romanoff's *Rites and Customs of the Græco-Russian Church*, p. 73.

<sup>86</sup> *Golden Manual*, p. 788.

<sup>88</sup> *Migration of Symbols*, p. 47.

<sup>90</sup> *Jour. Anthropol. Inst.* Vol. V. p. 449.

<sup>92</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 678.

of the salt.<sup>93</sup> That the object of signing the cross is to scare the devil, is again shewn in the Roman Catholic baptism, where the priest says: — “And this sign of the holy cross, which we make upon his forehead, do thou, accursed devil, never dare to violate.”<sup>94</sup> Similarly, the baptismal sign of the cross is said to be made that Christ may take possession.<sup>95</sup> A Roman Catholic should make the sign of the cross as soon as he awakes,<sup>96</sup> according to the rule, “when you awake defend yourself (that is, from the lagging spirits of night) with the sign of the cross.”<sup>97</sup> In the Litany the Cross is called the Terror of Demons.<sup>98</sup> The black rood or black cross of St. Margaret worked wonders.<sup>99</sup> The Royal English Sceptre has a cross,<sup>100</sup> and a Maltese diamond cross is used in the coronation of the English kings.<sup>1</sup> If, after supper on Christmas Eve, a girl shakes out the table cloth at a cross-way, a man will meet her and give her good even. Her husband will be of the same height and figure.<sup>2</sup> In the north of England, the bride’s maids at night cross the bride’s stockings.<sup>3</sup> The following lines occur in Scott’s *Lay of the Last Minstrel*, Vol. II. p. 15:—

“That his patron’s cross might over him wave,  
And scare the fiends from the wizard’s grave.”

The widespread worship of the cross, to which these examples bear witness, seem to belong to two main stages: — (a) The worship of crossed lines as in itself a lucky evil-scaring shape; (b) the worship of the cross as the symbol of a guardian. The earlier view of the luckiness of crossed lines is the Indian (perhaps, is the Brabant) village idea that a whitewash cross guards a wall: this is the value of the cross on the Ashantee bronze and on the religious gourd-drum both of North and of South America. The same value may be supposed to lie at the root of the early cross worship in Asia Minor and Europe. Besides this early worship of crossed lines as a spirit-controlling picture, the use of the cross as a guardian-symbol was widespread before its adoption by the Christians. In India the favourite end-guarded cross is called *svastika*, meaning “it is well”; in China the cross is a symbol of life; in Japan it is a sign of luck; among the Phœnicians and the Israelites the *tau*, or headless cross, was a sign of life and health; in Germany and in early America the hammer-shaped cross was a sign of fertility. This widespread agreement between the meaning of the cross as a symbol and its meaning as a picture of crossed lines seems to shew that the early belief that the cross shape has a spirit-scaring value aided its adoption by the later religions as a guardian symbol. Its form, into which so many meanings might be breathed, helped its popularity. Till late-born Islam, with the doubtful exception of the religion of Zoroaster, few of the higher religions have failed to adopt the cross as a worshipful symbol. Among the high pre-Christian religions Sun-worship so thoroughly accepted the cross as a symbol of the guardian Sun that Count D’Alviella, in his *Migration of Symbols*, rests satisfied with tracing the cross to a sun-symbol. The examples given above shew a worship of crossed lines that passes back into beliefs earlier and coarser than the refinements of sun-symbolism. That the good luck, or spirit-controlling power, of crossed lines is older than its guardian influence as a sun-symbol is shewn by the use of the cross as a symbol of the moon and of so many other guardians besides the sun, that the cross has been supposed to be a general sign of divinity.<sup>4</sup>

The question remains: — If the virtue of the cross has its origin, not in the fact that it is the symbol of some great guardian but because of the demon-ruling influence of a picture of crossed lines, to what is the demon-ruling power in crossed lines due? The explanation seems to be the early and still widespread belief that spirits haunt the crossings of roads. In many parts of Western India, even in Bombay City, in the early morning, may be found at the crossings of roads a basket with cocoa kernel, flowers, an egg, red powder and oil, into which some

<sup>93</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 674.<sup>94</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 670.<sup>95</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 670.<sup>96</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 25.<sup>97</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 64.<sup>98</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 120.<sup>99</sup> Jones’ *Crowns*, p. 49.<sup>100</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 71.<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 47.<sup>2</sup> Stallybrass in *Grimm’s Teut. Myth.* Vol. III. p. 1115.<sup>3</sup> Henderson’s *Folk-Lore*, p. 42.<sup>4</sup> Count D’Alviella’s *Migration of Symbols*, p. 74.

harassing demon or some disease fiend has been coaxed or scared out of its human lodging, and set at the nearest meeting of roads as both a spirit haunt and a prison, from which the spirit cannot escape to return and vex his victim. At many Gujārat cross roads, especially where the crossing takes the shape of a trident, or *trīśūla*, a small shrine is built to shelter the local spirits. In Ratnāgiri, the spirit to whom the shrine is raised at the *chōy*, or cross-road, is the *chōghār*, or *āchārya*, that is, the master of ceremonies, or the lord of the spirits, whose haunt is the road crossing. So in Catholic Christian villages, both in Western India and in Europe, except where it marks the site of some murder or of some special escape, the road-side cross is a *chōghār*, or crossing-master, set there to keep in order the spirits who haunt cross-ways. Till lately the English suicide was buried with a stake driven through his body where three roads met. What is the sense of this special burial? The sense is that the spirit of the suicide, leaving the body in anger and at the same time suddenly and so in full power, was a special source of danger. The stake was driven through the body to lay the body and prevent it walking. Cross-roads were chosen as the burial place, because from the crossing of roads no spirit can escape. The road is a spirit haunt. So Roman tombs line Roman streets. Travellers going in fear, their minds full of ghosts, see something pass and disappear. No where do so many visions disappear as at a cross way: therefore no place imprisons spirits so effectively as a cross way. The adaptations, by which the early idea that cross roads are spirit haunts has been altered to meet the requirements of the higher faiths, is a notable example of the great religious law of meaning-raising, the law by which wit breathes into old beliefs a meaning that enables the earlier rite to continue in keeping with higher conditions. The Chinese raise the original picture of cross-ways into a symbol of the fourfold division of the earth; the Assyrian into the main directions of space, a symbol of the god Anu: the Argentines into a symbol of the Wind, and the Mexicans into a symbol of the Rain; the Sun-worshipper into a symbol of the Sun, whose beams ray to the ends of the heavens: finally, as Count D'Alviella notices,<sup>5</sup> to the Christian the cross is a symbol of the latest phase of the deep-seated worshipfulness of the guardian, the redemption of the world by the voluntary sacrifice of a God. Or, as Justin Martyr<sup>6</sup> still more enthusiastically cries:—"The sign of the cross is impressed on the whole of Nature. Hardly a craftsman fails to use the figure of the cross among his tools. The cross forms a part of man himself when he raises his arms in prayer." Count D'Alviella has probably successfully proved that the guarded cross, the *gammadion* of the Greeks, the *svastika* of the Hindus, is especially a sun, cross. The same year (A. D. 323) — which saw Constantine the Great turn the *labarum*, a Roman cavalry standard, into the imperial sign of the cross, saw the same Constantine dedicate the first day of the week to Apollo and call it Dies Solis or Sunday. Three years later (A. D. 326) saw the finding of the true cross by Helena, Constantine's mother, and the beginning of the miraculous diffusion of its fragments over Europe. Still this is the end, not the beginning, of the history of the sign of the cross. As a sun-symbol, the lines in the *gammadion* or *svastika*, at right angles to the ends of the cross limbs, are explained as representing the speed with which the sun runs his daily race through the heavens. In spite of the suitableness of this explanation, the original object of drawing lines across the limb-ends seems to have been, not the addition of speed to a sun-symbol, but to increase the spirit controlling power of crossed lines by guarding the points of exit, and so preventing the escape of the imprisoned spirit. No example can be quoted to prove the use of the end line as a prison bar. Still, in the higher phase of the idea of crossed lines, as a means of housing and caring for a guardian, the lines across the limb-ends preserve the original meaning of guards and become devices to protect the housed guardian from the attacks of wandering or of rival fiends. With this slight raising of their meaning, the root idea of the guarded cross ends remains in certain Hindu ceremonies, where an enclosing belt of *svastikas*, forming a barrier to the entrance of wandering or rival spirits, leaves a central area of safety, which is called Nandyavarta, that is, Nandi the lucky one's house. The same idea of

<sup>5</sup> *Migration of Symbols*, pp. 2, 12 and 13.

<sup>6</sup> *Apol.* I. 72 quoted in *Ency. Brit.* IX. Ed. Cross.

sheltering a guardian by placing it in the centre of an end-guarded cross occurs in a Cretan coin,<sup>7</sup> where a central crescent moon is surrounded by a cross-shaped fret or labyrinth. So the end-guarding motive of the *svastika* works into the fret and the fret is developed into the meander maze, or labyrinth, with which in so many ceremonies the Hindus are careful to surround their guardians. That the connection between the end-guarded cross and the guardian fret is not solely Indian is shewn by two remarks in the *Migration of Symbols*: one (p. 42) suggesting that the *svastika*, or Nandi-house, is a form of labyrinth, which, in the manner of a Greek meander, may be connected with a *gammadion*; the other (p. 83) noticing that the fret, or *svastika*, is associated with the meander in the New World, as well as in the Old.

**Crown.** — The crown is a guardian. So Saul wore his crown in battle,<sup>8</sup> and most Hindu brides and bridegrooms in Western India, at their wedding, wear wedding coronets called *bāshings*, or brow-horns. Egyptian crowns were adorned with figures of lions and bulls, branches of trees and representations of flames.<sup>9</sup> The early Egyptians used feathers in making crowns.<sup>10</sup> The Jewish high-priest wore a crown, or a gold band round the crown, with the words "Holiness to Jehovah."<sup>11</sup> A crown of gold topped the Jewish ark,<sup>12</sup> and crowns were worn at Jewish weddings.<sup>13</sup> A holy crown was set on the top of Aaron's mitre.<sup>14</sup> The crowns found by Schliemann at Troy are on the heads of the dead.<sup>15</sup> Formerly, crowns used to be made of the following sacred leaves, clover, oak, strawberry, roses and lilies.<sup>16</sup> Among the Cimbri, the priests went to the prisoners, crowned them, and cut their throats.<sup>17</sup> The imperial diadem at Rome was a broad white fillet studded with pearls.<sup>18</sup> The Romans had olive crowns. One form of radiated crown worn by the later Roman emperors was the same as the crowns worn by the gods.<sup>19</sup> Roman high priests wore crowns of olive leaves, or ears of corn and gold. According to Pliny, the Romans made crowns of violets and roses. They wore crowns, not only in honouring the gods and the *lares*, but also at funerals.<sup>20</sup> Among the Greeks, as well as among the Romans, crowns were placed at the door of the house where a child was born. In Athens the crown was of olive leaves; in Rome it was of laurel or ivy.<sup>21</sup> Roman Catholic Bishops put on the mitre when they go to court.<sup>22</sup> In Russia, and formerly in England, crowns were worn at weddings.<sup>23</sup> King Alfred's crown had two little bells.<sup>24</sup> In England, in 1420, a crown was borne on a cushion in the front of the army.<sup>25</sup> Henry the Seventh, before putting on Edward's crown, had it sprinkled with holy water, and censed.<sup>26</sup> James the Fifth of Scotland was presented with a hat blessed by Pope Clement on Christmas Eve, that it might strike fear into Henry the Eighth.<sup>27</sup>

**Dancing.** — Dancing is a phase of spirit worship. The excitement of dancing makes the dancer a tempting lodging alike for the unhoused spirit, the familiar, and the early guardian. The early tribes of India are great dancers. In Western India, among the early tribes who are fondest of dancing, are Kôlis, Bhils, Kâtkaris, Thākurs and Vârlis. These early tribes hold their dances, especially in the month of Āśvin,<sup>28</sup> during the Dīvālī holidays. In Thānā during the Dīvālī in October and the Hôlī holidays in April, Kôlī and Vârlī servants dance at the houses of their employers. In Bombay, Kôlī and Kunbī women are called by Prabhū to dance before the goddess Gāvrī.<sup>29</sup>

Among the Marāṭhās the worship of the chief goddess of the Dekhan, Tuljā Bhavānī, is celebrated by a set of dancing devotees, called Gōndhālīs, whose leader becomes possessed by the goddess. The details of the ceremonies connected with the dance are interesting. A high

<sup>7</sup> Count D'Alviella's *Migration of Symbols*, p. 71.

<sup>8</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 4.

<sup>12</sup> *Æsodus*, xxv. 11.

<sup>15</sup> *Jones' Crowns*, p. 15.

<sup>19</sup> *Gibbon's Decline and Fall*, Vol. I. p. 457.

<sup>21</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 478.

<sup>24</sup> *Jones' Crowns*, p. 29.

<sup>27</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 92.

<sup>10</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 6.

<sup>13</sup> *Jones' Crowns*, p. 478.

<sup>16</sup> *Op. cit.* pp. 84, 85, 86.

<sup>22</sup> *Golden Manual*, p. 690.

<sup>25</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 88.

<sup>28</sup> October-November.

<sup>9</sup> *Jones' Crowns*, p. 3.

<sup>11</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 2.

<sup>14</sup> *Æsodus*, xxix. 6.

<sup>17</sup> *Grimm's Teuto. Myth.* Vol. I. p. 53.

<sup>19</sup> *Jones' Crowns*, p. 7.

<sup>23</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 690.

<sup>26</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 219.

<sup>29</sup> Information from Mr. P. B. Joshi.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>20</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 478.

stool is covered with a black cloth. On the cloth thirty-six pinches of rice are dropped in a heap, and turmeric and red powder is mixed with the heap.<sup>30</sup> On the coloured rice-heap a copper vessel, filled with milk and water, is set, that the goddess may come and take her abode in it. In the mouth of the pot betel leaves are laid, and on the betel leaves a cocoanut is set.<sup>31</sup> Five torches are lighted and given to five men of the house, who walk round the stool five times, shouting *Ambâ Bhavâni*.<sup>32</sup> Then the music plays, and the dancer dances and sings in front of the goddess.<sup>33</sup> It ends with a waving of torches round the goddess' face. The object is to win the goddess' favour by driving away spirits from her. If she is pleased, she can control the bands of spirits.

Among the *Mâdhavas* and other *Dêśas̥ṭha* Brâhman̥s the *gôndhâl* is performed at their thread ceremonies, marriages and pregnancies. Other castes perform the *gôndhâl* at marriages only. At the marriage of *Gôvardhan* Brâhman̥s in Poona the boy and girl are seated on the shoulders either of their maternal uncles or of servants, and their carriers perform a frantic dance.<sup>34</sup> The *Râvals*, or *Nâth*, beggars in Ahmednagar have a *jhêndî*, or war-dance, at their weddings.<sup>35</sup> A *gôndhâl* dance in honour of *Tuljâ Bhavâni* is performed by Belgaum *Sâlis* at weddings.<sup>36</sup> Among the *Patvêgars* of Belgaum no wedding is complete without its *gôndhâl* dance.<sup>37</sup> In Belgaum, every Thursday, dancing girls dance before *Asad Khân's* tomb.<sup>38</sup> The *Nâmdêv* *Shimpis* of *Nâgar*, during the wedding ceremony, perform the *jhêndî* dance when their maternal uncles lift the boy and girl on their shoulders and dance, beating each other with wheat cakes.<sup>39</sup> In the *Kôhkan*, on *Gôkulashthami* day in August, cowherds cover themselves with dust, and catching one another's hands dance and shout the name of the god *Gôvind*.<sup>40</sup> The *Asîdarus*, a class of *Dhârwar* *Mâdigars*, dance before and abuse the goddess *Dayânavâ* during her fair.<sup>41</sup> Though the higher class Hindus of Western India seldom dance, *Gujarât Vânis* and *Bhâtiâs*, occasionally dance in honour of *Kṛishṇa*. Similarly, pious and staunch worshippers of the god *Siva*, at the end of their worship, dance before the god, who is specially fond of dancing and singing. At *Pandharpur* on the *ranga śila*, or pleasure stone, devout pilgrims dance, singing *Vithôbâ's* praises.<sup>42</sup> Among the *Kirântis* of the *Nêpâl* frontier exorcists dance.<sup>43</sup> The *Santâls* have a dance much like *Kṛishṇa's rās*.<sup>44</sup> The *Khonds*, married and unmarried, are great dancers.<sup>45</sup> The *Haius*, *Hayas*, or *Vayas* of Bengal celebrate curious arm-locked dances.<sup>46</sup> In Bengal, on the bright fourteenth of *Phâlgun* (March) people dance, sing and revel.<sup>47</sup> On the fifth of *Mâgh* (February), at *Sarasvatî's* festival in Bengal, students dance naked and commit indecencies.<sup>48</sup> The festival of *Jagad Mâtru*, the mother of the world, is a scene of much merry-making and indecency. People dance naked, and say that dancing is the way to heaven.<sup>49</sup> In Bengal, during the *Durgâ* festival, dancing girls are called to dance in houses where the goddess is worshipped.<sup>50</sup> In Coorg, at a yearly festival, a Brâhman̥ dances before the idol shrine with a brass image of *Îśvara* on his head.<sup>51</sup> The Coorgs are fond of dancing. They perform the *devarakahe*, or stick-dance, in honour of *Bhâgavatî*.<sup>52-53</sup> *Barbosa* (A.D. 1514) was much struck with the dancing girls of *Vijayanagar*. They were great dancers, like enchantresses playing and singing. Some thousands of them were in the

<sup>30</sup> The black cloth, the rice, the turmeric and the red powder — all scare spirits.

<sup>31</sup> The object of the leaves and the nut in the mouth, like the heap of coloured rice below the pot, is to keep spirits from worrying the goddess.

<sup>32</sup> The lighted torches and the five circles are to keep off evil spirits.

<sup>33</sup> Music, dancing, singing the god's praises — all scare spirits.

<sup>34</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XVIII. p. 162.

<sup>35</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XXI. p. 146.

<sup>36</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XXI. p. 532.

<sup>37</sup> Information from the peon *Bâbâji*.

<sup>38</sup> Information from Mr. P. B. Joshi.

<sup>39</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 215.

<sup>40</sup> *Dalton's Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 106.

<sup>41</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 72.

<sup>42</sup> *Rice's Mysore and Coorg*, Vol. III. p. 287.

<sup>35</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XVII. p. 211.

<sup>37</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XXI. p. 145.

<sup>39</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XVII. p. 126.

<sup>41</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XXII. p. 219.

<sup>43</sup> *Dalton's Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 104.

<sup>45</sup> *Macpherson's Khonds*, p. 58.

<sup>47</sup> *Ward's View of the Hindus*, Vol. II. p. 20.

<sup>49</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 130.

<sup>50</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 115.

<sup>52-53</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. III. p. 250.

pay of the king, and went to war.<sup>84</sup> In the procession of teachers, or *gurus*, in South India, dancing girls take part, singing indecent songs, and making indecent movements.<sup>85</sup> Among the Hindus of Southern India, no religious ceremony or festival is thought to be performed with requisite order or magnificence unless it is accompanied by dancing. Every great temple has its set of dancers.<sup>86</sup> The Hindus consider dancing a form of devotion.<sup>87</sup> The Shânârs of Tinnevely are famous dancers. They begin slowly and growing by degrees excited, they glare, leap, and snort till they lose self-control and believe they are possessed by a spirit.<sup>88</sup> The possessed dancers of Ceylon closely resemble those of Tinnevely.<sup>89</sup> According to Maurice, the Indians used to perform a circular dance in honour of the sun.<sup>90</sup> In Burma, dancing is a favourite mode of welcoming an official.<sup>91</sup> The Burman occasionally dances on his way to the pagoda in a hideously solemn tone of mind.<sup>92</sup> The Buddhist priests dance, whirling wildly among the round tables placed in front of the goddess of mercy.<sup>93</sup> Dancing to the light of large basket torches is common in Japanese temples.<sup>94</sup> In Japan, sacred dances are held in honour of the goddess Ise, when girls dance holding a branch of the *sakaki* in their hands.<sup>95</sup> At Australian dances, or *carobarres*, each dancer carries a stuffed animal on his back.<sup>96</sup> Dancing is common among West Australians.<sup>97</sup> Dr. Livingstone says of the South Africans, when people ask the name of a tribe, they say:—"What do you dance?"<sup>98</sup> Dancing among South Africans is accompanied by loud shouting.<sup>99</sup> Dancers among the Arsauins of Morocco cut the body till blood flows.<sup>100</sup> The Hottentots have a reed dance, which they perform in front of any high stranger who comes to their village.<sup>1</sup> A solitary Hottentot was seen dancing and singing round a heap of stones. He had slept there one night, and next morning found that a lion had passed close to him. He judged that his escape was due to the stones, which must be the house of a god or a ghost. Therefore, as often as he passed he danced in memory of the spirit's kindness.<sup>2</sup> The Hottentots rise at dawn, take each by the hands, and dance.<sup>3</sup> The Hottentots' chief religious function is the *igci*, or religious dance.<sup>4</sup> The Bongos of the White Nile at harvest time yell and dance.<sup>5</sup> At West African festivals men and women dance together, singing ribald songs.<sup>6</sup> The Ugogo negroes dance and drink grain beer. Their dances are indecent.<sup>7</sup> In their great festival, the King of Dahomey himself dances with a wife or two on either side.<sup>8</sup> The curious American masquerade dances were naked, but apparently moral.<sup>9</sup> In the fourteenth century, during the misery of the Black Death, a dancing mania passed over Europe which was cured by exorcism.<sup>10</sup> Burton notices that the dancing fits sometimes lasted for a month, and were believed to be caused by evil spirits. Music soothed the disease.<sup>11</sup> In Sweden, reels and other dances were performed by the heathen over the holy places of their gods.<sup>12</sup> In France and in the Scotch Orkneys, people danced round large upright stones, singing by moonlight.<sup>13</sup> In Orkney (1793), people used to dance and sing round a big standing stone.<sup>14</sup> The early Christian Church denounced dancing, keeping open public houses at night, and getting drunk on the first of January.<sup>15</sup> The violent exercise, shouting and finger-cracking, which accompany a Scotch reel, suggest that it was originally danced to drive away or to house spirits. Circle-dances remained in England in the Maypole dances and in the child's dance known as "round the mulberry bush." Sun-

<sup>84</sup> Stanley's *Barbosa*, p. 97.<sup>85</sup> Dubois, Vol. I. p. 173.<sup>86</sup> Moore's *Narrative*, p. 354.<sup>87</sup> Ward's *View of the Hindus*, Vol. II. p. 322.<sup>88</sup> Caldwell in *Balfour*, p. 532.<sup>89</sup> Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II. p. 133.<sup>90</sup> Maurice's *Indian Antiquities*, Vol. II. p. 201.<sup>91</sup> Shway Yoe's *The Burman*, Vol. II. p. 8.<sup>92</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 1.<sup>93</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 163.<sup>94</sup> Reed's *Japan*, Vol. II. p. 214.<sup>95</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 252.<sup>96</sup> *Jour. Anthropol. Inst.* Vol. VII. p. 251.<sup>97</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. V. p. 320.<sup>98</sup> Dr. Livingstone's *Travels in South Africa*, p. 13.<sup>99</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 225. <sup>100</sup> Rohlf's *Morocco*, p. 255.<sup>1</sup> Hahn's *Tsuni Goam*, p. 28.<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 43.<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 40.<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 59.<sup>5</sup> Schweinfurth's *Heart of Africa*, Vol. I. p. 355.<sup>6</sup> Cameron's *Across Africa*, Vol. II. p. 229.<sup>7</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 190.<sup>8</sup> Burton's *Visit to Dahomey*, Vol. I. p. 335.<sup>9</sup> Bancroft, Vol. III. p. 5.<sup>10</sup> *Fur. Rat.* Vol. I. p. 60.<sup>11</sup> Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*, p. 90.<sup>12</sup> Grimm's *Teuto. Myth.* Vol. III. p. 1056.<sup>13</sup> Leslie's *Early Races of Scotland*, Vol. I. p. 138.<sup>14</sup> Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 19.<sup>15</sup> Henderson's *Folk-Lore*, p. 6.

dances used to be held in North England on Easter Morn.<sup>16</sup> The guarding effect of circle dances would be the same as the protection given to an object of worship by walking round it three times sunwise, that is, of pleasing wandering spirits by housing them. Dancing would then be associated with funerals, for the reason that drunkenness was practised at funerals, namely, to house spirits. The special religious position which dancing girls hold in India, is due to the belief that the dancers are scapegoats, drawing into themselves wandering spirits. In the Kanarese districts of Bombay and in Southern India almost every wedding, almost every religious procession of any importance, is headed by a group of dancing girls, whose right to head the procession seems difficult to explain, except that dancing, like music, was thought to scare spirits, or to please spirits by housing them.

**Dung.**—Dung, like urine, is an early medicine; it is used as a plaster, and the fumes of burnt dung restore consciousness. It is also used in parts of Western India as a cure for itch. These healing properties secured for dung a place among spirit-scarers.<sup>17</sup> Most Hindus deny that the every-day smearing of a house with cow-dung has any basis, except the fact that it keeps the house sweet and clean. But the older belief that the sweetness and cleanness were due to the power of cow-dung to keep off evil spirits remains in the case of the smearing of a house after a death with the object of clearing the house of evil spirits. Further, several Hindu religious books, among them the *Gôvardhandhikâ*, *Manu*, and the *Bhâgavata Purâna*, admit the spirit-scaring properties of cowdung.<sup>18</sup> In the East Dekhan, the exorcist threatens the spirit with the fumes of pig's dung, if the spirit does not declare who he is. Among Gujarât Kumbis, in the pregnancy ceremonies, goat and mouse dung are laid in a jar. In a Pârsî house, if a boy is much wished for and a boy is born, he is hidden, and instead of the boy a lump of cow-dung is shewn to the mother. The reason is to cleanse the mother's glance of the Evil Eye. Nearly the same idea seems to explain the practice of Hindu mothers, when a person over-praises, or, as the Scotch say, fore-speaks, their children, turning aside the Evil Eye by saying: "Look at your foot; it is covered with excrement." The Evil Eye in this, as in other cases, being the unhoused spirit, who, drawn to the child by hearing its praises, might make his abode in the child. So to prevent wandering spirits from lodging in his grain heap, the Hindu cultivator crowns it with a *barhâwan*, or cow-dung cake.<sup>19</sup> Dalton notices that the Parhëyyâs of East Bengal used to smear their houses with sheep and deer dung instead of with cowdung.<sup>20</sup> The Gonds make the bridegroom sit on a heap of cow-dung.<sup>21</sup> In Bengal, cow's urine and dung are offered to the goddess Durgâ.<sup>22</sup> In Mysore, the *gurû*, or spiritual teacher, pours cow-dung and water on his disciple's head.<sup>23</sup> The Mysore Smârt Brâhmins mark their brows with three horizontal lines of cow-dung ashes.<sup>24</sup> According to Dubois, at Nandgaon, about thirty miles south of Seringapatam, a barren couple used to go outside the temple, make cakes of human dung, and eat a portion.<sup>25</sup>

Cow-dung and cow-urine, with milk, curds and butter, form the five cow-products, which are worshipped in South India. New earthen pots, are cleansed by pouring into them the five cow products—milk, curds, butter, dung and urine. The five pots are set on *darba* grass and worshipped. They are called the god *Pañchgaviâ*, and the worshipper thinks on their merit and good qualities, lays flowers on them, and mentally presents them with a golden throne. Water is sprinkled and waved over them. They are crowned with coloured rice, and are mentally presented with jewels, rich dresses, and sandal wood. Flowers, incense, a burning lamp, plantains, and betel are offered, a low bow is made, and the following prayer repeated:—*"Pañchgaviâ, forgive our sins and the sins of all beings who sacrifice to you and who drink*

<sup>16</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 83.

<sup>17</sup> The fact that spirits in India and in Melanesia eat excrement (*Jour. Anthropol. Inst.* Vol. X. p. 282) shews that it is the healing power of dung, not its nastiness, of which spirits stand in dread.

<sup>18</sup> Information from Mr. B. B. Vakharkar, B.A.

<sup>19</sup> Wilson's *Glossary*.

<sup>20</sup> Dalton's *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 131.

<sup>21</sup> Hislop's *Gond Poem*, p. 59.

<sup>22</sup> Ward's *View of the Hindus*, Vol. I. p. 115.

<sup>23</sup> Buchanan's *Mysore*, Vol. I. p. 147.

<sup>24</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 14.

<sup>25</sup> Dubois, Vol. II. p. 338.

you. You have come from the body of the cow; therefore I pray you to forgive my sins and to cleanse my body. Cleanse me, who offer you worship, from my sins. Pardon and save me." After a second bow and the meditation of Hari, the five products are mixed in one cup; the priest drinks a little, pours it into the hollow hands of the worshippers and they drink. Nothing is so cleansing as this mixture. All Indians often drink it. The five nectars — milk, curds, butter, sugar and honey — are good, but much less powerful.<sup>26</sup>

Cow-dung is generally used in Brāhmaṇ purifications.<sup>27</sup> Cow-dung is eaten by Hindus as an atonement for sin.<sup>28</sup> In consecrating fire and hallowing sacrificial implements a space must be smeared with cow-dung.<sup>29</sup> In the Malay Archipelago, Oederic (1821) found a poisonous tree, for which the only cure was to eat human dung mixed with water.<sup>30</sup> Cock-dung is used as a cure in Burma.<sup>31</sup> Pigeon's dung is a medicine in China.<sup>32</sup> In China, horse-dung is used as a cure for the black sweat in horses.<sup>33</sup> The Chinese consider cow-dung an excellent salve for boils, inflammations and abscesses,<sup>34</sup> and this opinion is shared by the English peasantry. In China, human dung is considered a very useful medicine in fever and small-pox. Buddhist monks are famous for the preparation of this drug. Some consider it the elixir of life.<sup>35</sup> According to Tavernier (A. D. 1670) the excrements of the Dalai Lama are kept with care, dried, and eaten as medicine.<sup>36</sup> The Australians, who live near the meeting of the rivers Page and Isis, cure wounds by laying on the wound the burning dung of a kangaroo.<sup>37</sup> At the end of the *bora*, or man-making ceremony, in Australia, the youths have to eat the excrement of old women.<sup>38</sup> The dressing of abscesses in North-West Africa is cow's dung.<sup>39</sup> In Morocco, wounds are dressed with cow-dung,<sup>40</sup> while the Abyssinians eat human dung and water as a cure for snake-bite.<sup>41</sup> The Romans believed that the dung of different animals wrought many cures.<sup>42</sup> The early Germans (A. D. 100) covered their under-ground granaries with dung.<sup>43</sup> Burton, in 1620, mentions sheep's dung as a cure for epilepsy, and notes that the excrement of beasts is good for many diseases.<sup>44</sup> In Scotland (1800), before the calf ate anything, cow-dung was forced into its mouth. After this, neither witch nor fairy could harm it.<sup>45</sup> In Strathspey, in North Scotland, a country, or wise-woman's, cure for illness caused by charms is a warm cow-dung poultice.<sup>46</sup>

(To be continued.)

## DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF OBJECTS MADE AND USED BY THE NATIVES OF THE NICOBAR ISLANDS.

BY E. H. MAN, C.I.E.

(Concluded from page 186.)

### 17. Ornaments.

157. **Malau.** Large glass bead necklaces, usually worn by the *menlūana* (i. e., the *Shāmans*).
- 158 (n). **Homyāhta** (*C. N. Merāhta*), and 159 (m). **Tarīto.** Singular iron objects, made by the natives of Chowra Island, and prized by all throughout the Islands as ornaments.

<sup>26</sup> Dubois, Vol. I. p. 207.

<sup>28</sup> Ward's *View of the Hindus*, Vol. I. p. xliii.

<sup>30</sup> Yule's *Cathay*, Vol. I. p. 91.

<sup>32</sup> Gray's *China*, Vol. II. p. 190.

<sup>34</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 122.

<sup>37</sup> *Jour. Anthropol. Inst.* Vol. VII. p. 253.

<sup>40</sup> Park's *Travels*, Vol. I. p. 276.

<sup>42</sup> Pliny's *Natural History*, Book xxviii. Chap. 17. A few of the prescriptions may be cited. Calf-dung sodden in wine for melancholy, and the ashes of calf-dung in wine and goat's dung for dropsy, for shingles, and for a dislocated joint, and the smoke for consumption. Goat's dung cured dislocations and rheumatism; hart's dung, dropsy; hare's dung, burns; and pig's dung, consumption, measles, swellings, burns, convulsions, cramps and bruises. Its manifold medical uses seems to explain why in Western India the smell of pig's dung is believed to frighten spirits.

<sup>45</sup> Tacitus' *Germania*, Cap. 16.

<sup>46</sup> Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, Vol. III. p. 257.

<sup>27</sup> Colebrooke's *Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. I. p. 138.

<sup>29</sup> Colebrooke's *Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. I. p. 149.

<sup>31</sup> Shway Yoe's *The Burman*, Vol. II. p. 140.

<sup>33</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 173.

<sup>35</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 124.

<sup>36</sup> Dubois, Vol. II. p. 367.

<sup>38</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. VII. p. 252.

<sup>40</sup> Rohlf's *Morocco*, p. 90.

<sup>41</sup> Yule's *Cathay*, Vol. I. p. 191.

<sup>44</sup> Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*, p. 431.

<sup>46</sup> Cumming's *In the Hebrides*, p. 245.



Being costly, they are regarded as evidence of wealth, and only the well-to-do members of the community afford themselves the luxury of possessing one or more specimens. They are said to be survivals of ancient weapons.

- 160 (f). **Neng-ta-chiha**. Ornamental loin-cloth, presented by the host to each male guest at a memorial-feast; worn over the ordinary loin-cloth (*vide* No. 48b), during the dancing which takes place throughout the night. Those worn at Car Nicobar differ but slightly from the ordinary **neng** (*vide* No. 48b), having usually merely a border of white chintz added to the invariable Turkey-red. The women, who make this and the **lôe-ta-wia** (*vide* No. 161), charge for their labor at the rate of about 1 dollar (or Rs. 2) for ten, the employer providing the materials. A good sewer can make two of these garments in one day.
- 161 (f). **Lôe-ta wia**. Ornamental skirt, presented by the hostess to each female guest at a memorial-feast; worn over the ordinary skirt (*vide* No. 48a) during the dancing which takes place throughout the night on such occasions. At Car Nicobar the women wear either red-colored handkerchieves, or Turkey-red skirts, in addition to the ordinary blue chintz skirts (*vide* No. 48a).
- 162 (m & f). **Henwê**. Flags, used for decorating large canoes on the occasion of memorial-feasts. These, as well as Nos. 160 and 161, are generally of quaint designs, the product of the inventive talent and taste of the maker, as determined by the means at disposal.

#### 18. Articles connected with Religious Customs.

- 163 (m). **Hentain-kôï-pontila**. Large open basket lashed to a stout post (called **komching**), which is planted at the head of a grave at the time of interment. The basket, being one used by women only, is rarely seen so placed, except where a female of not less than about 13 years of age is buried. In this basket are placed various small articles which belonged to the deceased. The **homyūam** and **hichih** (*vide* No. 51), which she left, are attached to this object and, like them, are left to moulder on the grave.
- 164 (m). **Shani-pân** or **Shin-pân**. V-shaped pegs used in the Central Group, when burying a corpse. Some uneven number (generally 5 or 7) are fixed down across the body from head to feet, the object being to prevent the spirit of the deceased from rising and troubling the living. They are made of the *Garcinia Spermosa*, of which also are made paddles (*vide* No. 3), outrigger pegs (*vide* No. 2) and fighting-sticks (*vide* No. 28).
- 165 (m). **Hentā-kōi**. Carved figures, or painted wooden-or spathe-screens, representing real or mythical animals, birds, or fishes, also models of ships, canoes, ladders, etc. The execution of these and other carvings and paintings by the Nicobarese, though crude, not unfrequently displays a fair amount of talent. **Kareau** (*vide* No. 152) at certain periods also serve as **hentā-kōi**. They are made at times of sickness at the direction of the Shāman (**menlūana**), with the object of discovering and frightening away the bad **iwi** (i. e., the evil spirits), which have caused the sickness. If the patient recovers, the **hentā-kōi** is regarded with favour and retained for future service; but if the patient dies, it is thrown away into the jungle. The figure of a ladder (**halāk**), when carved for this purpose, is intended for the use of the **Menlūana's** spirit to climb up and discover whether the malicious spirit is in the air; while the model of a canoe or ship is to enable his spirit to search among the neighbouring coast-villages or islands. The figures usually carved, punctured (on an *Orania* spathe), or painted, are a mermaid (**shawāla**), merman (**shamīral**), gar-fish (**ilū**), iguana (**huyē**), fish-eagle (**kalāng**), a mythical animal with human face and back like a tortoise (called **kalipāu**, and declared to exist in certain

portions of the jungle of Katchal Island), and various others. They are generally placed or suspended in the hut, but a few are sometimes to be seen in front of the huts. The object of these representations of animals, birds, and fishes is to invoke their assistance and good-will in the endeavour of the *menlūana* to discover the whereabouts of the offending spirits, and to alarm the latter with the appearance of these effigies in the event of their venturing to repeat their visits. *Hentā-kōi* are to be seen principally in the Central Group, less commonly in the Southern Group, and rarely at Teressa, and Chowra, and never at Car Nicobar, where the models of ships stuck on posts on the foreshore during the trading-seasons must not be mistaken for an analogous practice, those effigies being used with the object of attracting trading-vessels to their coasts at such times as they have accumulated large quantities of cocoanuts for export.

- 166 (m). *Hentā-kōi-kalāng*. A carved fish-eagle; one of the most common effigies used for the above purpose (*vide* No. 165).
- 167 (m). *Hentā*. Paintings, punctured sketches on *Areca* spathe screens, or carvings on boards. They are somewhat ambitious in design, containing sometimes 7 or 8 pictures on a single screen, but ordinarily only 3 or 4. In the former, a representation of the sun surmounts the whole, or the sun and moon are represented at the top right and left corners. The Creator (*Dēuse*) is depicted as standing dressed in some quaint garb; on either side of him are usually shewn various weapons, implements, and articles in daily use. In the sketch below him are seen huts, cocoanut-trees, birds, and sometimes men and women; below these domestic animals and poultry; below these again a row of men and women dancing; next come ships and canoes in full sail; and, lowest of all are represented various descriptions of fishes, with the invariable merman or mermaid, and crocodile. When first made, and at subsequent times of sickness, the *hentā* is called *hentā-kōi-hentā*. They are made and used in the Central and Southern Groups and at Teressa; but only in the Central Group are representations of *Dēuse* (the Creator) ever introduced. The object supposed to be served by the *hentā* is, as in the case of the other similar carvings and paintings, to gratify the good spirits (*īwī-ka*), and frighten away the demons (*īwī-pōt*, etc.)
- 168 (m). *Hentā-ta ōiŷya*. This is a single representation on a board or *Areca* spathe of the Creator, and serves the purposes of a *hentā*. Its name implies that the carving is carried through the board or spathe and does not consist of mere puncturing, or paintings, on one side of the surface of the material employed.
- 169 (m). *Henyūingashi-heng*. A *hentā* representing the sun with a human face and eight "arms," between which are shewn his children (called *moshāha*), to whom is attributed the faint light at dawn. The object of this and the next item (*henyūingashi-kāhē*) is the same as that of other *hentās*.
- 170 (m). *Henyūingashi-kāhē*. A *hentā* representing the moon, in which *Dēuse* (the Creator) is depicted as holding a wine-glass in the right-hand: on his left side are usually shewn a pair of cocoanut-shell water-vessels (*hishōya*, No. 33), a lantern, *Fan-lanus*-paste board (*shāla-larōm*, No. 118), a basket (*chūkai*, No. 88), an *Areca*-spathe mat, and pillow, also weapons, spoons, table, chairs, etc.: on the right side of the central figure are generally shewn a watch, telescope, boatswain's whistle, various spears (*vide* Nos. 11 to 27), spathe mat (No. 51), table and decanters. Only in the Central Group is *Dēuse* depicted in the above manner. This is probably due to the fact of Missionaries in this and the last century having laboured longer in that portion of the islands than elsewhere.

## 19. Toys.

- 171 (m). **Henlain** (*C. N. Kisēch-tissā*). A spinning-top, consisting of a thin piece of stick pierced through the centre of a betel-nut or *Cycas* fruit: is played by, or for, the amusement of children.
- 171 a. (m). **Tika-sechya** or **Taki-sechya**. A similar toy, made and used at Car Nicobar. A seed of the *Entada pursoetha*, or similar species, is used in place of the betel-nut, or *Cycas* fruit. Sometimes a flat piece of lead is substituted, when it is called **taki-sechya-pirum**.
- 172 (m). **Henlain-yūang-okdūaka** (*C. N. Chinvil*). A toy, made by piercing two holes through a seed of the *Entada scandens*, and, after passing a cord through the holes, forming a loop on either side of the seed. The hands are then inserted in the loops and the seed twirled alternately in opposite directions by the action of the hands, after the manner of a similar toy well-known to children in Europe.

## 20. Miscellaneous Articles.

173. **Ok-kāp**. Turtle-shell, sold to ship-traders.
174. **Kol-rāk**. Dammar: mixed with coconut-oil, gum-resin (*vide* No. 176), and ambergris (*vide* No. 178), and heated in a shell over a fire for application to the forehead and temples as a cure for headache: also sometimes inserted in the *ichē* (*vide* No. 178), or, mixed with oil, smeared over the body, on account of its agreeable odour.
175. **Pakau**. Resin: heated in a vessel over a fire and applied, like pitch or tar, for caulking cracks in canoes.
176. **Tōi-en-lēang**. Gum-resin: used after the manner described above (*vide* No. 174).
177. **Īāharōma-holōwa**. Black bees-wax: sometimes added to the ingredients in the ointment described above (*vide* No. 174): also used for caulking small cracks in canoes, bamboo utensils, etc. It is likewise inserted in the flageolet in order to modulate the tone of the instrument (*vide* No. 76).
178. **Kan-pe**. Ambergris: obtained in small quantities, chiefly along the coasts of the islands of the Central and Southern Groups, and sold to Chinese and Malay traders. When used locally, employed in the manner described in No. 174.
179. **Oyāu-kaneāl**. Peculiar cocoanuts with horn-like excrescences, produced on certain coconut-trees at some of the islands. As they contain but little kernel, they are valued by traders merely as curiosities. Also found on the Coco-Keeling Islands.
180. **Yēñ-kanāp**. Encrusted human tooth, due to the practice of chewing unripe betel-nut with shell-lime and *Chavica betle*. These teeth are only to be seen in the Central and Southern Groups, as there only do the natives omit to rub their teeth after betel-chewing.

## THE LOLO WRITTEN CHARACTER.

BY E. H. PARKER.

SOME years ago the late Mr. E. Colbourne Baber made the discovery that the Lolos of Sz-ch'wan and Yünnan possessed a separate and unique form of writing of their own, and published an account of it in the *Journal* of the Royal Geographical Society (Supplementary

電 報 稿

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王明全生堂

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无边无际平如砥

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平田三雄次郎

[illegible]

Papers, 1882, pp. 124ff.) Mr. Baber's specimens include (1) a facsimile copy of a Lolo manuscript found in a Lolo house; (2) a list of twenty Lolo characters (written by a Lolo in the presence of Mr. Baber), with the English equivalents; (3) a Lolo manuscript of eight pages obtained through the French missionaries from a Lolo chief. These I call **MSS. Nos. 1, 2 and 3.**

When I was in Sz-ch'wan in 1881, a Lolo chief, who had met Mr. Baber, sent me a beautiful Lolo MS. on satin for Mr. Baber, which, I believe, is now safely stored away in Europe in the British Museum (but perhaps somewhere else). Before sending this book to Mr. Baber I took a copy of the whole. This I call **MS. No. 4.**

So far as I am aware, the above documents are all the Lolo MSS. at present known to the world, unless it be one (once I believe in the possession of Mr. Haas of Shanghai), which used to be in the Library of the Shanghai Asiatic Society.

When I was in Corea with Mr. Baber, he shewed me a *brochure* by the late Prof. de Lacouperie, attempting to demonstrate that the Lolo character was in some way connected with Accadian. I was unable, however, to discern any evidence for such a conclusion in Prof. de Lacouperie's pamphlet. Afterwards, when I was in Burma, the Editor of this *Journal* shewed me four pages of a reduced facsimile (*vide plate*) of the Lolo MS. on satin, which the chief had sent through me to Mr. Baber, and asked me to write a paper upon the subject. He mentioned that Prof. de Lacouperie had promised him to write an explanatory paper, and seemed surprised when I told him that he had already written one, which I had seen eight or nine years ago.<sup>1</sup>

I had been in hopes that during my year's residence in Burma, in 1892, I might meet some Lolos on the Yünnan frontier, and have thus been able to extract from them some explanation of these mysterious documents; but I never got near to them at all.

An examination of **MS. No. 1**, which consists of about 130 Lolo characters with their sounds attached in Chinese, discloses the fact that most of these characters are repeated: some of them six or eight times. It is also perfectly evident from their form, that these Lolo characters are based upon the Chinese. Thus we find the connected syllables, or the trisyllable *sung-li-chin*, occurring no fewer than eight times. The Chinese character sounds given for *sung-li-chin* are 松 礼 金, and the Lolo signs for the same sounds are 此 5 𠂔

The middle one of the three, namely 5 (the popular or vulgar short form of the Chinese character 𠂔), is the only one of the three written with uniformity in all eight cases. The first, namely, the Chinese character 此, is also written 𠂔, and the second is also written 𠂔. Both are written with other slight variations, shewing that the inventor of the Lolo writing must have been familiar with Chinese abbreviated writing. However, the Chinese character 如 is easily discernible in each case, in which the last of the three symbols is used. Thus, we find that the Lolos have adopted abbreviated forms of the three Chinese characters 此 與 如 to express the trisyllable *sung-li-chin*.

No other triplets, or pairs, occur in MS. No. 1. The syllable 殺 *sha* 生 occurs three times, and may be described as an abbreviation of the Chinese character 𠂔 or 生. The syllable 衆 *lu* 𠂔 occurs four times, and may be described as the vulgar Chinese symbol

<sup>1</sup> [The MS. was in Prof. de Lacouperie's possession in 1886, for he then lent it me for the purpose of reproduction. — ED.]

for 30, pronounced *sa* in Cantonese, and in Canton regarded as a character. The syllable 来 *lai* occurs four times, in each case the symbol differing widely, whilst having a certain analogy to the other cases, and in no case strongly resembling any Chinese character. The syllable 呂 *lü* occurs six times, the symbol 𠂔 in each case slightly varying; but it is unsatisfactory to see one of its forms, namely 𠂔, also doing duty for the syllable *hiu* 休. The syllable 同 *t'ung* occurs twice, but the two Lolo symbols differ from each other considerably. The syllable 平 *p'ing* 正 occurs twice, the symbol being manifestly a slightly abbreviated form of the Chinese character 正. The syllable 天 *t'ien* occurs four times: but the symbol is in one case the English capital **L** (which also does duty for another syllable); in another the Chinese character 工; in a third two Chinese characters run into one 𠂔; and in the fourth a complicated sign, having no resemblance whatever to any of the other three, or to any Chinese character. The syllable 草 *ts'ao* W occurs twice. The syllable 坡 *p'o* 𠂔 occurs twice, and a third time as 九. The syllable 一 *yih* occurs five or six times as 𠂔, 𠂔, or 𠂔. The syllable *tu* 𠂔 occurs twice as 𠂔 and once as 𠂔. The syllable 虫 *ch'ung* occurs thrice, but though there is a certain similarity in each case, the symbol is generally speaking indefinite and unsatisfactory. The symbol 人 *jén* occurs twice, and the same remark may be made of it. The syllable 𠂔 *tui* occurs four times, all four symbols differing totally one from the other. The syllable 𠂔 *chuan* occurs thrice, in each case the symbol differing seriously. The syllable 𠂔 *ku* occurs twice, the resemblance being unsatisfactory. The syllable 𠂔 *ch'ang* also occurs twice with the same result. The syllable *chi* 𠂔 occurs four times, all four symbols being unsatisfactory.

Thus, out of the 130 Lolo symbols in MS. No. 1, we find that 20 occur 80 times, so that 60 must be deducted from the total. Of the 20 symbols which thus occur more than once, we find that less than half are at all consistent or uniform. In other words, putting the most favourable construction upon the evidence before us, all that we can say is that —

𠂔	is sounded as	<i>sung</i>
𠂔	”	<i>li</i>
𠂔	”	<i>chin</i>
𠂔	”	<i>sha</i>
𠂔	”	<i>lu</i>
𠂔	”	<i>p'ing</i>
𠂔	”	<i>ts'ao</i>
𠂔	”	<i>yih</i>

I have, however, reserved one more symbol to the last. This is 𐄂, the Lolo symbol for the sound *ku* 𐄂, which occurs twice in MS. No. 1. Now, in MS. No. 2, this exact symbol is written for the idea "nine," and, turning to Mr. Baber's comparative list of Tibetan and Lolo words, I find that the Lolo word for "nine" is *gu*. Therefore we are enabled to say at least one thing with absolute certainty of the Lolo language and literature, and that is that 𐄂 (the vulgar Chinese symbol for 𠂇 "a pair") is pronounced, in Lolo, *ku*, and means "nine." This circumstance, however, is somewhat robbed of its interest by the reflection that *ko*, *kao*, *ku*, *kiu*, etc., are also Burmese, Siamese, Shan, and Chinese for "nine," so that no startling novelty has been discovered.

Of the other Lolo characters written down for Mr. Baber in MS. No. 2, 𐄂 "seven" is one. Referring to MS. No. 1, we find that this symbol is pronounced *ts'ae*. Referring to Mr. Baber's comparative list, we find the Lolo word for "seven" is *shih* (also practically a Chinese word); so that result is eminently unsatisfactory. Another of the Lolo written characters is 𐄂, which might, in spite of inherent defects already described, do duty for syllable *tu* of MS. No. 1, did it not also unfortunately there figure as syllable *kung* 𐄂. Mr. Baber's Vocabulary gives *mu-to* as "fire"; but as many other Lolo words begin with *mu*, that syllable may be rejected as an article, enclitic, or particle; and we may, perhaps, therefore accept 𐄂, pronounced *tu* or *to*, as Lolo for "fire." None of the other words in MS. No. 2 occur in MS. No. 1.

In MS. No. 3, I observe the following words, also written (with meanings attached) in MS. No. 2: —

𐄂	"four"
𐄂	"water"
𐄂	"one"
𐄂	"six"
𐄂	"three"
𐄂	"horse"
𐄂	the sound "ah"

Also two or three of the symbols found in the MS. No. 1. Three of the numerals are manifestly the Chinese 一 二 三.

Turning now to MS. No. 4, I find that it is written in a style very superior to all the others, and, with the exception of the numerals, contains amongst thousands of characters, hardly any of those contained in any one of the other three. In fact, I am disposed to think that it is not the same written language at all: if it is, it is an improved or modified form. There are a good many Chinese characters (all containing very few strokes), and, judging by the large number of separate symbols, I think it is clearly not syllabic or alphabetical.

The missionaries in Yunnan ought really to do something to clear up the mystery of the Lolo written language.



## MISCELLANEA.

## The Date of the Buddhist Inscription from Sravasti, ante, Vol. XVII. p. 61.

SINCE I edited the Buddhist inscription from Srāvastī (Sēt-Mahēt), ante, Vol. XVII. p. 61 ff., Dr. W. Hoey has published a translation of it in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. LXI. Part I., Extra No. p. 60 ff., which is a decided improvement on my own translation. What I would draw attention to here, is, that Dr. Hoey has read the date in line 18 correctly *samvat 1176*, instead of *samvat 1276*, as I, misled by my rubbings, had given it. That *samvat 1176* is the true date of the inscription, is proved both by the reference in the text to a king Madana, who must be the king Madanapāla, or Madanadēva, of Kanauj, about whose time there can be no doubt now, and especially by the wording of verse 11 of the inscription. In the original that verse reads:—

Rasādhikam-abhivyāpi Girīśa-charan-āgritam |  
hams-iva mānasam yasya jahāti sma na  
Bhārati ||;

and Dr. Hoey's translation of it is:— "His mind, of mighty grasp and perfect taste, devoted to the feet of Girīśa, Bhārati forsaketh not, even as the swan forsaketh not the broad Mānasa lake, reposing with its vast store of water at the feet of the Lord of mountains (Himālaya)." This is simple enough; but the two native scholars, who have furnished Dr. Hoey with this translation, deserve great credit indeed for having perceived that some of the words of the verse are so chosen as to suggest the year 1176, *Giri-śa* being equal to 117 and *rasa* to 6.—The matter shews how dates may be hidden away in places where one would be least likely to look for them.

F. KIELHOEN.

Göttingen.

## NOTES AND QUERIES.

## THE WORSHIP OF NARSINGH IN KANGRA.

ABOUT two-thirds of the women, and some of the men in the Kāngrā district, are believers in Nārsingh. The women firmly believe that Nārsingh gives them sons, and assists them in all their difficulties. His worshippers keep by them a *nārjil* (a sacred cocoanut adorned with flowers) and *chandān* (sandal-wood paste obtained by grinding a small piece of the wood on a stone made for the purpose). Every Sunday, or on the first Sunday of each Hindu month, they worship him as follows:—They put the *nārjil* above mentioned on a brass-plate (*thālī*), and first wash it with pure fresh water. They then put a *tilak* of the *chandān* on it, in the same way that Brāhman mark their foreheads, and then an *achhat*, of as much washed-rice as will stay on three fingers of the right hand — i. e., on the thumb, first finger, and the second or middle finger. When this is done they adorn the *nārjil* with flowers, and then burn some *dhūp*. This *dhūp* (*dolomiaea macrocephala*) is a root which comes from the Chambā Hills, besprinkled with powdered camphor, sandal-wood, almonds, and spices. It is in the form of black pastilles, and when burnt emits a pleasant odour. The *nārjil* (cocoanut) is then worshipped as Nārsingh, and sweetmeats are offered to it, which are subsequently distributed to children and members of the house holding the worship and the neighbours.

Nārsingh's worshippers also wear a *bahutā* (amulet for the arm) containing a picture of him in the form of a man. This *bahutā* is of silver, and is worshipped in the same manner as the *nārjil*. Also a ring is worn on the little finger in honor of Nārsingh, generally made of silver with a projection towards the nail. This is also worshipped like the *nārjil*. The worship is further conducted in a special costume made for the purpose only.

When a mother or mother-in-law worships Nārsingh, her daughter or daughter-in-law must also do so. Barren women, consulting a *chēlā* (magic-man) or a *jōgī*, are usually advised to worship him for offspring. Strangely enough Nārsingh is believed to cohabit with these women in their dreams in the form of a Brāhmaṇ clothed in white, and aged from twelve to twenty years.

When a woman gets sick a *chēlā* is sent for to charm away the illness. If he says that Nārsingh's anger has caused it, he orders a *baithak*. If she do not happen to have a *bahutā*, or the proper rings or clothes, or a *nārjil*, the *chēlā* will order any of them that may be wanting to be procured before performing the *baithak*. The ceremony of the *baithak* is as follows. On any Sunday, or any other fixed day, the *chēlā* comes with a *baithak*, or singer of sacred songs, who plays on a *dōpatra*, an instrument made of two *tumbās* (ascetic's begging bowl) connected by a

bamboo rod. A wire runs along this rod fastened to its extremities so as to give out a sound when twanged. The *baiti* sings his songs and the *chêlâ* repeats his magic words, when Nârsingh comes and shakes the body of the women or of the *chêlâ*. The tremors continue for two hours or more, during which the man or woman into whom the spirit has entered tells the fortunes of those attending the *baiti*. They are usually told to worship some deity who will cure the sick woman.

SARDARU BALHARI in *P. N. and Q.* 1883.

#### THE ORIGIN OF LAL BÊG.

IN the beginning was chaos. The Almighty created Bâlmikî, and he was placed on duty to sweep the stairs leading to the heavenly throne. One day God, out of compassion, said to Bâlmikî:—"Thou art getting old, I will give thee something as a reward." Next day Bâlmikî went as usual to sweep the stairs, and there through the mercy of Providence he found a tunic (*chêlâ*, a garment worn by a bride at her marriage). Bâlmikî brought this tunic to his house, and put it aside, and engaged himself in other work. By the omnipotence of God, this tunic gave birth to a male child. When Bâlmikî heard the cry of a babe proceeding from the tunic, he at once went to the heavenly staircase, and said:—"Almighty God, a child had been born from the tunic given to thy servant." He was told in reply:—"Thou art old, this is a spiritual master (Gurû) given unto thee." Bâlmikî then said he had no milk for the babe. He was directed to go home, and whatever animal crossed his path, to get it to nurse the child. God moreover said that he had out of *lâ ilâha ill'allâho* (there is no God but God) created Lâl Bêg, and his name should be Nûri Shâh Bâlâ. Bâlmikî descended from Heaven, and came to this Earth, and saw a female hare (*sassî*) suckling her young. He caught and brought her with her young ones, and Lâl Bêg drank her milk, and was nourished, and grew up. From that time the eating of hare is prohibited to sweepers. The Almighty declared Lâl Bêg to be the Gurû, and that in every house a temple of two and a half bricks would be reared to him; and for this reason a temple of two and a half bricks is built in front of the house of every pious sweeper.

Bâlmikî is Vâlmiki, the famous Rishi and Poet, author of the Sanskrit *Râmâyana*. Vâlmiki was by birth a Badhik, one of the impurest of men, who, in former times officiated as hangmen, or public executioners. Vâlmiki was a huntsman, and used to associate with the Bhîls of Mâwâr. His conversion was miraculous, when in the act of robbing the shrine of a deity. He settled at Chitrakôt, in Bundêlkhand, at the time of the exile of Râma from Awadh—*vide* note to p. 3, and pp. 236 and 268 of Growse's *Translation of the Râmâyana of Tulsi Dâs*.

J. G. DELMERICK in *P. N. and Q.* 1883.

#### MUSALMAN NAMES OF HINDUS.

The assumption of Muhammadan names by Hindus is not very uncommon. There is a family of Hindu Baniyâs in Gurgâon who are known by the title of Shêkh. They say that, in the Mughal times, one of the family was compelled to become a Musalmân, in order to save the estates of the family from confiscation, but that his descendants were received back as Hindus: (more probably his line failed of issue). Their title of Shêkh dates from that event, and is now applied to the whole family, though they are all Hindus.

In Dêrâ Ghâzî Khân there is a Hindu family in which the eldest takes the title of Khân. An ancestor Lachhû Râm was a man of great bravery, and rendered good service to the local Bilôch Chief, who conferred the title upon him, and it has become hereditary in the family, though they are still Hindu.<sup>1</sup>

DENZIL IBBETSON in *P. N. and Q.* 1883.

#### A FORM OF SWEARING BROTHERHOOD.

IN the Lahore district, if a cattle-thief is in danger of being caught, he will present a piece of clothing, or small ornament, to the daughter of the complainant or principal witness, or whoever is likely to cause his capture. The father of the girl, whether complainant or witness, is then bound to assist the thief in evading capture by every means in his power. The custom is called tallî pânâ, or tikrî pânâ.

D. E. McCracken in *P. N. and Q.* 1883.

#### BOOK-NOTICES.

##### PROFESSOR WEBER'S VEDIC ESSAYS.<sup>1</sup>

THE last issue of Prof. Weber's invaluable contributions to the transactions of the Berlin

<sup>1</sup> [See my remarks in *Proper Names of Panjabis*, pp. 50, 75. — ED.]

Academy of Sciences, consists of a trio of essays dealing with Vedic subjects.

The first deals with *Sôma*, and the author

<sup>1</sup> *Vedische Beiträge*, von Albr. Weber. Sitzungsberichte der Königlich preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. 1894.

shews how the word has two meanings in ancient Indian mythology. First, it means the blessed rain, rescued from imprisonment in the storm-clouds, by the lightning-eagle (*śyēna*), as celebrated in the *Śyēna-stuti* of Vāmādēva (*Āi. V., IV. 27, 1-5*), of which the author gives a revised text and translation, with several interesting digressions. The second meaning of the word is that referred to in the fifth verse of the same hymn, *viz.* the intoxicating drink, offered by priests at sacrifices, as the most worthy gift which they could bring to the gods. Professor Weber discusses at some length the question as to what this *sōma* was. It does not appear to have been made from grapes or indeed from any kind of berry, but to have been pressed from the young shoots or tendrils of some plant. At first it must have been a pretty general drink, but, as the habitat of the Aryans in India altered, it gradually became a highly prized imported article, jealously reserved by priests for themselves. He is unable to identify its origin, beyond deciding that it can hardly have been made from the *Asclepias acida*, or from the *Sarcostemum acidum*, from which *sōma* is manufactured at the present day. He grounds his rejection of these two plants on the well-known fact that modern *sōma* is 'a very nasty drink,' and that such a brew could hardly have secured the universal popularity which *sōma* doubtless enjoyed in the earliest Vedic times. Here, with great respect, I must say that I cannot follow his argument. Different countries have different standards of taste. *Assafetida* (let alone garlic) is an important ingredient in modern Indian cookery. Nay more, the popular intoxicating drink of Northern Central India, distilled from the flowers of the *mahuwa* (*madhuka*),<sup>2</sup> is one of the most loathsome drinks to a European palate which can well be imagined. Every excise officer in Bihār and the North-Western Provinces knows too well the unnameable odour which issues from a native still, yet this very odour has been urged to me by one of my grooms as an excuse for getting drunk. He passed by a still, and could not withstand the attraction of the fragrance.<sup>3</sup> The only European stomachs which can stand it are the *dura ilia* of our European soldiers, to whom its sale is forbidden by law under heavy penalties. When Tommy Atkins has run out of funds, and cannot obtain any liquor at the regimental canteen, he slinks into the *bāzār*, and buys a dose of what he euphoniously calls

<sup>2</sup> Curiously enough the word *madhuka*, is, as Prof. Weber points out, used in the *Āi. V.*, to mean *Sōma*.

<sup>3</sup> He used the Perso-Indian word *khush-bā*. [I can support Mr. Grierson. A Burman once recommended to me a native dish of herbs, as something particularly

'Billy Stink.' I do not, therefore, consider that the fact, that Europeans consider the *sōma* made from *Asclepias acida* to be a very nasty drink, is any strong argument against its having been the 'Dry Monopole' of the Panjāb in days when the world was young and Champagne had not yet been discovered.

Professor Weber's second essay is devoted to the Legend of the Two Mares of Vāmādēva, — the same Vāmādēva who was the author of the *Śyēnastuti* above referred to, and of other hymns. The legend is given in the *Mahābhārata* (vv. 13178 and ff.<sup>4</sup>) It tells how king Śala, the son of Parikshit, borrowed two mares, as swift as thought, from the Brāhmaṇ Vāmādēva, under promise of returning them, but did not do so, and how for this breach of promise he fell under the ban of the saint, and was done to death. A similar (but less justifiable) fate nearly befel his brother and successor Dala, who only escaped through the piety of his wife. The legend evidently dates back to a time when the strife between the Brāhmaṇas and the Kshatriyas had been already decided in favour of the former, but was still fresh in the memory of the narrator, and the form of its exposition is very ancient. The metre shews that many of the words must have been pronounced differently from what would appear from their written form (*e. g.*, *tava* has to be pronounced as one syllable, *t'va*), and there are, moreover, severally distinctively Vedic forms. The legend is briefly as follows:—'Śala, Dala, and Bala were the sons of Parikshit by a frog-princess, whom he had won as his bride on condition that she should never be allowed to see water. When his minister saw that Parikshit, absorbed in his love for his wife, neglected his royal duties, he arranged that one day she saw a tank, into which she immediately disappeared. Parikshit, beside himself for sorrow, had the tank run dry, and found therein a single frog, who, he considered, must have eaten his beloved. He, thereupon, ordered a general massacre of all frogs, to stop which the King of the Frogs restored his daughter free of all conditions, but with the curse that, in return for the calamities which she had brought on the community, her descendants would be impious (*abrahmaṇya*). It is in consequence of this curse that Śala is destroyed, and Dala narrowly escapes the same fate.

Parikshit's name appears first in the Atharva-vēda. He is there praised as a Kauravya of the

palatable, which was quite impossible to myself and every other European I tried with it. — ED.]

<sup>4</sup> Pratāpa Chandra Rāy's *Translation*, 1884, *Vana Parvan*, pp. 583 ff.

Golden Age, not, as in the *Mahābhārata*, as a descendant of Ikshvāku reigning in Ayōdhyā. In the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* and in the *Sāṅkhadyana Śrauta Sūtra*, we find the legend of his descendants having been guilty of sin from the consequences of which they were released by a horse-sacrifice. His three sons are there named Bhīmasēna, Ugrasēna, and Śrutasēna;—Śāla, Dala, and Bala first appearing in the *Mahābhārata*; nor are any of his descendants brought into connexion with Vāmadēva. The latter appears in Vedic literature, as a kindly disposed *mādhyama Rishi* of the family of Gautama, without any trace of the *Mahābhārata* legend. Professor Weber concludes that the introduction of his name into the latter is due to a mistranslation of the word *vdmyau* (dual of *vdmt*), 'mares,' which has been explained to mean 'the mares of Vāmadēva.' Mārkaṇḍēya, the narrator of the legend to Yudhishtira, wished to give a warning of the terrible consequences which come from a prince annexing the property of a Brāhman. He appears to have taken the tale of the robbery of the two mares (*vdmyau*), and to have hung it on to the legend of the descendants of Parikshit, whose wickedness was well-known, and (owing to the suggestive similarity of sound) to the name of the Vedic Rishi, Vāmadēva.

The rest of the legend has already been told. It has been translated at length by Prof. Weber. Śāla borrows the mares from Vāmadēva and refuses to return them. He is beaten to death by Rākshasas at the command of the priest. His brother and successor Dala also at first refuses to deliver up the mares, but on being cursed so that he is unable to move, he restores the mares and is released from the curse through the piety of his wife.

Professor Weber's third and last essay deals with the 13th Verse of the *Sūryasūkta* (*Ri.*-V. X. 85), which he thus translates:—

'Forth went the marriage procession of Sūryā, which Savitṛi sent out. In Aghās do they slay the cows, and in Arjunyau the procession sets forth,' i. e. (if we substitute *maghāsu* for *aghāsu*, as in *Āth.* S. 14, 1, 13), in Maghās (= *αργῆ* Leon.) occur the preparations for the reception of the marriage guests, and in Arjunyau (= *ῥέβ* [93] Leon.), takes place the procession of Sūryā, the sun-bride, to the solemnization of her marriage with Sōma, the Moon.

This verse has been discussed by Prof. Jacobi in dealing with the age of the *Rigvēda*. Professor

Weber contends that it is impossible to fix it as referring to any particular conjunction of the sun and moon. It might refer to the summer solstice, to the new year, to an eclipse of the sun, or even, merely, to a new moon. Moreover, even if the passage did really give a chronological datum, it would be of no value as regards *Indian Chronology*, if it can be proved that the *Kṛittikī nakshatra* series was derived from Babylon;—a thing which he considers very probable.

He then maintains, finally, that this verse cannot be considered as a "key-stone" for determining the age of the *Rigvēda*, as it is found in the tenth *maṇḍala*, which belongs to the beginning of the Brāhmaṇa period. *Sūryā* (feminine) is not one of the early forms of the Vedic gods, nor is *Sōma*, as a name for the moon. The verse itself is the only verse in the whole *Rigvēda* in which the names of any *nakshatras* are mentioned. The knowledge of these cannot be referred to an older date than the Brāhmaṇa period. There is no proof that they were known in the older Vedic times. Finally, the verse shews signs of having been tampered with. The first word of the second hemistich, *aghāsu*, meaning (with a pun) 'amongst the wicked,' has been altered from *maghāsu*, 'amongst the mighty,' by the priestly caste, under the influence of Buddhism, in the post-Vedic time which prohibited the killing of the cow, just as in *Ri.* V. X. 18, 7, *agrē* was altered into *agnēh*, in order to justify suttee.

The essay concludes with a brief but complete account of the ancient methods of computing time in India. Space will not allow me to do more than refer to this, for it would be impossible to give an abstract of it, and a translation would be more than is required in this notice.

GEO. A. GRIERSON.

Howrah, 11th February 1895.

#### PROFESSOR COWELL'S EDITION OF THE BUDDHA-CHARITĀ OF ASVAGHOSHA.<sup>1</sup>

IF our welcome to Prof. Cowell's long looked for edition of the *Buddha-charitā* is tardy, it is not for want of appreciation. Suffice it to say briefly, that the text of this important work has been prepared by him from three MSS., all copies of one *codex archetypus*. This has naturally left more than one passage obscure from some undetected corruption in the text, but, allowing

Aryan Series, Vol. I. Part VII.): Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1893. Pp. XV. + 175.

<sup>1</sup> The *Buddha-Karita* of *Asvaghōsha*. Edited from three MSS. by E. B. Cowell, M.A. (*Anecdota Oxoniensia*,

for these few instances, the work is, what must necessarily come from Prof. Cowell's hands, a model of careful and accurate editing. The printing is done as only the Clarendon Press can do it.

Of the seventeen books of which the poem is composed, only the first thirteen, and possibly a portion of the fourteenth are composed by Āsvaghōṣha. The remaining four (or three and a portion) have been compiled by the scribe of the *codex archetypus*, Amṛitānanda, who specially states, according to the colophon of the Cambridge MS., that he had searched for Āsvaghōṣha's originals everywhere, but could not find them, and that hence he had made himself the four last cantos. This is an example of a kind of literary honesty which is rare in India, and Amṛitānanda deserves all the more credit on that account, though his poetry is of a feeble description.

Amṛitānanda completed his copy in 1830 A. D. Āsvaghōṣha's date is more uncertain. It is probable that he was the contemporary and spiritual adviser of Kanishka, in the first century A. D. At any rate he is praised by Hiuen Tsiang, and the *Buddha-charita* seems to have been translated into Chinese early in the fifth century. As this must imply that it then enjoyed a great reputation among the Buddhists of India, Professor Cowell is of opinion that we are justified in fixing the date of its composition at least one or two centuries earlier. As regards his style, his editor says :—

'Āsvaghōṣha seems to be entitled to the name of the Ennius of the classical age of Sanskrit poetry. His style is often rough and obscure, but it is full of native strength and beauty; his descriptions are not too much laboured, nor are they mere *purpurei panni*, — they spring directly from the narrative, growing from it as natural blossoms, and not as external appendages.'

This is well illustrated by some curious parallel passages occurring, on the one hand, in the *Buddha-charita*, and, on the other hand, in the *Raghuvamśa* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*; and it would seem that in the case of the latter, the passage by Āsvaghōṣha is the original, and that of the *Rāmāyaṇa* the echo.

In conclusion, we regret to see that the Editors of the *Anecdota* still adhere to the uncouth system of transliteration, a mixture of Italic

and Roman letters, which defaces so much of the oriental work that issues from Oxford.

#### NAḌI VIJNANA.<sup>1</sup>

THE abovenamed work has been sent to us for review by the editor and translator. It contains the text and translation of two treatises on the pulse, — the *Nāḍi-vijñāna* of Śaṅkara Sēna, and of the *Nāḍi-vijñāna* of Kaṇāda. Both works cover much the same ground. The text is fairly printed, and the translation shews evidence of care. To students of Indian medicine and of the Indian principles of diagnosis, it will no doubt be useful.

The editor, however, claims consideration for the book as a medical work, fit to be studied in the nineteenth century, and it is not a pleasant commentary on English civilization to see such preposterous claims advanced within a mile of the Calcutta Medical College. It is said that 'the Hindu Physicians, by noting the condition of a patient's pulse, can predict the day, — nay, the very hour when he shall expire, — whether a patient will be cured or not, and other things of a like nature.' We have no doubt that they can predict, but we should be much surprised to hear that their predictions came true. It is easy to call spirits from the vasty deep; but do they come?

The following extract from the translation will shew the kind of learning upon which these predictions are founded :—

"When a person imbibes a sweet flavour, his pulse courses like a peacock, — when he takes a bitter one, it courses like an earthworm; when he takes anything acid, being slightly heated, it courses like a frog; and when he takes anything pungent, it courses like a Bhṛīga-bird."

It is possibly comforting to the unlearned to be informed that each corporeal being has thirty-five millions of blood-tubes, gross and fine (a number which is known by inspiration, and not by actual counting), that they are fastened at the navel as at a root, and that some are set obliquely, some upwards, and some downwards; but most people would probably prefer to employ a doctor who believed in the action of the heart and in the circulation of the blood. As a textbook, the work is worse than useless, but it has its value to students of Sanskrit literature and of the history of medicine.

<sup>1</sup> *Nāḍi Vijñāna* or an exposition of the Pulse, by the renowned Physician-sage, Śaṅkara, and the celebrated sage, Kaṇāda. Translated into English from the origi-

nal Sanskrit by Kaviraj Dhurmo Dass Sen Gupta: Calcutta, 1893. Price 1 rupee.

## ON THE DATES OF THE SAKA ERA IN INSCRIPTIONS.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

(Continued from p. 17.)

I NOW give a general list of Saka dates<sup>1</sup> which is similar to the list of Vikrama dates, published in Vol. XX. of this Journal. In addition to the 200 dates, the full details of which together with the calculated results have been already given, this list contains the dates which do not admit of verification, those the exact wording of which appeared to be doubtful, and a number of irregular dates not treated of before; but it also gives some regular dates which have only lately come to my knowledge. Throughout, the year of the date has been marked with an asterisk, whenever it can be combined with the Jovian year, mentioned along with it, only as a current year. And dates the calculation of which has yielded no satisfactory result, and which have not been included in the preceding list, are distinguished here by a cross, added to the last word of the date. — The list will be found to contain all the Saka dates published in this Journal, the *Epigraphia Indica*, Dr. Fleet's *Pāli, Sanskrit and Old-Kanarese Inscriptions*, Dr. Hultzsch's *South-Indian Inscriptions*, and Mr. Rice's various publications (excepting the recently published *Epigraphia Karṇāṭaka*), and most of (if not all) those in the Journals of the Asiatic Societies, etc.; but from the *Inscriptions Sanscrites de Campā et du Cambodge* only the earliest dates, up to Saka-saṁvat 598, are given here.

## General Chronological List of Saka Dates.

1. — P. 10, No. 166.<sup>2</sup> — S. 169, Prabhava, Phālgun-āmāvasyā, Bhṛigu-vārē. Tanjore spurious copper-plates of the Western Gaṅga Arivarman (Harivarman).
2. — P. 10, No. 167. — S. 261,\* Vilambin, Kārttika-śudi 13, Sōma-vārē. Muḍyanūr spurious copper-plates of the Bāṇa Malladēva-Nandivarman.
3. — P. 11, No. 168. — S. 261, Vibhava, Pausa-vadi 14, Sōma-vāra, uttarāyana-saṁkrānti. Spurious date in the Kalbhāvi Jaina inscription.
4. — S. 272 (?). — *Ante*, Vol. VII. p. 173; *Mysore Inscr.* No. 156, p. 293. Harihar spurious copper-plates of a son of the Western Gaṅga Viṣṇugōpa:—  
(L. 9). — Saga[nayana gi neyā] Sādhārana-sammachhchharāda<sup>3</sup> Phalguṇa mā amavāse Adivāradandu.†
5. — S. 310. — *Ante*, Vol. IX. p. 294. Pimpalnēr spurious copper-plates of the Chalukya Satyāśraya (Pulikēśin I. or II.):—  
(L. 1). — Sakanripa-kāl-ātita-samvatsara-satēshu tri(tri)shu daś-ōttarēshv=asyā[m] samvatsara-māsa-paksha-divasa-pūrvvāyān=tithau.
6. — P. 9, No. 163. — S. 366, Tāraṇa, Phālgun-āmāvasyā, Bṛiha-vāra. Bangalore spurious copper-plates of Vira-Nonamba.
7. — P. 11, No. 169. — 388, Māgha-śudi 5, Sōma-vāra. Merkara spurious copper-plate of the Western Gaṅga Avinita-Koṅgaṇi.

<sup>1</sup> I mean by this dates which distinctly refer themselves to the Saka era. The only exception to this is the date No. 7, of the year 388, from a spurious record. — The *Inscriptions Sanscrites du Cambodge* have several Saka dates which neither contain a reference to the era employed nor even a word for 'year.' Compare e. g. p. 87, v. 21, *Kha-nava-mūrtibhīr*; p. 88, v. 20, *viyaḍ-vil-āshṭ-ōdhikritādharājya*; p. 88, C. v. 2, *dvī-nava-mūrtibhīr*; p. 104, v. 10, *vēda-dvi-vila-rājyabhāt*; p. 106, v. 2, *vēda-dvi-naga-rājyabhāt*; etc.

<sup>2</sup> The references by page and number, here and in a similar manner under other dates, are to Vol. XXIII. pp. 113-134, and this volume, pp. 1-17.

<sup>3</sup> By the mean-sign system Sādhārana ended on the 7th September, A. D. 356, in S. 278 expired; and by the southern luni-solar system Sādhārana would be S. 272 expired.

8.—**S. 400.**—*Ante*, Vol. VII. p. 64 (compare Vol. XIII. p. 72; and Vol. XVIII. p. 92). Umêta spurious copper-plates of the Gurjara **Dadda Prasântarâga** :—

(L. 22).—**Sakanripa** kâl-âtîta-samvachchha(tsa)ra-âta-chatushtayê **Vaisâkha-paurṇamâsyâm**.

9.—**S. 400.**—*Ante*, Vol. X. p. 284. Bombay As. Soc.'s spurious copper-plates of **Dhara-sêna II.** of Valabhi :—

(L. 23).—**Sakanripa**-kâl-âtîta-samvachchha(tsa)ra-âta-chatushtayê **Vaisâkhyam paurṇamâsi**.

10.—P. 10, No. 164.—**S. 411,\* Vibhava**, **Vaisâkha-paurṇamâsi**, a lunar eclipse. British Museum spurious copper-plates of the Early Chalukya **Pulikêsin I.**

11.—P. 11, No. 170.—**S. 415**, **Jyâishthi-âmâvâsyâ**, a solar eclipse. Bagumrâ spurious copper-plates of the Gurjara **Dadda Prasântarâga**.

12.—P. 10, No. 165.—**S. 417**, **Jyâishthi-âmâvâsyâ**, a solar eclipse. Ilâô spurious copper-plates of the Gurjara **Dadda II. Prasântarâga**.

13.—**S. 500.**—*Ante*, Vol. III. p. 305; Vol. VI. p. 363; and Vol. X. p. 57. Bâdâmi cave inscription of the Early Chalukya **Maṅgalisvara** :—

(L. 6).—**Pravarddhamâna-râjya-samvatsarê** dvâdasê **Sakanripati-râjyâbhishêka-samvatsarêshv-atikrântêshu pañchasu sâtêshu** . . . **mahâ-Kârttika-paurṇamâsyâm**.

14.—**S. 526.**—See **S. 546**.

15.—**S. 532 (?)**.—*Ante*, Vol. VII. p. 220; and Vol. XVIII. p. 285. Kurtakôti spurious copper-plates of the Western Chalukya **Vikramâditya I.** :—

(L. 20).—**Batrimâ-ôttara-pañcha-âtatêshu Saka-varshêshv=âtîtêshu vijayarâjya-sambachchara-shôshaâsa-varshê pravarttamâna** . . . **tasya Vaisâkha-Jêshthâ-mâsa-madhyam-ânavâsyâ-Bhâskara-dinê Rôhinyâ-rikshê madhyâhna-kâlê** . . . **Vṛṣhabha-râsau tasmin Vṛṣhabha-râsau sûryya-grâhâṇa-sarvvamâ(grâ)si(sî)bhûtê**†

16.—**S. 532.**—*Jour. Do. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 365; *ante*, Vol. XII. p. 210, No. 37. Goa copper-plates of the Early Chalukya **Maṅgalisvara's** son or feudatory (?) **Satyâsraya-Dhruvarâja-Indravarman** :—

(L. 6).—**Mâgha-paurṇamâsyâm**.

(L. 18).—**Saka-kâlâḥ=pañcha varsha-âtatâni dvâtṛi(tri)ñsâni**.

17.—P. 130, No. 106.—**S. 534**, 3rd year of reign, **Bhâdrapad-âmâvâsyâ**, a solar eclipse. Haidarâbâd copper-plates of the Western Chalukya **Pulikêsin II.**

18.—**S. 546 (and S. 526)**.—*Inscr. Sanscrites du Cambodge*, p. 36. Inscription at Bayang :—

(V. 11).—**Rasa-dasra-âsarais=Sakêndra-varshê**  
**padam=aisam viniya(ba)ddham=ishṭakâbhîḥ** [1\*]  
**ritu-vârinidh-indriyaiś=cha tîrthê**  
**[sa]lila-sthâpanam=akâri tēna bhûyaḥ** [11\*]

19.—**S. 548.**—*Inscr. Sanscrites du Cambodge*, p. 41 (also p. 589; and *ante*, Vol. XXI. p. 47). Inscription at Vat Chakret :—

**Pinḍibhûtê Sak-âpdê(bdê) vasu-jalanidhi-âsarair=vvâsarê Mâdhav-âdau**  
**kîṭê prâglagnabhûtê kumudavanapatau Tâvurê Kṛittikâyâm** †

20.—**S. 550.**—*Inscr. Sanscrites du Cambodge*, pp. 55 and 57 (and p. 590). Inscription at Ang Chumnik :—

(P. 55, v. 2).—**Kha-pañch-êndriya-gê Sâkê Rôhinyâm âsâṇi sthitê**.

(P. 57, v. 11). — Mādhavasya tṛtīy-āhni dānakāla prasāmsitē  
kartavyas=śraddhayā pumbhir=i[chehhabbhiḥ phala\*]m=akshayam.

21. — §. 556 (Kali 3735). — *Ante*, Vol. V. p. 70; Vol. VIII. p. 242; *Arch. Survey of West. India*, Vol. III. p. 135. Aihole inscription of the Western Chalukya Pulikēsin II. (mentions Kālidāsa and Bhāravi) :—

(L. 16). — Trīmśatsu tri-sahasrēshu Bhāratād=āhavād=itaḥ [I\*]  
sapt-ābda-śata-yuktēshu śa(ga)tēshv=abdeshu pañchasu [II\*]  
Pañchāśatsu Kalau kālē shaṭsu pañcha-śatāsu cha [I\*]  
samāsu samatītāsu Śakānām=api bhūbhujām ||

22. — §. 586. — *Inscr. Sanscrites du Cambodge*, p. 62 (and p. 591). Inscription at Vat Prey Vier :—

(V. 8). — Rasu-vasu-vishayāpām sannipātēna labdhē  
‘Sakapati-samay-ābdē Māgha-śukla[-dvitīyē].

23. — §. 589. — *Inscr. Sanscrites du Cambodge*, p. 68 (and p. 591). Inscription at Ang Chumnik :—

(V. 26). — Vaiśākha-prathama-dvipañchaka-dinē dvār-āṣṭa-vāpair=yyuntē  
jīvas=chāpa-yutō vṛishē Kavi-sutas=simhārddha-gaś=chaudramāḥ [I\*]  
kaulirē=vaṇi(ni)jō ghaṭē Ravi-sutaś=śēśhās=tu mēsha-sthitās=  
sō=yam śrī-Vijayēśvarō vijayatē yaḥ kīṭa-lagnē sthitāḥ [II\*]

24. — P. 122, No. 58. — §. 589, 16th day of Mādhava (Vaiśākha), sun in Mēsha, moon in Anurādhā, Jupiter in Chāpa (Dhanuḥ). Inscription at Vat Prey Vier.

25. — §. 598. — *Inscr. Sanscrites du Cambodge*, p. 76 (and p. 593). Inscription at Barai :—

Mūrtti-dvāra-śarais=Śakē sita-dinē prāptē daś-aik-ōttarē  
Jyēshthasy=ārka-kuj-ēndujā mithuna-g[ā]- - - -  
śukrasy=ārka-kutō vṛishē sura-gurūḥ kanyā[m] mṛig-ārddhōdayē.

26. — §. 611. — *Ante*, Vol. VI. p. 86; *Jour. Bo. As. Soc.* Vol. XVI. p. 231. Togurshode copper-plates of the Western Chalukya Vinayāditya :—

(L. 24). — Ēkādaś-ōttara-shaṭ-ohhatēshu Saka-varshēshv=atītēshu pravarddhamāna-vijayarājya-saṁvatsarē daśamē varttamānē . . . Kārttika-paurṇamāsyām.

27. — §. 613. — *Ante*, Vol. VI. p. 89. Karṇūl district copper-plates of the Western Chalukya Vinayāditya :—

(L. 24). — Trayōdaś-ōttara-shaṭ-ohhatēshu Saka-varshēshv=atītēshu pravarddhamāna-vijayarājya-saṁvatsarē ēkādaśē varttamānē . . . Māgha-paurṇamāsyām.

28. — P. 9, No. 160. — §. 614, 11th year of reign, dakṣiṇāyana (-saṁkrānti), ‘Sanaiśchara-vārē. Sorab copper-plates of the Western Chalukya Vinayāditya.

29. — §. 616. — *Ante*, Vol. VII. p. 302; *Mysore Inscr.* No. 132, p. 237. Harihar copper-plates of the Western Chalukya Vinayāditya :—

(L. 23). — Shōdaś-ōttara-shaṭ-ohhatēshu ‘Saka-varshēshv=atītēshu pravarddhamāna-vijayarājya-saṁvatsarē chaturddaśē varttamānē . . . Kārttikē(ka)-paurṇamāsyām.

30. — §. 621. — *Ante*, Vol. X. p. 60. Bādāmi inscription of the Western Chalukya Vijayāditya :—

(L. 5). — Pravarddhamāna-vijayarājya-saṁvatsarē tṛtīyē varttamānē ēkaviṁś-ōttara-shaṭ-ohhatēshu Saka-varshēshv=atītēshu Jyēshṭhyām paurṇamāsyām.



31. — **S. 622.** — *Ante*, Vol. IX. p. 128. Nêrûr copper-plates of the Western Chalukya Vijayāditya :—

(L. 30). — Dvâvimśaty-uttara-shaṭ-chhatêshu Śaka-varshêshv=atîtêshu pravarddhamâna-vijayarâjya-saṁvatsarê chaturthê vartamânê . . . Āshâḍa(ḍha)-paurṇamâsyâm.

32. — **S. 627.** — *Ante*, Vol. IX. p. 131. Nêrûr copper-plates of the Western Chalukya Vijayāditya :—

(L. 29). — Saptavimśaty-uttara-shaṭ-chhatêshu Śaka-varshêshv=atîtêshu pravarddhamâna-vijayarâjya-saṁvatsarê daśamê varttamânê.

33. — **S. 631.** — *Ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 235. Multâi (in Central Provinces) copper-plates of the Râshtrakûṭa chieftain Nandarâja-Yuddhâsura :—

(L. 21). — Kârttika-paurṇamâsyâm . . .

(L. 29). — Śaka-kâla-saṁvatsara-satêshu shaṭchhiv(ṭsv)=êkatri[m\*]ś-ôttarêshu.

34. — **S. 651.** — *Ante*, Vol. VII. p. 112. Lakshmêśvar inscription of the Western Chalukya Vijayāditya (recording a grant to his father's priest Udayadêvapaṇḍita, also called Niravadyapaṇḍita, who was the house-pupil of Śrîpūjyapâda) :—

(L. 42). — Êkapamchâśad-uttara-shaṭ-chhatêshu Śaka-varshêshv=atîtêshu pravartta(rdha)-mâna-vijayarâjya-saṁvatsarê chatustrimśê varttamânê . . . Phâlguna-mâsê paurṇamâsyâm.

35. — P. 113, No. 1. — **S. 654**, Kârttika-śudi 13, Indu-vârê. An inscription from Java.

36. — **S. 656.** — *Ante*, Vol. VII. p. 107. Lakshmêśvar inscription of the Western Chalukya Vikramāditya II. :—

(L. 72). — Shaṭpamchâśad-uttara-shaṭ-chhatêshu Śaka-varshêshv=atîtêshu pravarddhamâna-vijayarâjya-saṁvatsarê dvitîyê varttamânê Mâgha-paurṇamâsyâm.<sup>5</sup>

37. — **S. 675.** — *Ante*, Vol. XI. p. 112. Sâmangaḍ copper-plates of the Râshtrakûṭa Dantidurga :—

(L. 30). — Pañchasaptaty-adhika-Śakakâla-saṁvatsara-sata-shaṭkê vyatîtê saṁvata(t) 675 pai(p? pô or pan)hachchhikâyâ Mâgha-mâsa-rathasaptamyâ[m\*].

38. — P. 113, No. 2. — **S. 679**, Āsvayuja-suddha 7, vishuva-saṁkrânti. Āntrôli-Chhârôli copper-plates of the Râshtrakûṭa Kakka (Kakkarâja II.) of Gujarât.

39. — **S. 679.** — *Ante*, Vol. VIII. p. 27; *Mysore Inscr.* No. 160, p. 301. Vokkalêri copper-plates of the Western Chalukya Kirtivarman II. :—

(Plate iv, b, l. 4). — Navasaptaty-uttara-shaṭ-chhatêshu Śaka-varshêshv=atîtêshu pravarddhamâna-vijayarâjya-saṁvatsarê êkâdaśê varttamâne . . . Bhâdrapada-paurṇamâsyâm.

40. — P. 11, No. 171. — **S. 684**, Vaiśâkha, Viśâkhâ-nakshatrê, Śukra-vârê, a lunar eclipse. Hosûr spurious copper-plates of the Western Gaṅga Prithuvi-Koṅgaṇi.

41. — **S. 696.** — *Ante*, Vol. II. p. 158, *Mysore Inscr.* No. 153, p. 287. Nâgamaṅgala spurious copper-plates of the Western Gaṅga Prithuvi-Koṅgaṇi :—

(Plate iii, b, l. 8). — Ashṭanavaty-uttarê[shu\*] shaṭ-chhatêshu Śaka-varshêshv=atîtêshv=âtmanah pravarddhamâna-vijayavîr(râj)yâ-saṁvatsarê pañch[â\*]śattamê pravarddha(rta)mânâ.

42. — **S. 700.** — *Jour. Bo. As. Soc.* Vol. XVII. Pt. ii. p. 1. An inscription from Central Java :—

(L. 6). — Sakanripa-kâl-âpitair=yarsha-sataih saptabhir . . .

43. — P. 131, No. 107 (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 103). — **S. 716**, Vaiśâkh-âmâvâsyâ, a solar eclipse. Pañḥan copper-plates of the Râshtrakûṭa Gopinda III.

<sup>5</sup> A lunar eclipse on the 18th January, A.D. 735, 17 h. 44 m. after mean sunrise.

44. — P. 122, No. 55. — **§. 726**, Subhanu, Vaiśākha-vadi 5, Bṛihaspati-vāra. Kanarese country copper-plates of the Rāshtrakūṭa Gōvinda III.

45. — **§. 726** (P). — *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 115. Date of the second *Prasasti* of Baijnāth :— (L. 33). — Śakakāṭa-gat-ābdāḥ 7[26].

46. — P. 11, No. 172. — **§. 730\***, Vyaya, Vaiśākha-paurnamāsī, a lunar eclipse. Wani copper-plates of the Rāshtrakūṭa Gōvinda III.

47. — P. 131, No. 108. — **§. 730**, Sarvajit, Śrāvaṇ-āmāvāsyā, a solar eclipse. Rādhapur copper-plates of the Rāshtrakūṭa Gōvinda III.

48. — **§. 734**. — *Ante*, Vol. XII. p. 161. British Museum (or Baroda) copper-plates of the Rāshtrakūṭa Karka-Suvarṇavarsha of Gujarāt.

(L. 52). — 'Sakanṛipa-kāl-ātita-saṁvatsara-śatēshu saptasu ścha(cha)tustriṁśa[d-adhikē]shu mahā-Vaiśākhyām.

49. — P. 9, No. 161. — **§. 735**, Jyaishthā-śudi 10, Chandra-vārē. Kaḍab copper-plates of the Rāshtrakūṭa Gōvinda III. (Prabhūtavarsha).

50. — **§. 735**. — *Ep. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 54. Tōrkhēḍē copper-plates of the reign of the Rāshtrakūṭa Gōvinda III., and of the time of his nephew and feudatory Gōvindarāja of Gujarāt :—

(L. 1). — 'Sakanṛipa-kāl-ātita-saṁvatsara-śatēshu saptasu pañchatṛi(tri)ṁsaty(d)-adhikēshu Pausa-śuddha-saptamyām=aṅkatō=pi saṁvatsara-śatāni 735 Nandana-saṁvatsarē<sup>6</sup> Pausaḥ śuddha-tithiḥ 7 asyām saṁvatsara-māsa-paksha-divasa-pūrvvāyām. [1\*]

(L. 43). — vijaya-saptamyām.

51. — **§. 749**. — *Ante*, Vol. V. p. 148. Kāvī copper-plates of the Rāshtrakūṭa Gōvinda-rāja-Prabhūtavarsha of Gujarāt :—

(Plate iii, l. 7). — Sakanṛipa-kāl-ātita-saṁvatsara-śatē[shu saptasv=8]kānnapamchāsatsamadhikēshu mahā-Vaiśākhyām.

52. — **§. 757**. — *Ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 200. Baroda copper-plates of the Rāshtrakūṭa Dhāravarsha-Dhruvarāja II. of Gujarāt :—

(L. 36). — Sakanṛipa-kāl-ātita-saṁvatsara-śatēshu saptasu saptapañchāsād-adhikēshu Kārttika-śuddha-pañchadaśyām mahā-Kārttiki-parvvaṇi.

53. — P. 113, No. 3. — **§. 765**, Chaitra 15, Sōma-vāra, a lunar eclipse. An inscription from Java.

54. — **§. 765** (P). — *Ante*, Vol. XIII. p. 136. Kaṇheri inscription of the Rāshtrakūṭa Amōghavarsha I., and the (Śilāra) Mahāsāmanta Pullasakti :—

(L. 5). — Samva [765].

55. — P. 4, No. 139. — **§. 775** (for 773), Prajāpati, Āśvina-vadi 2, Budha-dinē. Kaṇheri inscription of the Rāshtrakūṭa Amōghavarsha I., and the (Śilāra) Mahāsāmanta Kapardin.

56. — P. 113, No. 4. — **§. 782**, Jyaishthā-śudi 9, Śukrē. Kalyāṇ inscription of the Mahāmāṇḍalēśvara Māmvaṇirājadēva.

57. — P. 114, No. 5. — **§. 782**, Kārttika-śudi 13, Bṛihaspati-vāra. An inscription from Java.

58. — P. 123, No. 59. — **§. 788**, Vyaya, Jyaishth-āmāvāsyā, Āditya-vāra, a solar eclipse. Sirūr inscription of the Rāshtrakūṭa Amōghavarsha I.

<sup>6</sup> By the mean-sign system Nandana lasted from the 9th May, A.D. 812, in §. 735 current, to the 5th May, A.D. 813, in §. 735 expired; and by the southern luni-solar system Nandana was §. 735 current.

59. — P. 131, No. 109. — **S. 789**, Jyāishṭh-āmāvāsyā, a solar eclipse. Bagumrā copper-plates of the Rāshtrakūṭa Dhāravarsha-Dhruvarāja III. of Gujarāt.

60. — **S. 797**. — *Jour. Bo. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 195. Saundatti inscription of the Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛishṇa II., and his feudatory the Raṭṭa Great Chieftain Prithvirāma :—

(L. 13). — Sapta-sa(śa)tyā navatyā cha samāyukt[ê\*]sa(shu) saptasu[1\*]  
Sa(śa)ka-kālêśv(shv)=atitêshu Manmath-āhvaya-vatsarê<sup>7</sup> ||

61. — **S. 799**. — *Ante*, Vol. XIII. p. 135. Kanheri inscription of the Rāshtrakūṭa Amoghavarsha I., and the (Silāra) Mahāsāmanta Kapardin :—

(L. 1). — Sakanripa-kāl-ātita-samvatsara-śatêshu saptasu nananavaty-adhikêshv=amkataḥ 799.

62. — **S. 809**. — *Ante*, Vol. VI. p. 102; *Coorg Inscr.* No. 2, p. 5; *Pāli, Skr. and Old-Kan. Inscr.* No. 269. Biliūr (Koḍagu) inscription of the Gaṅga or Koṅgu Satyavākya-Koṅgu-nivarma-Permanaḍi :—

‘Saka 809 (in words, l. 2), the eighteenth year (in words, l. 5) of his reign; the fifth day (śrī-pañchameyandu) of Phālguna.’

63. — P. 123, No. 60. — **S. 810**, Chaitr-āmāvāsyā, a solar eclipse. Bagumrā copper-plates of the Rāshtrakūṭa Akalavarsha-Krishnarāja of Gujarāt.

64. — P. 9, No. 162. — **S. 822** (for 824 ?), Dundubhi, Māgha-śudi 5, Bṛhaspati-vāra. Nandwāḍige inscription of the Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛishṇa II.

65. — **S. 824**. — *Jour. Bo. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 190. Mulgund inscription of the Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛishṇa II. :—

(L. 2) — Sakanripa-kālê=shṭha(shṭa)-śatê chaturuttaraviṃśadu(ṭy-u)ttarê sampragatê Dundubhi-nāmani<sup>8</sup> varshê pravarttamānê.

66. — **S. 831** (for 832 or 833 ?). — *Ante*, Vol. XII. p. 222. Aihole inscription of the Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛishṇa II. :—

‘While the *samvatsara* named Prajāpati,<sup>9</sup> which was the eight hundred and thirty-first (of) the centuries of years that have elapsed from the time of the Saka king, was current.’

67. — **S. 832**. — *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 56. Kāpaḍvaṇaj copper-plates of the Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛishṇa II. :—

(L. 60). — Saka-samvat 832 Vaiśākha-śuddha-paurṇamāsyām mahā-Vaiśākhyām.

68. — P. 114, No. 6. — **S. 836**, Pausa-śudi 4, uttarāyaṇa-samkrānti. Haḍḍālā copper-plates of the Chāpa Mahāsāmantaādhipati Dharaṇivarāha, the feudatory of Mahipalādēva.

69. — **S. 836**. — *Jour. Bo. As. Soc.* Vol. XVIII. pp. 260 and 264. Nausārī copper-plates of the Rāshtrakūṭa Nityavarsha Indra III. :—

(L. 52). — Sakanripa-kāl-ātita-samvatsara-śatêshv=ashtāsu shattriṃśad-uttarêshu Yuva-samvatsarê<sup>10</sup> Phālguna-su(śu)ddha-saptamāyām sampannê tripaṭṭava(ba)ndh-ōtsavê.

<sup>7</sup> By the mean-sign system Manmatha ended on the 13th August, A. D. 876, in **S. 797** expired; and by the southern luni-solar system Manmatha was **S. 797** expired.

<sup>8</sup> By the mean-sign system Dundubhi ended on the 20th April, A. D. 902, in **S. 824** expired; and by the southern luni-solar system Dundubhi was **S. 824** expired.

<sup>9</sup> By the mean-sign system Prajāpati lasted from the 18th March, A. D. 910, in **S. 832** expired, to the 14th March, A. D. 911, in **S. 833** expired (which commenced on the 4th March, A. D. 911); and by the southern luni-solar system Prajāpati was **S. 833** expired.

<sup>10</sup> By the mean-sign system Yuva ended on the 25th February, A. D. 915, which was the 8th of the bright half of Phālguna of **S. 836** expired; by the southern luni-solar system Yuva would be **S. 837** expired.

70. — §. 838. — *Ante*, Vol. XII. p. 224. Hattî-Mattûr inscription of the Râshtrakûta Nityavarsha Indra III. :—

(L. 3). — Sa(śa)ka-bhûpâja-kâl-[â\*]krânta-saṁ[va\*]tsara-Prabâ(bha)v-âdi-nâmadê(dhê)-yam=uttama-madhyama-jaghiṇya-pa(pha)ladâ(da)-prabhṛitigal=eṇṭu nûra mûvatt-eṇṭe(ṇṭa)-neya Dhâtu-saṁvatsar-[â\*]ntarggata.<sup>11</sup>

71. — §. 840. — *Ante*, Vol. XII. p. 223. Daṇḍâpur inscription of the Râshtrakûta Prabhû-tavarsha (Gôvinda IV.) :—

‘When the eight hundred and fortieth year (of) the Śaka era, that is known by the name of Pramâthi,<sup>12</sup> was current; at the time of the saṁkramaṇa, when the sun came to (the sign) Makara (and) on the lunar day of Pausha that coincided (with that saṁkramaṇa).’

72. — P. 114, No. 7. — §. 851, Vikṛita, Mâgha-paurṇamâsî, Âditya-vâra, a lunar eclipse. Kaḷas inscription of the Râshtrakûta Gôvinda IV.

73. — P. 114, No. 8. — §. 855, Vijaya, Srâvâṇa-paurṇamâsî, Guru-vârê. Sâṅglî copper-plates of the Râshtrakûta Gôvinda IV.

74. — P. 2, No. 127. — §. 856, Jaya, Kârttika-śudi 5, Budha-vâra. Mahâkûta inscription of the Mahâsâmantâ Bappuvarasa.

75. — §. 860. — *Ep. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 180. Spurious Sûḍi copper-plates of the Western Gaṅga Bûtuga :—

(L. 68). — Sa(śa)ka-vari[sh]êshu shashṭyuttar-âshṭa[śa]têshu atikrântêshu Vikâni(ri)<sup>13</sup>. saṁvatsara-Kârttika-Nandîsva(śva)ra-su(śu)kla-pakshaḥ aṣṭamyâm Âditya-vârê.†

76. — §. 862. — *Jour. Bo. As. Soc.* Vol. XVIII. p. 248. Wardhâ copper-plates of the Râshtrakûta Kṛishṇa III. :—

(Plate iii. l. 1). — Śakaṇṛipa-kâl-âtita-saṁvatsara-śatêshv=aṣṭâsu dvishashty-adhikêshu Śarvvari<sup>14</sup>-saṁvatsar-ântarggata-Vaiśâkha-bahula-paṇcha(ūcha)myâm.

77. — P. 123, No. 61. — §. 867 (Pḷavaṅga), Bhâdrapad-âmâvâsyâ, Kuja(Maṅgala)-vâra, a solar eclipse. Sâlôtgi inscription of the Râshtrakûta Kṛishṇa III.

78. — P. 123, No. 62. — §. 867, Mârgaśīrsha-vadi 13, sun in Dhanus, Bhṛigu-vârê. Accession of the Eastern Chalukya Amma II.

79. — §. 872.\* — *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 171. Âtakûr inscription of the Râshtrakûta Kṛishṇa III. :—

(L. 1). — Sa(śa)kanri(nṛi)pa-kâl-âtita-saṁvatsara-sa(śa)taṅgal=eṇṭu-nûr=elpatt-eraḍaneyâ Sau(sau)myam=emba saṁvatsaraṁ pravarttise.<sup>15</sup>

80. — P. 12, No. 173. — §. 872,\* Saumya, full-moon of Pausha, Monday, a lunar eclipse, uttarâyaṇa-saṁkrânti. An inscription at Narêgal.

81. — P. 5, No. 144. — §. 872, Sadhârâṇa, new-moon of Kârttika, Thursday, a solar eclipse. Another inscription at Narêgal.

<sup>11</sup> By the mean-sign system Dhâtri ended on the 21st February, A.D. 916, in §. 838 current; and by the southern luni-solar system Dhâtri was §. 838 expired.

<sup>12</sup> By the mean-sign system Pramâthin ended on the 8th February, A.D. 919, in §. 840 expired; by the southern luni-solar system Pramâthin would be §. 841 expired.

<sup>13</sup> By the mean-sign system Vikârin commenced on the 19th November, A.D. 937, in §. 860 current, and ended on the 15th November, A.D. 938, in §. 860 expired; and by the southern luni-solar system Vikârin would be §. 861 expired.

<sup>14</sup> By the mean-sign system Śarvarin ended on the 11th November, A.D. 939, in §. 862 current; and by the southern luni-solar system Śarvarin was §. 862 expired.

<sup>15</sup> By the mean-sign system Saumya ended on the 4th October, A.D. 948, in §. 870 expired; and by the southern luni-solar system Saumya was §. 872 current.

82. — P. 114, No. 9. — **§. 873, Virōdhin** (for **Virōdhakṛit**), **Mārgaśīrsha-paurṇamāsī**, **Āditya-vāra**, a lunar eclipse. **Soraṭūr** inscription of the **Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛishṇa III.**

83. — **§. 890.** — *Ante*, Vol. VII. p. 105. **Lakshmēśvar** inscription of the **Gaṅga** or **Koṅgu Mārasimha Satyavākya Koṅguivarman** :—

(L. 24). — 'Sakanṛipa-kāl-ātita-saṁvatsara-śatēshv-ashtasu navaty-uttarēshu pravartita-mānē **Vibhava-saṁvatsarē**.<sup>16</sup>

84. — P. 123, No. 63. — **§. 893, Prajāpati**, **Āśvayuj-āmāvāsya**, **Āditya-vāra**, a solar eclipse. **Adaraguṇchi** inscription of the **Rāshtrakūṭa Koṭṭiga (Khoṭṭiga).**

85. — P. 115, No. 10. — **§. 894, Aṅgiras**, **Āśvayuja-paurṇamāsī**, **Budha-dinē**, a lunar eclipse. **Kardā** copper-plates of the **Rāshtrakūṭa Kakkala (Kakka II).**

86. — P. 12, No. 174. — **§. 896,\* Srimukha**, **dakṣhiṇāyana-saṁkrānti**, **Āditya-vāra**. **Gundūr** inscription of the **Rāshtrakūṭa Kakkala (Kakka II).**

87. — **§. 899.** — *Ante*, Vol. VI. p. 102; Vol. XIV. p. 76; *Coorg Inscr.* No. 4, p. 7; *Pāli, Skr. and Old-Kan. Inscr.* No. 271. **Peggu-ūr (Kodagu)** inscription of the **Gaṅga** or **Koṅgu Satyavākya Koṅguivarman** :—

(L. 1). — 'Sakanṛipa-kāl-ātita-saṁvatsara-sataṅga 829taneya **Īśvara-saṁvatsaram**<sup>17</sup> pravattise . . . tad-varsh-ābhyaantara **Pā(phā)lguṇa-sukla-pakshada Nandisvaram** tallaj-āvasam āge.

88. — P. 6, No. 147. — **§. 902, Vikrama**, **Pansha-śudi 10**, **Bṛihaspati-vāra**, **uttarāyana-saṁkrānti**. **Saundatti** inscription of the **Western Chālukya Taila II.**, and his feudatory the **Raṭṭa Santivarman.**

89. — P. 124, No. 64. — **§. 904, Chitrabhānu**, **Chaitra-vadi 8**, **Sōma-vāra**. **Death** of the **Rāshtrakūṭa Indrarāja (Indra IV.).**

90. — **§. 904.** — From Dr. Fleet's impression. **Nilgund** inscription of the **Western Chālukya Taila II.** :—

(L. 17). — 'Sa(śa)kanṛipa-saṁvatsarēshu chaturadhika-navaśatēshu gatēshu **Chitrabhānu-saṁvatsarē Bhādrapada-māsē sūryya-grahanē**.<sup>18</sup>

91. — **§. 911.** — *Ep. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 232. **Bhairanmaṭṭi** inscription of the **Western Chālukya Taila II.** and the **Sinda Pulikāla** :—

(L. 4). — 'Sa(śa)ka-varsha 911 **Vikri(kṛi)tam**<sup>19</sup>=eṁba saṁvatsara pravarttise.

92. — **§. 911.** — *Coorg Inscr.* No. 5, p. 8. An inscription at **Merkara** :—

(L. 1). — 'Saka-varisha 911neya 'Sa(?) . . . **uttarāyana** . . .

93. — P. 12, No. 175 (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 274). — **§. 919, Hēmalamba**, **Āshāḍha-vadi 4**, **dakṣhiṇāyana-saṁkrānti**. **Bhādāna** copper-plates of the **Śīlāra Aparājita.**

94. — **§. 919.** — *Pāli, Skr. and Old-Kan. Inscr.* No. 214; *Mysore Inscr.* No. 99, p. 187 (?). **Tālgund** inscription of the **Western Chālukya Taila II.**, and his feudatory **Bhīma** :—

'Saka 919 (in figures, 1. 12), the **Hēmalambi saṁvatsara**; Sunday, the fifth day of the bright fortnight of (?) **Āśvayuja**.' (*Mys. Inscr.* : 'Vaiśākha, the 8th day of the moon's decrease, Sunday.')

<sup>16</sup> By the mean-sign system **Vibhava** ended on the 16th July, A.D. 967, in **§. 890** current; and by the southern luni-solar system **Vibhava** was **§. 890** expired.

<sup>17</sup> By the mean-sign system **Īśvara** ended on the 7th June, A.D. 976, in **§. 899** current; and by the southern luni-solar system **Īśvara** was **§. 899** expired.

<sup>18</sup> A solar eclipse, visible in India, on the 20th September, A.D. 982.

<sup>19</sup> By the mean-sign system **Vikṛita** ended on the 14th April, A.D. 989, in **§. 911** expired; and by the southern luni-solar system **Vikṛita** was **§. 912** expired.

<sup>20</sup> **Vaiśākha-vadi 8** of **§. 919** expired = **Hēmalamba** would correspond to Sunday, the 2nd May, A.D. 997.

95. — P. 12, No. 176. — **§. 922**, *Sārvarin*,<sup>21</sup> Bhādrapad-āmavāsyā, a solar eclipse. Saṃgamnēr copper-plates of the Yādava Bhīllama II.

96. — **§. 924**. — *Ante*, Vol. XII. p. 210, No. 31. Gadag inscription of the Western Chālukya Satyāśraya II. : —

(L. 7). — Sa(sa)ka-bhūpāla-kāl-ākṛānta-saṃvatsara-sa(sa)taṅga[!]<sup>22</sup> 924neya Subhākṛit-saṃvatsaraṃ pravarttise tad-varsh-ābhyanantara-Chaitra-śuddha 5 Ādityavārad-andu.<sup>23</sup>

97. — **§. 928** (for 929 ?). — *Ante*, Vol. XII. p. 212, No. 67. Guḍikaṭṭi inscription of the Western Chālukya (?) Jayasīṃha III. : —

(L. 13). — Sa(sa)kam=ā(a)bda gaja-dvi-nidhi Plavaṅgadolu.<sup>23</sup>

98. — **§. 930**. — *Jour. Bo. As. Soc.* Vol. I. p. 218. Khārepāṭaṇ copper-plates of (the Western Chālukya Satyāśraya II. and) the Śilāra Raṭṭarāja : —

(L. 40). — 'Sakanṛipa-kāl-ātīta-saṃvatsara-nava-śatēshu trīmśad-adhikēshu pravarttamāna-Kilaka-saṃvatsar-āntarggata-Jyēshṭha-paurṇamāsyām.

99. — **§. 930**. — *Ante*, Vol. XII. p. 212, No. 52. Munōḷli inscription of the Western Chālukya Satyāśraya II. : —

(L. 10). — Sa(sa)ka-varisha 930 Kilaka-[saṃva]tsa[rada] 'Srāvaṇa-bahula-taddi(di)[gē\*] Sōmavārad-amdu.†

100. — **§. 930** (for 931). — *Ante*, Vol. XVI. p. 24. Kanṭhēm copper-plates of the Western Chālukya Vikramāditya V. : —

(L. 61). — Sakanṛipa-kāl-ātīta-saṃvatsara-śatēshu navasu tṛi(tri)mśad-adhikēshu gatēshu 930 prava[r\*]ttamāna-Saumya-saṃvatsarē<sup>24</sup> paurṇamāsyām sōmagrahaṇa-parvvaṇi.

101. — P. 115, No. 11. — **§. 939**, Piṅgala, Kārttika-śudi 15, a lunar eclipse. Thāṇā copper-plates of the Śilāra Arikēśarin.

102. — **§. 940**. — *Pāli, Skr. and Old-Kan. Inscr.* No. 153; *Mysore Inscr.* No. 80, p. 166. Baḷagāmve inscription probably of the Western Chālukya Jayasīṃha III. : —

'Saka 940 (in figures, l. 10). The other details of the date are illegible.'

103. — P. 13, No. 177. — **§. 941**, Siddhārthin, Pausha-śudi 2, Sunday, uttarāyaṇa-saṃkrānti. Baḷagāmve inscription of the Western Chālukya Jayasīṃha III.

104. — P. 131, No. 110. — **§. 944**, sun in Siṃha, vadi 2, Guru-vārē. Accession of the Eastern Chālukya Rājarāja I.<sup>25</sup>

105. — P. 13, No. 178. — **§. 944**, Dundubhi, Āditya-vāra, uttarāyaṇa-saṃkrānti. Bēlūr inscription of the Western Chālukya Jayasīṃha III.

106. — P. 115, No. 12. — **§. 946**, Baktākshi, Vaiśākha-paurṇamāsi, Āditya-vārē. Miraj copper-plates of the Western Chālukya Jayasīṃha III.

107. — P. 129, No. 98. — **§. 948**,\* Krōdhana, a solar eclipse in Kārttika. Kalas-Budrūkh copper-plates of the Yādava Bhīllama III.

108. — P. 13, No. 179. — **§. 948**, Kshaya, Kārttika-śudi 15, Ravau, a solar (!) eclipse Bhāṇḍup copper-plates of the Śilāra Chittārāja.

<sup>21</sup> Here and in those of the following dates to which no special note is attached, the Śaka year can be combined with the Jovian year mentioned along with it, only by the southern luni-solar system.

<sup>22</sup> This date regularly corresponds, for **§. 924** expired = Subhākṛit, to Sunday, the 22nd March, A. D. 1002.

<sup>23</sup> By the mean-sign system Plavaṅga ended on the 1st February, A. D. 1006, in **§. 928** current; and by the southern luni-solar system Plavaṅga was **§. 929** expired.

<sup>24</sup> By the mean-sign system Saumya ended on the 24th January, A. D. 1008, in **§. 930** current; and by the southern luni-solar system Saumya was **§. 931** expired. There was no lunar eclipse in **§. 930** current.

<sup>25</sup> See *ante*, Vol. XX. p. 273, note 18.

109. — P. 115, No. 13. — **Ś. 950, Vibhava**, Pausha-śudi 5, Sôma-vâra, uttarâyana-samkrânti. Tâlgund inscription of the Western Châlukya Jayasimha III.

110. — **Ś. 955.** — *Ep. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 234. Bhairanmatî inscription of the Western Châlukya Jayasimha III., and the Sinda Great Chieftain Nâgaditya : —

(L. 52). — Sa(sa)ka-varsha 955[ne\*]ya Śrimukha-samvatsara pravarttise.

111. — **Ś. 957.** — *Pâli, Skr. and Old-Kan. Inscr.* No. 155; *Mysore Inscr.* No. 71, p. 146. Baḷagâmve inscription of the Western Châlukya Jayasimha III. : —

‘Śaka 957 (in figures, l. 10), the Yuva samvatsara; Sunday, the day of the full-moon of Pushya; at the time of the sun’s commencing his progress to the north.’†

112. — P. 13, No. 180. — **Ś. 962, Vikrama**, Mârgaśirsha-śudi 5, Âditya-vâra. Maṇṭûr inscription of the Western Châlukya Jayasimha III.

113. — P. 6, No. 148. — **Ś. 966, Târaṇa**, Pausha-śudi 10, Âdi-vâra, uttarâyana-samkrânti. Hûli inscription of the Western Châlukya Sômesvara I.

114. — **Ś. 968.** — *Pâli, Skr. and Old-Kan. Inscr.* No. 156; *Mysore Inscr.* No. 92, p. 183. Baḷagâmve memorial tablet of the time of (the Western Châlukya Sômesvara I., and his feudatory) the Great Chieftain Châvuṇḍarâya : —

‘Śaka 968 (in figures, l. 3), the Vyaya samvatsara; Wednesday, the fifth day of the bright fortnight of Mârgaśirsha.’ (*Mys. Inscr.* : ‘the 13th day of the moon’s increase, Friday.’)<sup>26</sup>

115. — P. 13, No. 181. — **Ś. 970, Sarvadhârin**, Jyaisṭha-śudi 13, Âditya-vâra. Baḷagâmve inscription of the Western Châlukya Sômesvara I., and his feudatory the Great Chieftain Châvuṇḍarâya.

116. — P. 124, No. 65. — **Ś. 972, Vikrita**, Paush-âmavâsyâ, Aṅgâra(Maṅgala)-vârê, a solar eclipse. Surat copper-plates of the Chaulukya Trilôchanapâla of Lâṭadêsa.

117. — **Ś. 973** (for 974 ?). — *Ante*, Vol. XII. p. 211, No. 42. Guḍikattî inscription of the Western Châlukya Sômesvara I. : —

(L. 19). — Sa(sa)ka-kâlâm guṇa-sapta-naṁda-mṛi(mi)tam=âgal=varttakam Nandan-âbdakam.<sup>27</sup>

118. — P. 122, No. 56. — **Ś. 976, Jaya**, new-moon of Vaiśâkha, Sunday. Baḷagâmve inscription of the Western Châlukya Sômesvara I.

119. — P. 7, No. 150. — **Ś. 976, Jaya**, Vaiśâkh-âmavâsyâ, Sôma-vâra, a solar eclipse. Honwâḍ inscription of the Western Châlukya Sômesvara I.

120. — P. 115, No. 14. — **Ś. 980, Vilambin**, Pausha-śudi 7, Bṛihaspati-vârê, uttarâyana-samkrânti. Copper-plates of the Silâhâra Mârasimha.

121. — P. 7, No. 151. — **Ś. 984, Subhakrit**, Pausha-vadi 7, Âditya-vâra, uttarâyana-samkrânti. Hulgûr inscription of the Western Châlukya Sômesvara I.

122. — **Ś. 984.** — *Ante*, Vol. XII. p. 209, No. 15. Chillûr-Baḍṇi inscription of the Western Châlukya Sômesvara I. : —

(L. 26). — Sa(sa)kanṛipa-kâl-âtita-samvatsara-sa(sa)taṅga[l\*] 984neya [Śu]bhakritu-samvatsarada Pauśya(sha)-su(su)ddha-dasa(sa)mi Âdityavâram=uttarâyana-samkrânti-vyati-pâtad-andu.†

<sup>26</sup> Mârgaśirsha-śudi 5 of Ś. 968 expired = Vyaya would correspond to Wednesday, the 5th November; and śudi 13 to Friday, the 14th November, A. D. 1046.

<sup>27</sup> By the mean-sign system Nandana ended on the 26th July, A. D. 1050, in Ś. 973 current; and by the southern luni-solar system Nandana was Ś. 974 expired.

123. — S. 988. — *Pāli, Skr. and Old-Kan. Inscr.* No. 136; *Mysore Inscr.* No. 11, p. 19. Dāvāngere inscription of the Western Chālukya Sōmēśvara I. and his son Vishṇuvardhana-Vijayāditya : —

‘Saka 988 (in figures, l. 18), the Parābhava *saṃvatsara*; Tuesday, the day of the new-moon of Bhādrapada; at the time of an eclipse of the sun.’†

124. — S. 990. — *Mysore Inscr.* No. 170, p. 321. Banavāsi inscription of the Western Chālukya Sōmēśvara I. : —

‘In the Saka year 990, the year Kilaka, the month Chaitra, the 1st day of the moon’s increase.’

125. — P. 124, No. 66. — S. 991, Saumya, a solar eclipse in Āshāḍha. Vāghlī inscription of the Yādava Sēunachandra II.

126. — P. 14, No. 182. — S. 991, Saumya, Śrāvaṇa-śūdi 14, Guru-dinē. Bassein copper-plates of the Yādava Sēunachandra II.

127. — P. 7, No. 152. — S. 993, Virōdhikrit, Pausa-śūdi 1, Sōma-vāra, uttarāyaṇa-saṃkrānti. Two Baḷagāmve inscriptions of the Western Chālukya Sōmēśvara II.

128. — P. 115, No. 15. — S. 996, Ānanda, Pausa-śūdi 5, Bṛihaspati-vāra, uttarāyaṇa-saṃkrānti. Bijāpur inscription of the Western Chālukya Sōmēśvara II.

129. — P. 7, No. 153. — S. 997, Rakshasa, Pausa-paurṇamāsī, Āditya-vāra, uttarāyaṇa-saṃkrānti. Kādarōḷi inscription of the Western Chālukya Sōmēśvara II.

130. — P. 8, No. 15 3. — S. 997, Rakshasa, Pausa-śūdi 1, Sōma-vāra, uttarāyaṇa-saṃkrānti. Baḷagāmve inscription of the Western Chālukya Sōmēśvara II.

131. — S. 998. — *Ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 39. Guḍigere Jaina inscription :—

(L. 19). — Sa(sa)ka-varsha 998 ney=Anaḷa-saṃvatsarada śrāheyoḷu.

132. — P. 116, No. 16. — S. 999, Piṅgala, Āshāḍha-śūdi 2, Āditya-vāra, saṃkrānti-pavitrārōhaṇa (dakṣiṇāyana-s.). Hulgūr inscription of the Western Chālukya Vikramāditya VI. and Jayasīma IV.

133. — P. 132, No. 111. — S. 999, sun in Kumbha, śūdi 3, Ravija(Śani)-dinē. Accession of the Gaṅga Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅgadēva.

134. — P. 2, No. 128. — S. 1001,\* sun in Simha, śūdi 13, Guru-vārē. Appointment of Vira-Chōḍadēva as viceroy of Vēṅgī.

135. — P. 132, No. 112. — S. 1003, Mēsha-māsa, vadi 8, Āditya-vārē. Vizagapatam copper-plates of the Gaṅga Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅgadēva.

136. — P. 14, No. 183. — S. 1008 (for 1009 ?), Prabhava, Vaiśākha-śūdi 3, Śukra-dinē. Sitabaldī inscription of the Western Chālukya Vikramāditya VI.

137. — S. 1011. — *Pāli, Skr. and Old-Kan. Inscr.* No. 90. Hāli inscription of the Western Chālukya Vikramāditya VI., and his feudatory the Great Chieftain Kāma of the family of the Kādambas of Banavase :—

‘Saka 1011 (in words, l. 74), the Śukla *saṃvatsara*; at the time of the sun’s commencing his progress to the north.’

138. — S. 1016. — *Ante*, Vol. IX. p. 35. Khārepāṭaṇ copper-plates of the Śilāra Anantadēva :—

(L. 73). — Sa(sa)kanripa-kāl-ātita-saṃvatsara-daśa-sa(sa)tēshu shōḍas(ś)-ādhikēshu Bhava-saṃvatsar-āntarggata-Māgha-su(su)ddha-pratipadāyām yatr=āṃkatō=pi samvat 1016.



139. — **§. 1025.** — *Mysore Inscr.* No. 174, p. 330. Sindigere inscription of the Hoysala Ballāla I. :—

‘In the Śaka year 1025, the year Svabhānu, the month Kārttika, the 10th day of the moon’s increase, Thursday.’†

140. — P. 127, No. 83. — **§. 1032,\*** Virōdhin, Māgha-śudi 10, Maṅgala-vārē. Tālaleṇ copper-plates of the Śilāhāra Gaṇḍarādityadēva.

141. — P. 127, No. 83. — [**§. 1033\***], Vikṛita, Vaiśākha-paurṇamāsī, a lunar eclipse. Tālaleṇ copper-plates of the Śilāhāra Gaṇḍarādityadēva.

142. — **§. 1035** (or 1037 ?). — *Inscr. at Sravaṇa Belgoḷa*, No. 46, pp. 22 and 126. Death of Būchana, lay disciple of Subhachandra-siddhāntadēva (pillar set up by the wife of the general Gaṅga) :—

Śaka-varuṣa 1037 (*in translation* 1035) neya Vijaya-saṁvatsarada Vaiśākha-su(śu)ddha 10 Ādityavārad-andu.<sup>28</sup>

143. — P. 116, No. 17. — **§. 1037**, Manmatha, Mārgaśīrsha-śudi 14, Bṛiha-vāra. Death of Mēghachandra-traividya-dēva (tomb erected by the wife of Gaṅga-Rāja, the minister of the Hoysala Viṣṇuvardhana).

144. — **§. 1039.** — *Pāli, Skr. and Old-Kan. Inscr.* No. 18; *Mysore Inscr.* No. 146, p. 265. Bēlūr copper-plates of the Hoysala Viṣṇuvardhana and his chief queen Śāntalādēvi :—

‘Śaka 1039 (in words), the Hēmalambi saṁvatsara; Sunday (*Mys. Inscr.* : ‘Monday’), the fifth day of the bright fortnight of Chaitra.’<sup>29</sup>

145. — P. 116, No. 18. — **§. 1039**, Hēmaṇambi, Phālguna-śudi 5, Sōma-vāra. A grant by the Daṇḍanāyaka Gaṅga-Rāja, confirmed by the Daṇḍanāyaka Īchi-Rāja.

146. — **§. 1040.** — *Ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 169. Vizagapatam copper-plates of the Gaṅga Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅgadēva :—

(L. 169). — Viyad-udadhi-kh-ēṁdu-gaṇitēshu Śaka-vatsarēshu puṇyē-hani.

147. — **§. 1041.\*** — *Inscr. at Sravaṇa Belgoḷa*, No. 139, pp. 110 and 185. Death of Śrīmati Ganti, the pupil of Divākaranandin :—

Śaka-varṣaṁ 1041 neya Viḷambi-saṁvatsarada Phālguna-śuddha-pañchamī Budhavārad-andu.†

148. — P. 129, No. 99. — **§. 1042,\*** Vikārin, Phālguna-vadi 11, Bṛiha-vāra. Death of Dēmiyyaka, the lay disciple of Subhachandra-siddhāntadēva.

149. — **§. 1043.\*** — *Inscr. at Sravaṇa Belgoḷa*, No. 44, pp. 20 and 125. Death of Pōchalādēvi (tomb erected by her son, the Daṇḍanāyaka Gaṅga-Rāja, the minister of the Hoysala Viṣṇuvardhana) :—

Sa(śa)ka-varṣa 1043 neya Sa(śa)rvvari-saṁvatsarada Āśhāḍha-su(śu)ddha 5 Sōmavārad-andu.†

150. — **§. 1044.\*** — *Inscr. at Sravaṇa Belgoḷa*, No. 48, pp. 27 and 128. Death of Lakshmy-ambike (Lakkave), the wife of the Daṇḍanāyaka Gaṅga-Rāja :—

Sa(śa)ka-varṣa 1044 neya Plava-saṁvatsarada . . . śuddha 11 Sukravārad-andu.

151. — P. 116, No. 19. — **§. 1045**, Śubhakṛit (for Sōbhakṛit), Vaiśākha-paurṇamāsī, Bṛihaspati-vāra. Date in an inscription at Tērdāl, of the time of the Western Chālukya Vikrama-Tribhuvanamalla (Vikramāditya VI.); his subordinate, the Raṭṭa Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Kārtavīrya; and the petty chief Goṅka.

<sup>28</sup> For **§. 1035** expired = Vijaya the date regularly corresponds to Sunday, the 27th April, A. D. 1113.

<sup>29</sup> Chaitra-śudi 5 of **§. 1039** expired = Hēmalamba would correspond to Saturday, the 10th March, A. D. 1117.

152. — P. 116, No. 20. — §. 1045, Śōbhakṛit, Śrāvaṇa-śudi 10, Sita(Sukra)-vāra. Death of Śubhachandra-siddhāntadēva (tomb erected by the Daṇḍanāyaka Ganga-Rāja, the minister of the Hoysala Viṣṇuvardhana).

153. — §. 1045. — *Inscr. at Sravaṇa Belgoḷa*, No. 53, pp. 41 and 134. A grant by Santaladēvi, the chief queen of the Hoysala Viṣṇuvardhana:—

Sa(śa)ka-varuṣa sâyirada nâlvattaydeneya Śōbhakṛit-saṁvatsarada Chaitra-su(śu)ddha-pâdiva Brihaspativârad-andu.†

(The same date in another grant by the same queen, *ib.* No. 56, pp. 52 and 143.)

154. — §. 1045 (P). — *Pāli, Skr. and Old-Kan. Inscr.* No. 146; *Mysore Inscr.* No. 4, p. 9. Chitaldurg inscription of the Western Châlukya Jagadēkamalla, and his feudatory the Great Chieftain Vijaya-Paṇḍyadēva:—

‘Saka 1045 (in figures, the last two effaced, l. 28), the Śōbhakṛit saṁvatsara; Sunday, the tenth day of the bright fortnight of Phâlguna’; <sup>30</sup> (*Mys. Inscr.*: ‘at the time of the equinox’).

155. — P. 124, No. 67. — §. 1047, Viśvāvasu, Bhâdrapada-vadi 13, Śukra-vāra, yugâdi. Narēndra inscription of the Western Châlukya Vikramāditya VI.

156. — P. 124, No. 68. — §. 1050, Kilaka, Phâlguna-vadi 3, Bhâskara-vârê. Death of Mallishēpa.

157. — P. 127, No. 84. — §. 1051,\* Kilaka, Kârttika-paurṇamâsî, a lunar eclipse. Inglêṣvar inscription of the Western Châlukya Sômesvara III.

158. — §. 1053. — *Inscr. at Sravaṇa Belgoḷa*, No. 53, pp. 38 and 132. Death of Santaladēvi, the chief queen of the Hoysala Viṣṇuvardhana:—

Sa(śa)ka-varuṣam 1050mûṛeneya Virôdhikṛit-saṁvatsarada Chaitra-su(śu)ddha-paṇchamî Sôma-vârad-andu.†

159. — P. 14, No. 184. — §. 1056, . . . vishuvati. Chittûr copper-plates of the Eastern Chalukya Kulôttuṅga Chôḍadēva II.

160. — §. 1057. — *Ante*, Vol. XVIII, p. 174. Vizagapatam copper-plates of the Gaṅga Anantavarman Chôḍagaṅga-dēva:—

(L. 32). — Śâk-âvdê(bdê)shu muni-sa(śa)ra-viyach-chha(cha)m̐dra-gaṇitêshu Vriśchika-mâsê.

161. — §. 1059. — *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II, p. 338. Gôvindpur inscription of the poet Gaṅgâdhara; mentions the Mâna princes Varṇamâna and Rudramâna of Magadha:—

(L. 34). — Nand-êndriy-âbhr-êndu-samê Śâk-âvdê(bdê) . . . Śâka 1059.

162. — §. 1059 (P). — *Inscr. at Sravaṇa Belgoḷa*, No. 68, pp. 60 and 150. Death of Chaladaṅka-râva Hoysala-setti:—

Sa(śa)ka-varṣa(rsha) 1059neya<sup>31</sup> Saumya-saṁvatsarada Mâgha-mâsada śukla-pakshada saṅkramaṇad-andu.

163. — P. 14, No. 185. — §. 1060,\* Piṅgala, Pausha-śudi 10, Sunday, uttarâyana-saṅkrânti. Sindigere inscription of the Hoysala Viṣṇuvardhana.

164. — §. 1061 (P). — *Inscr. at Sravaṇa Belgoḷa*, No. 52, pp. 35 and 130. Tomb erected for Siṅgamayya, the son of the Daṇḍanāyaka Baladēva:—

Sa(śa)ka-varuṣa 1041(in translation 1061)neya<sup>32</sup> Siddhârthi-saṁvatsarada Kârttika-su(śu)ddha-dvâdasa(śa) Sôma-vârad-andu.†

<sup>30</sup> Phâlguna-śudi 10 of §. 1045 expired=Śōbhakṛit would correspond to Tuesday, the 26th February, A. D. 1124.

<sup>31</sup> Saumya would be §. 1051 expired.

<sup>32</sup> Siddhârthin would be §. 1061 expired.

165. — S. 1061 (?). — *Inscr. at Śravaṇa Belgola*, No. 51, pp. 34 and 129. Death of the *Daṇḍanāyaka* Baladēva, the lay disciple of Prabhāchandra-siddhāntadēva :—

Sa(sa)ka-varuṣa 1041 (*in translation* 1061) Siddhartthis-amvatsarada Mārggasi(ṣi)ra-su-(śu)ddha-pāḍiṇa Sōmavārad-andu.†

166. — P. 4, No. 140. — S. 1063 (for 1064), Dundubhi, Jyaishṭha-śudi 15, Sōmē. Añjanēri inscription of the Yādava *Mahāsāmanta* Sēṇadēva.

167. — P. 127, No. 85. — S. 1065,\* Dundubhi, Bhādrapada-śudi 6, 'Sukra-vāra. Miraj inscription of the Silāhāra Vijayāditya.

168. — P. 127, No. 86 (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 210). — S. 1065,\* Dundubhi, Māgha-paurṇamāsi, Sōma-vārē, a lunar eclipse. Kōlhāpur inscription of the Silāhāra Vijayāditya.

169. — P. 14, No. 186. — S. 1066,\* Rudhirōdgarin, Māgha-vadi 14, Vāḍḍa-vāra. Miraj inscription of the Silāhāra Vijayāditya.

170. — P. 127, No. 87. — S. 1068,\* Kródhana, Āśvina-śudi 10, Briha-vāra. Death of Prabhāchandra-siddhāntadēva, the disciple of Mēghachandra-traividya-dēva.

171. — P. 128, No. 88 (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 212). — S. 1073,\* Pramōda, Bhādrapada-paurṇamāsi, 'Sukra-vārē, a lunar eclipse. Bāmaṇi inscription of the 'Silāhāra Vijayāditya.

172. — S. 1075. — *Ante*, Vol. VIII. p. 41. Pāṭṇā inscription of Gōvana III. of the Nikumbha family :—

(L. 20). — Varshā[nām] pañchasaptatyā sahasrē sādhiḱē gatē † 1075 †

Saka-bhūpāla-kālasya tathā Srimukha-vatsarē †

173. — P. 116, No. 21. — S. 1076, Bhava, Āshāḍha-śudi 5, Brihaspati-vāra. Hulgūr-inscription of the Western Chālukya Taila III.

174. — P. 116, No. 22. — S. 1078, Dhātri, Vaiśākha-śuddha, akshaya-tṛitīyā, yugādi, Bhauma-dinē. Bombay As. Soc.'s inscription of the Silāra Mallikarjuna.

175. — S. 1079. — *Pāli, Skr. and Old-Kan. Inscr.* No. 219; *Mysore Inscr.* No. 102, p. 193. Tālgund inscription of the Kaḷachuri Bijjana-Tribhuvanamalla, and his Leader of the forces Kēsimayya :—

'Saka 1079 (in figures, l. 57), the Īśvara saṁvatsara; Monday, the day of the full-moon of Pushya; at the time of the sun's commencing his progress to the north.'†

176. — P. 8, No. 154. — S. 1080, Bahudhanya, Āshāḍha-āmāvāsya, Sōma-vāra, dakṣiṇāyana-saṁkrānti. Siddāpur inscription of the Kādamba *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Śivachitta and the Yuvarāja Vijayāditya.

177. — S. 1080. — *Pāli, Skr. and Old-Kan. Inscr.* No. 183; *ante*, Vol. XII. p. 212, No. 59; *Mysore Inscr.* No. 74, p. 159. Baḷagāṁve inscription of the Kaḷachuri Bijjala-Tribhuvanamalla :—

(L. 62). — Saka-varshaṁ 1080neya Bahudhanya-saṁvatcha(tsa)rada Puśya(shya)da puṇṇamī Sōmavāram-uttarāyana-saṁkrāntivyatīpāta-sōmagrahaṇad-andu.†

178. — P. 117, No. 23. — S. 1081, Pramādi(thi)n, Pausa-śudi 14, Sukra-vāra, uttarāyana-saṁkrānti. Śravaṇa Belgola inscription of the Hoysala Narasimha I.

179. — P. 2, No. 129. — S. 1084, Chitrabhanu, Māgha-śudi 13, Vāḍḍa-vāra. Anamkoṇḍ inscription of the Kākatya (Kākatīya) Rudradēva.

180. — P. 15, No. 187. — S. 1084 (for 1085 ?), Subhanu, Jyaishṭha-paurṇamāsi, Monday, a lunar eclipse. Paṭṭadakal inscription of the Sinda Chāvunḍa II., the subordinate of the Western Chālukya Taila III.

181. — P. 117, No. 24. — **S. 1085**, Subhānu, Āshāḍha-śudi 9, Budha-vārē. Death of the *Mahāmaṇḍalāchārya* Dēvakīrti-panḍitadēva.

182. — **S. 1089** (P). — *Pāli, Skr. and Old-Kan. Inscr.* No. 117 ('very illegible'); *Mysore Inscr.* No. 35, p. 71. Harihar inscription of the Great Chieftains **Vira-Paṇḍyadēva** and **Vijaya-Paṇḍyadēva**. The *Mysore Inscr.* give the date thus :—

'In the year 1089, the year Subhakrit,<sup>33</sup> the month Pushya, the 12th day of the moon's increase, Monday, the *nakshatra* being Rôhini.'

183. — P. 15, No. 188. — **S. 1091**, Virôdhin, dvitīya-Srāvana-paurṇamāsī, Sôma-vāra. Dāvāngere inscription of the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* **Vijaya-Paṇḍyadēva**.

184. — **S. 1093.\*** — *Pāli, Skr. and Old-Kan. Inscr.* No. 118; *Mysore Inscr.* No. 28, p. 54. Harihar inscription of the Great Chieftain **Vijaya-Paṇḍyadēva**, and his Leader of the forces **Vijaya-Permāḍi** :—

'Saka 1093 (in figures, l. 49), the **Vikṛiti saṃvatsara**; Friday, the first day of the dark fortnight (*Mys. Inscr.* : 'moon's increase') of Pushya; at the time of the sun's commencing his progress to the north.'<sup>34</sup>

185. — **S. 1094**. — *Pāli, Skr. and Old-Kan. Inscr.* No. 101. Narsāpūr inscription of the **Kaḷachuri Sômesvara** or **Sôvidēva** :—

'Saka 1194 by mistake for 1094 (in figures, l. 89), the **Nandana saṃvatsara**; Monday, the day of the new-moon of the dark fortnight of Māgha.'

186. — **S. 1095.\*** — *Pāli, Skr. and Old-Kan. Inscr.* No. 118; *Mysore Inscr.* No. 28, p. 54. Harihar inscription of the Great Chieftain **Vijaya-Paṇḍyadēva** and his Leader of the forces **Vijaya-Permāḍi** :—

'Saka 1095 (in figures, l. 63), the **Nandana saṃvatsara**; Thursday (*Mys. Inscr.* : 'Wednesday'), the third day of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada.'<sup>35</sup>

187. — **S. 1095**. — *As. Res.* Vol. IX. p. 431; Colebrooke's *Misc. Essays*, Vol. II. p. 276. Curugode inscription of the reign of **Bakshāmalla** :—

'The year of Śālivāhan 1095 in the **Vijaya** year of the cycle, and on the 30th of the month Mārgaśīra, on Monday, in the time of an eclipse of the sun.'

188. — P. 117, No. 25. — **S. 1096**, **Jaya**, Mārgaśīrsha-paurṇamāsī, Āditya-vāra, a lunar eclipse. Hulgūr inscription of the **Kaḷachuri Sômesvara**.

189. — P. 124, No. 69. — **S. 1096**, **Jaya**, Mārgaśīrsh-āmāvāsyā, Maṅgala-vāra, a solar eclipse. Hulgūr inscription of the **Kaḷachuri Sômesvara**.

190. — P. 5, No. 145. — **S. 1096**, **Jaya**, Kārttika-śudi 12, Bṛhaspati-vārē. Belgaum district copper-plates of the **Kaḷachuri Sômesvara**.

191. — P. 8, No. 155. — **S. 1096**, **Jaya**, Jyāishṭh-āmāvāsyā, Āditya-vāra, a solar eclipse. Hulgūr inscription of the **Kaḷachuri Sômesvara**.

192. — P. 128, No. 89. — **S. 1099,\*** **Durmukha**, Vaiśākha-śudi 14, Sūryātmaja (Sani)-vārē. Death of **Nayakīrtidēva**.

193. — **S. 1103**. — *As. Res.* Vol. IX. p. 431; Colebrooke's *Misc. Essays*, Vol. II. p. 276. Curugode inscription of the reign of **Bakshāmalla** :—

'The year of Śālivāhan 1103, of the cycle **Plava**, and on the 15th of Kārttika, on Monday, in the gracious time of the moon's eclipse.'

<sup>33</sup> Subhakrit would be **S. 1104** expired, and **Pausha-śudi 12** of this year would correspond to Wednesday, the 8th December, A. D. 1182.

<sup>34</sup> In **S. 1093** current = **Vikṛiti** the **Uttarāyana-samkrānti** took place 9 h. 50 m. after mean sunrise of Friday, the 25th December, A. D. 1170, during the first *ñithi* of the dark half which commenced 2 h. 36 m. after mean sunrise of the same day.

<sup>35</sup> **Bhādrapada-śudi 3** of **S. 1095** current = **Nandana** would correspond to Thursday, the 24th August, A. D. 1172.

194. — S. 1103. — *Pāli, Skr. and Old-Kan. Inscr.* No. 230. Halēbīḍ inscription of the Kaḷachuri (Saṅkama-)Āhavamalla, and Vikramāditya of the Gutta family :—

‘Saka 1103 (in words, l. 83), the *Plava saṃvatsara*; at the time of the sun’s commencing his progress to the north.’

195. — P. 129, No. 100. — S. 1104,\* *Plava*, Āśvayuja-vadi 3, Ādi-vāra. From an inscription at Têrdāl.

196. — P. 1, No. 123. — S. 1104,\* *Plava*, Pausha-vadi 3, ‘Sukra-vāra, uttarāyana-saṃkrānti. Śravaṇa Belgoḷa inscription of the Hoysala *Vīra-Ballāḷa*.

197. — P. 15, No. 189. — S. 1105, *Sōbhakrit*, Āśvayuj-āmāvāsyā, Sōma-vārē. Bēhaṭṭi copper-plates of the Kaḷachuri *Singhana*.

198. — S. 1106. — *Pāli, Skr. and Old-Kan. Inscr.* No. 102; *ante*, Vol. XII. p. 209, No. 19. Dambaḷ inscription of the Western Chālukya *Sōmēśvara IV.* :—

(L. 71). — Sa(śa)kanri(nṛi)pa-kāl-ātita-saṃvatsara 1106neya Krōdhi-saṃvatsaraḍ=Āśā(shā)-ḍa(dha)d=amāvāsyē Sōmavāra sūryyagrahana-saṃkrānti-vyatīpātad-aṃdu.†

199. — S. 1107. — From Dr. Fleet’s impression. Bombay As. Soc.’s inscription of the *Śīlāra Aparāditya* :—

(L. 1). — Saṃvatu 1107 *Visvā(svā)vasu-saṃvachchha(tsa)rē* Chaitra-suddha 15 Ravau dinē.<sup>36</sup>

200. — S. 1108. — *Ante*, Vol. V. p. 47; *Mysore Inscr.* No. 39, p. 78. Date in a Kaḷachuri inscription at Baḷagāṃve :—

(L. 47). — Śrīmatṣa(chchha)ka-varsha 1108neya *Parābhava-saṃvatsarada* Vaiśākha-ba 5 va(ya).

201. — S. 1109.\* — *Jour. Bo. As. Soc.* Vol. XII. p. 333. Bombay As. Soc.’s inscription of the *Śīlāra Aparāditya* :—

(L. 1). — Saka-saṃvatu 1109 *Parābhava-saṃvatsarē* || Māghē māsi ||

(L. 8). — saṃjāta-Māghī-parvaṇi.

202. — P. 15, No. 190. — S. 1109, *Plavaṅga*, Chaitra-sudi 10, Bṛihaspati-vāra. Grant by the *Daṇḍandya* *Bhāyidēva*, commemorated in an inscription at Têrdāl.

203. — P. 130, No. 101. — S. 1110,\* *Plavaṅga*, Pausha-vadi 10, Vāḍḍa-vāra, uttarāyana-saṃkrānti. Toragal inscription of the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Barma*.

204. — S. 1110.\* — *Pāli, Skr. and Old-Kan. Inscr.* No. 230. Halēbīḍ inscription of the Kaḷachuri *Saṅkama-Āhavamalla* (?) and *Vikramāditya* of the Gutta family (?) :—

‘Saka 1110 (in figures, l. 103), the *Plavaṅga saṃvatsara*; Thursday, the thirteenth day of the bright fortnight of Phālguna.’†

205. — S. 1110.\* — *Pāli, Skr. and Old-Kan. Inscr.* No. 231. Halēbīḍ inscription of the Great Chieftain *Vikramāditya* of the Gutta family :—

‘Saka 1110 (in figures, l. 87), the *Plavaṅga saṃvatsara*; Thursday, the thirteenth day of the bright fortnight of Phālguna.’†

206. — P. 125, No. 70 (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 215). — S. 1112, *Sādharaṇa*, Pausha-vadi 12, Bhauma-vārē, uttarāyana-saṃkrānti. Kōlhāpur inscription of the *Śīlāhāra Bhōja II*.

207. — P. 125, No. 71 (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 219). — S. 1113, *Virōdhakrit*, Jyāishṭh-āmāvāsyā, Āditya-vārē, a solar eclipse. Gadag inscription of the *Dēvagiri-Yādava Bhīllama*.

<sup>36</sup> The date regularly corresponds to Sunday, the 17th March, A. D. 1135.

208. — P. 125, No. 72. — §. 1113, Virôdhikrit, Mârgasîrsh-âmâvâsyâ, a solar eclipse. Chaudadâmpur inscription of the Great Chieftain Vira-Vikramāditya of the lineage of Chandragupta, and his *Nâyaka Khandêya-Kâra-Kamêyanâyaka*.

209. — §. 1113 (P). — *Pâli, Skr. and Old-Kan. Inscr.* No. 221; *Mysore Inscr.* No. 103, p. 199, Tâlgund inscription of the Hoysala Vira-Ballâla :—

‘Saka 1113 (in figures, l. 52), the Siddhârthi<sup>37</sup> saivatsara; Sunday, the eleventh day of the bright fortnight of Chaitra’ (*Mys. Inscr.* : ‘the time of the equinox’).

210. — P. 15, No. 191 (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 216). — §. 1114, Paridhâvin, Âśvina-śudi 1, ‘Sukra-vârê. Kôlhâpur inscription of the ‘Silâhâra Bhôja II.

211. — P. 117, No. 26. — §. 1114, Paridhâvin, Mârgasîrsha-paurṇamâsî, Śanaishchara-vârê, a lunar eclipse. Gadag inscription of the Hoysala Vira-Ballâla.

212. — §. 1114. — *Mysore Inscr.* No. 46, p. 107. (*Pâli, Skr. and Old-Kan. Inscr.* No. 200). Baḷagâṃve inscription of the Hoysala Vira-Ballâla :—

‘Saka year 1114, the year Paridhâvin, the month Pushya, the 6th (‘the fifth’) day of the moon’s decrease, Friday, the uttarâyaṇa-saṃkramana.’<sup>38</sup>

213. — §. 1114 (P). — *Pâli, Skr. and Old-Kan. Inscr.* No. 224; *Mysore Inscr.* No. 109, p. 206. Sorab memorial tablet of the time of the Hoysala Vira-Ballâla :—

‘Saka 1114 (in figures, l. 5), the Pramâdi<sup>39</sup> saivatsara; Sunday, the fifth day of the bright fortnight of Bhâdrapada’ (*Mys. Inscr.* : ‘Saka 1116,’ and ‘the 8th day’).

214. — §. 1117.\* — *Pâli, Skr. and Old-Kan. Inscr.* No. 194; *ante*, Vol. XII. p. 210, No. 35; *Mysore Inscr.* No. 89, p. 180. Baḷagâṃve inscription of the Hoysala Vira-Ballâla :—

(L. 34). — Sa(śa)kanṇipa-saṃvachchha(tsa)ram=ârabhya śatâdhika-sahasr-ôpari saptadacha-(śa)mê A[na\*]nda-saṃvachchha(tsa)rê Mârggâsîrsh-âmâvâsyâyâm Sôma-vârê Vyatîpâta-yôgê.†

215. — §. 1118.\* — *Inscr. at Sravâṇa Belgoḷa*, No. 130, pp. 99 and 178. Inscription of the reign of the Hoysala Vira-Ballâla :—

Sa(śa)ka-varsha 1118neya Rakshasa-saṃvatsarada Jêshṭha-su 1 Bṛihavârad-andu.†

216. — P. 117, No. 27. — §. 1121, Siddhârthin, pratham-Ashâḍha-śudi 8, Bṛihapati-vâra. Gadag inscription of the Hoysala Vira-Ballâla.

217. — §. 1121. — *Pâli, Skr. and Old-Kan. Inscr.* No. 114. Hampe inscription of Maiduna-Chaudayya :—

‘Saka 1121 (in figures, l. 11), the Siddhârthi saivatsara; at the time of the sun’s commencing his progress to the north.’

218. — P. 128, No. 90. — §. 1127,\* Raktâkshi, Pausha-śudi 2, Saturday, uttarâyaṇa-saṃkrânti. Kalholi inscription of the Raṭṭas Kârtavîrya IV. and Mallikârijuna.

219. — P. 5, No. 141. — §. 1128 (for 1129), Prabhava, Śrâvâṇa-paurṇamâsî, a lunar eclipse. A grant of Sôidêva of the Nikumbha family, commemorated in the Pâṭṇâ inscription of the Dêvagiri Yâdava Singhana.

220. — P. 128, No. 91. — §. 1131,\* Vibhava, Kârttika-śudi 12, Budha-vâra. Bhôj copper-plates of the Raṭṭa Kârtavîrya IV.

<sup>37</sup> Siddhârthin would be §. 1121 expired; but the date would be incorrect for this year, as well as for the years §. 1113 current and expired.

<sup>38</sup> For §. 1114 expired = Paridhâvin and Pausha-vadi 5, the date regularly corresponds to Friday, the 25th December, A. D. 1192, when the Uttarâyaṇa-saṃkrânti took place 2 h. 28 m., and the fifth tîthi of the dark half ended 16 h. 39 m. after mean sunrise.

<sup>39</sup> Pramâdin would be §. 1115 expired; but for that year the date would be irregular, both for the 5th and the 8th of the bright fortnight of Bhâdrapad

221. — S. 1135.\* — *Pāli, Skr. and Old-Kan. Inscr.* No. 100; *ante*, Vol. XII. p. 210, No. 29. Gadag inscription of the Dēvagiri-Yādava Siṅghaṇa :—

(L. 34). — 'Sakaṇṇ-pa-kāl-ākramānta-saṁvatsara-satamaṅgaḷu 1135neya Āṁgirasa-saṁvatsarada. Phālguna(na)-śudhdha(ddha)-bidige Sanaścharavārad-aṁdu.†

222. — P. 130, No. 102. — S. 1136,\* Śrīmukha, Chaitra, Sōma-dinē, a solar eclipse. Khēdrāpur inscription of the Dēvagiri-Yādava Siṅghaṇa.

223. — S. 1136.\* — *Pāli, Skr. and Old-Kan. Inscr.* No. 234. Halēbīḍ inscription of the Hoysala Vira-Ballala and his queen Tuḷvaladēvi; and Vikramāditya of the Gutta family :—

'Saka 1136 (in figures, l. 63), the Śrīmukha saṁvatsara; Monday, the day of the new-moon of Chaitra; at the time of an eclipse of the sun.' [See the preceding date.]

224. — P. 125, No. 73. — S. 1137, Yuvan, Bhādrapad-āmāvāsya, Thursday. Baḷagāṁve inscription of the Dēvagiri-Yādava Siṅghaṇa.

225. — S. 1140. — Graham's *Kolhapur*, p. 425, No. 11; from an impression supplied to me by Dr. Fleet. Kōlhāpur inscription of the Dēvagiri-Yādava Siṅghaṇa :—

(L. 16). — Śaka-varsha 1140 Bahudhānya-saṁvatsarē.

226. — P. 8, No. 156. — S. 1141,\* Bahudhānya, Māgha-śudi 7, Thursday, uttarāyana-saṁkrānti. Date in a stone tablet at Nēsarige.

227. — S. 1141. — *As. Res.* Vol. IX. p. 403; Colebrooke's *Misc. Essays*, Vol. II. p. 244; *ante*, Vol. XXII. p. 107. Tipura copper-plate of Raṇavaṅkamalla :—

(L. 22). — 'Sakaṇṇipatēr=atitā abdāḥ 1141 Raṇavaṅkamalla-śrīmat Harikāladēvapādānām saptaśa-saṁvatsarē Sbhilikhyamānē yatr=aṅkēn=āpi samvat 17 sūryya-gatyā Phālguna-dinē 26.

228. — S. 1144. — *Ep. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 113. Bahāl inscription of the Dēvagiri-Yādava Siṅghaṇa :—

(L. 18). — Shaṭk-ōnē sadala-sat-ādhikē sahasrē 1144

varshāṇām Śaka-prithivīpatēḥ prayātē |

Chaitr-ādya-pratipadi Chitrabhānu-varshē.

229. — P. 8, No. 157. — S. 1145,\* Chitrabhānu, Kārttika-paurṇamāsī, Sōma-vāra, a lunar eclipse. Muṇōlli inscription of the Dēvagiri-Yādava Siṅghaṇa.

230. — P. 117, No. 28. — S. 1145, Svabhānu, dvitīya-Bhādrapada-śudi 5, Śukra-vāra. Kōlār inscription of the Dēvagiri-Yādava Siṅghaṇa.

231. — S. 1145. — *Pāli, Skr. and Old-Kan. Inscr.* No. 123; *Mysore Inscr.* No. 20, p. 34. Harihar inscription of the Hoysala Narasimha II., and his Leader of the forces Polāḷva :—

'Saka 1145 (in figures, l. 67), the Svabhānu saṁvatsara; Thursday, the eleventh day of the bright fortnight of Māgha.†

232. — P. 8, No. 158. — S. 1148,\* Parthiva, Bhādrapada-paurṇamāsī, Monday, a lunar eclipse. Date in a Chaudādāmpur inscription of the Dēvagiri-Yādava Mahādēva, and the Great Chieftain Gutta of the lineage of Chandragupta.

233. — P. 130, No. 103. — S. 1151,\* Sarvadhārin, Āshāḍh-āmāvāsya, Sōma-vāra, a solar eclipse. Saundatī inscription of the Raṭṭa Lakshmidēva II.

234. — S. 1153. — *Ep. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 88. Gaṇapēśvaram inscription of the time of the Kākatiya Gaṇapati :—

(L. 119). — Guṇa-sara-Bhava-mita-sākē Khara-varshē Mādhavē sitē Gauryyāḥ | tidhyām. (thyām).

235. — P. 118, No. 29. — S. 1156, Jaya, Vaiśākha-paurṇamāsī, Vāḍa-vāra. Bijāpur inscription of the Dēvagiri-Yādava Siṅghaṇa.

236. — P. 118, No. 30. — §. 1156, **Jaya**, Phālguna-śudi 3, Budhê. Image inscription at Elûrâ.

237. — P. 16, No. 192. — §. 1157, **Manmatha**, Śrāvaṇa-bahula 30, Gurau. Kôlhâpur inscription of the Dêvagiri-Yâdava Siṅghaṇa.

238. — P. 118, No. 31. — §. 1158, **Durmukha**, Mâgha-paurṇamâsî, Sôma-dinê, a lunar eclipse. Kôlhâpur inscription of the Dêvagiri-Yâdava Siṅghaṇa.

239. — P. 2, No. 130. — §. 1160,\* **Hemalambin**, Phālguna-śudi 3, Thursday. Tiliwalli inscription of the Dêvagiri-Yâdava Siṅghaṇa and his feudatory **Sāvanta-Thakkura**.

240. — §. 1160.\* — *Jour. Bo. As. Soc.* Vol. XV. p. 388. **Haraḷahallî** copper-plates of the Dêvagiri-Yâdava Siṅghaṇa, and his feudatory the **Daṇḍêśa Chikkadêva** : —

(L. 62). — Saka-varshâd=ârabhya shashtyadhika-śat-ôttara-śa(sa)hasra-mitê **Hemaṇa(lam)-vi(bi)-śa(sa)ṁvatsarê** Phālguna-mâsê saptamyâm.

241. — §. 1160. — *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 88. Poygai inscription of **Râjarâjadêva** : —

‘[In the month of] Tai of the twenty-second year of the illustrious *Tribhuvanachakravartin*, the illustrious **Râjarâjadêva**, which was current during the Saka year 1160.’

242. — §. 1161. — *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 89. Poygai inscription of **Râjarâjadêva** : —

‘From the month of Tai of the twenty-fourth year of the illustrious *Tribhuvanachakravartin*, the illustrious **Râjarâjadêva**, which was current during the Saka year 1161.’

243. — §. 1162. — *Arch. Survey of West. India*, Vol. III. p. 89. Ambâ inscription of the Dêvagiri-Yâdava Siṅghaṇa : —

(L. 27). — Sri Sa(śa)ku 1162 **Sâ(bâ)rvarî-ma(sa)ṁvatsarê** Kârttika-śru(śu)ddhada 10.

244. — §. 1165. — *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 91. Poygai inscription of **Râjarâjadêva** : —

‘From the month of Karkâṭaka of the 28th year of the illustrious **Râjarâjadêva**, which was current after the Saka year 1165 (*had passed*).’

245. — P. 118, No. 32. — §. 1171, **Saumya**, Âshâḍha-paurṇamâsî, Sanaiśchara-vârê. Chikka-Bâgiwâḍi copper-plates of the Dêvagiri-Yâdava Kṛishṇa.

246. — P. 118, No. 33. — §. 1171, **Saumya**, Śrāvaṇa-śudi 12, Guru-vârê. Beṇḍigêri copper-plates of the Dêvagiri-Yâdava Kṛishṇa.

247. — P. 130, No. 104. — §. 1172,\* **Saumya** Srêshṭha(Jyaishṭha)-mâsê bahula-Hari-dinê (11) Bhauma-vârê. Kâñchîpura inscription of (the Kâkatîya) **Ganapati**.

248. — P. 16, No. 193. — §. 1174,\* **Virôdhikrit**, Jyaishṭh-âmâvâsyâ, Śukra-vâra, a solar eclipse. Munôḷi inscription of the Dêvagiri-Yâdava Kṛishṇa.

249. — P. 130, No. 105. — §. 1175,\* **Paridhavin**, Phālgun-âmâvâsyâ, a solar eclipse. Bangalore copper-plates of the Hoysala **Sômêśvara**.

250. — P. 16, No. 194. — §. 1175, **Pramâdin**, Chaitr-âmâvâsyâ, Sôma-vârê. Bêhaṭṭi copper-plates of the Dêvagiri-Yâdava Kṛishṇa.

251. — §. 1177. — *Coorg Inscr.* No. 6, p. 9. Niduta memorial tablet of the time of the Hoysala **Narasimha III.** : —

Saka-varusha 1177ne **Râkshasa-saṁ** Vaisâkha-śudha(ddha) 11.

252. — P. 16, No. 195. — §. 1180, month of Karkâṭaka, śudi 7, Monday. Inscription at the Ammaiappêśvara temple at Paḍavêḍu.

253. — P. 1, No. 124. — §. 1182, **Raudra**, Pausa-vadi 7, Sani-dinê, uttarâyaṇa-saṁkrânti. Terwan copper-plates of **Kâmvadêvarâya** of Kalyâṇa.



254. — **§. 1183.** — From an impression supplied to me by Dr. Fleet. Renadāl inscription of the Dēvagiri-Yādava Mahādēva :—

(L. 1). — Svasti śrī 'Saku 1183 Du(du)rmmati-saṁvatsarē.

255. — **§. 1184.\*** — *Pāli, Skr. and Old-Kan. Inscr.* No. 19; *Mysore Inscr.* No. 147, p. 273. Bêlūr copper-plates of the Hoysala Narasiṁha III. :—

'Saka 1184 (in words, l. 18 of the fourth side), the Durmati saṁvatsara; Tuesday (*Mys. Inscr.* : 'Monday'), the twelfth day of the bright fortnight of Chaitra.'<sup>40</sup>

256. — **§. 1185.\*** — *Pāli, Skr. and Old-Kan. Inscr.* No. 111. Chaudādāmpur inscription of the Dēvagiri-Yādava Mahādēva, and the Great Chieftain Gutta of the lineage of Chandragupta :—

'Saka 1185 (in figures, l. 79), the Dundubhi saṁvatsara; Monday, the fifteenth day of the bright fortnight of Vaiśākha; at the time of an eclipse of the moon.'

257. — P. 118, No. 34. — **§. 1187,** Krōdhana, Māgha-paurṇamāsī, Sukra-dinē. Kōlhāpur inscription of the Dēvagiri-Yādava Mahādēva.

258. — P. 125, No. 74. — **§. 1189,** Prabhava, Jyēṣṭha-ba 30, Budha-vāra, a solar eclipse. Hulgūr inscription of the Dēvagiri-Yādava Mahādēva.

259. — P. 3, No. 131. — **§. 1189,** Prabhava, Māgha-śudi 5, Sukra-vāra. An inscription at Kaḍakoḷ.

260. — **§. 1190.** — *Mysore Inscr.* No. 27, p. 50 (*Pāli, Skr. and Old-Kan. Inscr.* No. 124). Harihar inscription of the Hoysala Narasiṁha III (?) :—

'The Saka year 1190 having passed, and the year Vibhava being current.'

261. — **§. 1191 (?)**. — *Inscr. at Śravaṇa Belgōla*, No. 96, pp. 74 and 159. Inscription of the Hoysala Narasiṁha III. :—

'Saka-varuṣa 1191 neya Śrīmukha-saṁvatsarada<sup>41</sup> Śrāvaṇa-śuddha 15 Ādivāradallu.

262. — P. 3, No. 132. — **§. 1192,\*** Sukla, Āṣāḍha-śudi 12, Wednesday. Sōmnāthpur inscription of the Hoysala Narasiṁha III.

263. — P. 118, No. 35. — **§. 1193,** Prajāpatī, Māgha-śudi 12, Budhē. Paithān copper-plates of the Dēvagiri-Yādava Rāmachandra.

264. — P. 119, No. 36. — **§. 1194,** Āngiras, Māgha-paurṇamāsī, a lunar eclipse. Kōlhāpur inscription of the Dēvagiri-Yādava Rāmachandra.

265. — **§. 1194.** — *Jour. Roy. As. Soc., O. S., Vol. V.* p. 183. Tṭhānā copper-plates of the Dēvagiri-Yādava Rāmachandra :—

Svasti śrī-Sālivāhana-śakē 1194 Āngirā-nāma-saṁvatsarē Āśvina-śuddha 5 Ravau.†

266. — P. 128, No. 92. — **§. 1197,\*** Bhava, Bhādrapada-śudi 12, Wednesday. Halēbīḍ memorial tablet.

267. — P. 128, No. 93. — **§. 1199,\*** Dhātṛi, Śrāvaṇa-paurṇamāsī, Sōma-dinē, yajñōpavita-parvaṇi. Sidnūrle inscription of the Dēvagiri-Yādava Rāmachandra.

268. — **§. 1199.** — *Pāli, Skr. and Old-Kan. Inscr.* No. 125; *Mysore Inscr.* No. 26, p. 47. Harihar inscription of the Dēvagiri-Yādava Rāmachandra, and his feudatory the Great Chieftain Sāluva-Tikkamadēva :—

'Saka 1199 (in figures, l. 67), the Īśvara saṁvatsara; Friday, the thirteenth day of the (?) bright fortnight of Chaitra.'<sup>42</sup>

<sup>40</sup> Chaitra-śudi 12 of §. 1184 current = Durmati would correspond to Tuesday, the 15th March, A.D. 1261.

<sup>41</sup> Śrīmukha would be §. 1195 expired; and in that year the *tithi* of the date commenced 6 h. 14 m. after mean sunrise of Sunday, the 30th July, A. D. 1273.

<sup>42</sup> Chaitra-śudi 13 of §. 1199 expired = Īśvara corresponds to Friday, the 19th March, A. D. 1277.

269. — P. 119, No. 37. — **Ś. 1200**, Bahudhānya, Chaitra-śudi 1, Śukra-vāra. Śravaṇa Belgoḷa private inscription.

270. — **Ś. 1200**. — *Pāli, Skr. and Old-Kan. Inscr.* No. 20; *Mysore Inscr.* No. 148, p. 276. Belūr copper-plates of the Hoysaḷa Narasiṃha III. :—

‘Śaka 1200 (in words, l. 19 of the second side), the Bahudhānya saṃvatsara; Saturday (*Mys. Inscr.*: ‘Monday’), the fourteenth day of the dark fortnight of Māgha.’<sup>43</sup>

271. — P. 3, No. 133. — **Ś. 1201**, Pramāthin, Bhādrapada-śudi 6, Sōma-vāra. Inscription at Kaḍakol.

272. — **Ś. 1203 (P)**. — *Inscr. at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa*, No. 131, pp. 99 and 178. Date of a private inscription :—

‘Śrīmatu-Śaka-varsha 1203neya Pramādi-saṃvatsara<sup>44</sup> Mārgaśira-su 1 Bridandu. †

273. — P. 128, No. 94. — **Ś. 1205\***, Chitrabhānu, Śravaṇa-śudi 10, Bṛihaspati-vāra. Śravaṇa Belgoḷa private inscription.

274. — **Ś. 1208**. — *Pāli, Skr. and Old-Kan. Inscr.* No. 148; *Mysore Inscr.* No. 6, p. 11. Chitaldurg inscription of the Hoysaḷa Narasiṃha III. :—

‘Śaka 1208 (in figures, l. 14), the Vyaya saṃvatsara; Thursday (*Mys. Inscr.*: ‘Wednesday’), the tenth day of the bright fortnight of Chaitra.’<sup>45</sup>

275. — **Ś. 1212\***. — *Jour. Roy. As. Soc., O. S.*, Vol. V. p. 178. Thāṇā copper-plates of the Dēvagiri-Yādava Rāmachandra :—

Svasti śrī-Śalivāhana-śakê 1212 Virōdhi-saṃvatsarê Vaiśākha-śuddha-paurṇamāsyām Bhaumê. †

276. — **Ś. 1222**. — From an impression supplied to me by Dr. Fleet. Vêlāpur inscription of the Dēvagiri-Yādava Rāmachandra :—

(L. 1). — . . śrī-Sak[u] 1222 Śarvari-saṃvatsarê Mārgaśira-vadi [9 P]<sup>46</sup> Sômê.

277. — P. 119, No. 38. — **Ś. 1227**, Viśvāvasu, Mārga-śudi 5, Sômê. Vêlāpur inscription of the Dēvagiri-Yādava Rāmachandra.

278. — **Ś. 1228 (P)**. — *Coorg Inscr.* No. 7, p. 10. Niduta memorial tablet of the time of the Hoysaḷa Narasiṃha III. :—

Śaka-varusha 1228 Parābhava-sam | rada Vaiśākha-śudha (ddha) 12. (The translation has ‘Śaka year 1208, the year Pārthiva’; and a note adds that ‘in the copy the year is Paridhāvi. Pārthiva = Ś. 1208 current; Parābhava = Ś. 1228 expired.’)

279. — P. 125, No. 75. — **Ś. 1235**, Pramādin, Śravaṇa-vadi 14, Vakra (Maṅgala-vârê). Death of Subhachandra.

280. — **Ś. 1236**. — *Ep. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 70. Bilvanāthêśvara inscription of Vira-Champa :—

(L. 4). — Tuṅgaśrīka-Sakābda-bhāji samayê.

281. — **Ś. 1236**. — *Ep. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 71. Arulāḷa-Perumāl inscription of [Vira-] Champa :—

(L. 1). — Tuṅgaśrīka-śaran-mitê Śaka-nṛipê.

<sup>43</sup> Māgha-vadi 14 of Ś. 1200 expired=Bahudhānya would correspond to Saturday, the 11th February, A. D. 1279.

<sup>44</sup> Pramādin would be Ś. 1235 expired. Perhaps the intended year is Ś. 1201 expired=Pramāthin; but the date does not work out properly for that year.

<sup>45</sup> Chaitra-śudi 10 of Ś. 1208 expired=Vyaya would correspond to Thursday, the 7th March, A. D. 1286.

<sup>46</sup> Supposing this figure to be correct, the corresponding date would be Monday, the 5th December, A. D. 1300.

282. — P. 16, No. 196. — **§. 1261** (for 1262?), Vikrama, Chaitra-śudi 1, Gura-vāra. Bādāmi inscription of the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Harihara I. (Hariyappa-voḍeya) of Vijayanagara.

283. — P. 17, No. 197. — **§. 1276\*** Vijaya, Māgha-śudi 15, Chandra-vāra a lunar eclipse. Harihar copper-plates of Bukkarāya I. of Vijayanagara.

284. — P. 3, No. 134. — **§. 1277**, Manmatha, Jyaisṭha-śudi 7, Sōma-vāra. Chitaldurg inscription of the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Bukkarāya I. (Bukkarāya-voḍeya) of Hosapaṭṭana, and afterwards of Vijayanagara.

285. — **§. 1278**. — *Pāli, Skr. and Old-Kan. Inscr.* No. 150; *Mysore Inscr.* No. 2, p. 5. Chitaldurg inscription of the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Bukkarāya I. (Bukkarāya-voḍeya) of Hosapaṭṭana, and afterwards of Vijayanagara:—

‘Śaka 1278 (in figures, 1. 17), the *Durmukha samvatsara*; Thursday, the third day of the dark fortnight (*Mys. Inscr.*: ‘of the moon’s increase’) of Āshāḍha.’<sup>47</sup>

286. — **§. 1278**. — *Ep. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 27. Biṭraguṇṭa copper-plates of Saṃgama II. of Vijayanagara:—

(L. 75). — Śāk-ābdē naga-śaila-dhyu(dyu)maṇi-parimitē 1278 *Durmukh-ābdē* tru(tri)-tīyē(yē) māsi . . . . saṃgame chaṃdra-bā(bhā)nvōḥ.

287. — **§. 1286** (for 1287?) — *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 120. Kāñchīpuram inscription of the reign of the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Kambana-uḍaiyar:—

‘From the month of Āḍi of the *Viśvāvasu* year, which was current after the ‘Śaka year one thousand two hundred and eighty-six (*had passed*).’

[The same date in another inscription of the same, *ib.* p. 123, only with *Viśvādi* instead of *Viśvāvasu*.]

288. — **§. 1290**. — *Ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 233; *Inscr. at Śravaṇa Belgōla*, No. 136, pp. 100 and 179. Date of Rāmānujāchārya’s *Sāsana*, of the time of Bukkarāya I. of Vijayanagara:—

Śaka-varsha 1290neya Kilaka-samvatsarada Bhādrapada-śuddha 1 Bṛihaspati-vāra.

(In *Inscr. at Śr. Belg.* the text has ‘Bhādrapada-śu 10 Bṛi,’ and with this reading the date regularly corresponds to Thursday, the 24th August, A. D. 1368.)

289. — P. 129, No. 95. — **§. 1295\*** Paridhavin, Vaiśākha-śudi 3, Budha-vāra. A private inscription at Śravaṇa Belgōla.

290. — P. 126, No. 76. — **§. 1295**, Āśvina-vadi 13, Śukra-vāra. An inscription from Java.

291. — P. 3, No. 135. — **§. 1296**, Ānanda, month of Dhanus, śudi 8, Monday. Inscription from near the Tirumalai rock, of the reign of the *Mahāmaṇḍalika* Ommaṇa-uḍaiyar.

292. — **§. 1300** (for 1301?). — *Ep. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 62. Vanapalli copper-plates of Anna-Vēma of the Redḍi dynasty of Koṇḍaviḍu:—

(L. 41).—Śāk-ābdē gagan-ābhra-viśva-gaṇitē Siddhā(ddhā)rdhdhi(rthi)-samvatsarē Māghē kṛṣṇachaturdāśī-Siva-tidhau(thau).

293. — P. 119, No. 39. — **§. 1301**, Siddhārtha, Jyaisṭha-paurṇamāsī, Bhaumē, a lunar eclipse. Ḍamba copper-plates of Harihara II. of Vijayanagara.

294. — P. 119, No. 40. — **§. 1301**, Siddhārthin, Kārttika-śudi 12, Bhāskara-vārē. Harihar inscription of Harihara II. of Vijayanagara.

<sup>47</sup> Āshāḍha-śudi 3 of §. 1278 expired = *Durmukha* would correspond to Thursday, the 2nd June, and Āshāḍha-vadi 3 to Thursday, the 16th June, A. D. 1356.

295. — S. 1304. — *Pāli, Skr. and Old-Kan. Inscr.* No. 23; *ante*, Vol. XII. p. 212, No. 65; *Mysore Inscr.* No. 146, p. 268. Bêlûr copper-plates of Harihara II. of Vijayanagara :—

Saka 1304 (in words, l. 16 of the third side), the Dundubhi *saṃvatsara*; Sunday, the tenth day of the dark fortnight of Kārttika.\*†

296. — P. 126, No. 77. — S. 1307, Krôdhana, Phālguna-vadi 2, Sukra-vârê. Inscription on a lamp-pillar at Vijayanagara, of the reign of Harihara II.

297. — S. 1309.\* — *Ep. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 118. Bhaṭkaḷ copper-plates of the time of Harihara II. of Vijayanagara :—

‘In the Kshaya *saṃvatsara*, which corresponded to the Saka year one thousand three hundred and nine, (when) Jupiter (*was standing*) in Leo, on Thursday, the fifth (*tithi*) of the dark (*fortnight*) of (*the month of*) Pushya.’<sup>48</sup>

298. — P. 122, No. 57. — S. 1313, Prajāpati, Vaiśākha-āmāvāsyā, Saumya-dinê, a solar eclipse. Copper-plates of Harihara II. of Vijayanagara.

299. — P. 7, No. 149. — S. 137 (for 1318), Dhātri, Māgha-paurṇamāsī, Bhānu-vāra. Chitaldurg copper-plates of Harihara II. of Vijayanagara.

300. — S. 1317. — *Pāli, Skr. and Old-Kan. Inscr.* No. 24; *ante*, Vol. XII. p. 213, No. 70, Hâsan copper-plates of Harihara II. of Vijayanagara :—

(L. 36). — Śak-âvda(bda) ṛishi-chandr-âshni(gni)-vidhun=âyata-vatsarê |

Yuv-âkhyê Māgha(?)-mâsê(?) cha śukla-pakshê śubh[ê\*] dinê |

saptamyaṃ cha mahâ-parvaṇi.

301. — S. 1320.\* — *Inscr. at Śravaṇa Belgôla*, No. 105, pp. 80 and 165. Death of Purupaṇḍita :—

Tatra trayôdaśa-satais cha daśa-dvayêna Śâkê=bdakê parimitê=bhavad=Īsvara-âkhyê |

Māghê chaturdaśa-tithau sitabhâji varê Svâtan Sanais(nêḥ) sura-padam Purupaṇḍitasya ||†

302. — S. 1321. — *Ep. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 122. Nallûr copper-plates of Harihara II. of Vijayanagara :—

(L. 50). — Dhātri-nêtra-guṇa-kshapêta(śva)ra-yutê śri(śri)-Sâlivâhê gatê

[Śâkhê(kê) gô]tradhacha(?) Pramâdi(thi)ni tidhau(?) mâsy=

Ūrjakê nâmanî(?) |

pakshê tatra vaḷakshakê Budha-dinê śri-paurṇimâsyâṃ tidhau(thau)

kâlê pu[ṇya]ma[ham]tarê śubha-kalê sômôparâgê varê ||<sup>49</sup>

303. — S. 1328. — *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 82. Veppambattu inscription of the time (?) of Bukkarâya II. of Vijayanagara :—

‘On Thursday, the new moon of the dark half of Jyaishtṥa of the Vyaya year, which follows the Pārthiva year (*and*) which was current after the ‘Saka year 132[8] (*had passed*).’ — And —

‘Thursday, the twelfth lunar day of the bright half of Vaiśākha (*of*) the Pārthiva year.’<sup>50</sup>

<sup>48</sup> The date regularly corresponds, for S. 1309 current = Kshaya, to Thursday, the 10th January, A. D. 1387; by the mean-sign system this day fell in the year Śrīmukha (i. e., Jupiter was in Simha), which ended on the 17th August, A. D. 1387.

<sup>49</sup> The date regularly corresponds, for S. 1321 expired = Pramâthin, to Wednesday, the 15th October, A. D. 1399, when there was a lunar eclipse which was visible in India.

<sup>50</sup> Both dates are irregular; the first, for S. 1328 expired = Vyaya, would correspond to Wednesday, the 16th June, A. D. 1406; and the second, for S. 1328 current = Pārthiva, to Saturday, the 11th April, A. D. 1405.

304. — §. 1328. — *Pāli, Skr. and Old-Kan. Inscr.* No. 25 ; *ante*, Vol. XII. p. 212, No. 66 ; *Mysore Inscr.* No. 150, p. 279. Hāsan copper-plates of Dēvarāya I. of Vijayanagara :—

(L. 21). — Sa(śa)ka-varsha 1328 varttamāna-Vyaya-saṁvatsarē Kārttika-māsa-kṛṣṇa-pakṣhē daśamyām Sukra(?)-vārē Uttarā(?)-Bhādrapadē Prīti-yōgē Bava-karaṇē . . . paṭṭa-bhishēka-samayē (*Mys. Inscr.* : 'Monday').<sup>51</sup>

305. — P. 126, No. 78. — §. 1331, Virōdhin, Chaitra-vadi 5, Guru-vāra. A private inscription at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa.

306. — P. 119, No. 41. — §. 1332, Vikṛiti, Nabhasya(Bhādrapada)-śudi 12, Sōma-vārē. Harihar inscription of Dēvarāya I. of Vijayanagara.

307. — §. 1334.\* — *Pāli, Skr. and Old-Kan. Inscr.* No. 151 ; *Mysore Inscr.* No. 5, p. 9. Chitaldurg inscription of Dēvarāya I. of Vijayanagara, and his *kumāra*, "prince" or "son," the Great Chieftain Mallanṇa-voḍeya :—

'Saka 1334 (in figures, l. 4), the Khara saṁvatsara ; Tuesday (?), the fifteenth day of the bright fortnight of Kārttika.'†

308. — §. 1338. — *Prāchīnalēkhamālā*, Vol. I. p. 179. Inscription of Vira-Vijayarāya of Vijayanagara :—

Śrī-vijayābhyudaya-Śakavarsha 1338 vartamāna-Durmukhi-saṁvatsarada Bhādrapada-bauḷa saptamiyālu.

309. — §. 1344. — *Mysore Inscr.* No. 49, p. 112 (*Pāli, Skr. and Old-Kan. Inscr.* No. 206). Baḷagāṁvo memorial tablet of the time of Vira-Vijaya(?) of Hastināvatī (Vijayanagara) ;—

'The Saka year 1344, the year Subhakṛit, the month Aśvija, the 5th day of the moon's increase, Sunday.'<sup>52</sup>

310. — §. 1346. — *Ep. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 38. Satyamaṅgalam copper-plates of Dēvarāya II. of Vijayanagara :—

(L. 40). — Tatvalōkē Śakasy=ābdē Krōdhi-saṁvatsarē śubhē |  
Āshādh-āmātithau puṁyē Sōmavāra-virājītē ||<sup>53</sup>

311. — §. 1346. — *Pāli, Skr. and Old-Kan. Inscr.* No. 128 ; *Mysore Inscr.* No. 23, p. 40. Harihar inscription of Dēvarāya II. of Vijayanagara :—

'Saka 1346 (in figures, l. 16), the Krōdhi saṁvatsara ; Monday, the twelfth day of the bright fortnight of Kārttika.'†

312. — P. 132, No. 113. — §. 1347, Viśvāvasu, 3rd day of Paṅguṇi, 6th tithi, Wednesday. Inscription at the Viriñchipuram temple, of the reign of Dēvarāya II. of Vijayanagara.

313. — §. 1348. — *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 164. On a Jaina temple at Vijayanagara, of the reign of Dēvarāya II. :—

(L. 25). — Śākē=bdē pramitē yātē vasu-siṁdhu-guṇ-ēṁdubhiḥ |  
Parābhav-ābdē Kārttikyām.

314. — P. 6, No. 146. — §. 1353,\* Sadhāraṇa, month of Karkāṭaka, śudi 5, Monday. Inscription at Tellūr, of the reign of Dēvarāya II. of Vijayanagara.

<sup>51</sup> In §. 1328 expired = Vyaya the 10th tithi of the dark half of Kārttika ended, and the *karaṇa* Bava commenced, 16 h. 43 m. after mean sunrise of Friday, the 5th November, A. D. 1403. On this day the *nakṣatra* was Uttara-phalguṇi up to 21 h., and the *yōga* Prīti from 15 h. 17 m. after mean sunrise.

<sup>52</sup> In §. 1344 expired = Subhakṛit the tithi of the date commenced 5 h. 57 m. after mean sunrise of Sunday, the 20th September, A. D. 1422.

<sup>53</sup> The date regularly corresponds, for the first Āshāḍha of §. 1346 expired = Krōdhin, to Monday, the 26th June, A. D. 1424.

315. — **§. 1353.\*** — *Pāli, Skr. and Old-Kan. Inscr.* Nos. 227 and 26; *Mysore Inscr.* No. 116, p. 213, and No. 145, p. 259. Muḷbāgal stone inscription and copper-plates of **Dēvarāya II.** of Vijayanagara: —

‘Śaka 1353, the **Sadhāraṇa saṃvatsara**; the tenth day of the bright fortnight of Phālguna.’

316. — P. 119, No. 42. — **§. 1353, Virōdhyadikṛit (Virōdhakṛit)**, Phālguna-śudi 12, Saumya-vāra. On Jaina statue at Kārkaṭa, erected by **Vira-Pāṇḍya**.

317. — P. 129, No. 96. — **§. 1355,\*** Paridhāvin, dvitīy-Āshāḍha-śudi 9, Vidhu-dina. Date when the tomb of Śrutamuni at Śravaṇa Belgola was set up.

318. — P. 132, No. 114 — **§. 1371, Śukla**, month of Śimha, śudi 13, Saturday. An inscription at Paḍavēḍu of the reign of **Dēvarāya II.** of Vijayanagara.

319. — P. 17, No. 198. — **§. 1377, Yuvan**, Bhādrapada, a lunar eclipse. Copper-plates of **Gaṇadēva** of Koṇḍaviḍu.

320. — **§. 1387.** — *Ante*, Vol. XXI. p. 322. Inscription at the Arulāḷa-Perumāl temple at Little Kāñchi, of the reign of **Mallikarjuna** of Vijayanagara: —

‘On the day of (*the nakshatra*) Kṛittikā, which corresponded to Sunday, the full-moon *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Vṛiścika in the Pārthiva year, which was current after the Śaka year 1387.’<sup>54</sup>

321. — **§. 1392.** — *Ante*, Vol. XXI. p. 322. Inscription at the Arulāḷa-Perumāl temple at Little Kāñchi, of the reign of **Virūpāksha I.** of Vijayanagara: —

‘At the auspicious time of the *Ardhodaya* on the day of (*the nakshatra*) Śravaṇa, which corresponded to Sunday, the new-moon *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Makara of the **Vikṛiti** year, which was current after the Śaka year 1392.’<sup>55</sup>

322. — **§. 1403.** — *Ep. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 73. Jambukēśvara inscription of the **Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Vālaka-Kāmaya**: —

‘At the auspicious time of Mahāmagam (Mahāmāgha), (*when*) Jupiter (*was standing in*) Leo, (*i. e.*) on the day of (*the nakshatra*) Magam (Maghā), which corresponded to a Sunday and to the full-moon *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Kumbha of the **Plava saṃvat-sara**, which was current after the Śaka year 1403.’<sup>56</sup>

323. — **§. 1430** (for 1431?). — *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 366. Hampe inscription of **Kṛishṇarāya** of Vijayanagara: —

(L. 27.) — Śālivāhana-śaka-varsha 1430 saṃdu mēlē naḍava **Śukla-saṃvatsarada Māgha** śu 14 lu . . . paṭṭabhishēkōtsava-puṇyakāladalu.

324. — **§. 1432.\*** — *Inscr. at Śravaṇa Belgola*, No. 103, pp. 75 and 160. Inscription of a son of Kēśavanātha, minister of **Chāṅgāla-Mahādēva**: —

‘Śaka-varusha 1432 ḍaneya **Śukla-saṃvatsarada Vayisākha** ba 10 lū.

325. — **§. 1434** (for 1435?). — *Jour. Bo. As. Soc.* Vol. XII. p. 384. Knuppélûr copper-plates of **Kṛishṇarāya** of Vijayanagara: —

‘Sak-ābdē Śālivāhasya sahasrēṇa chatuḥ-śataiḥ |  
chatustrimśat-samair=yuktē saṃkhyâtē gaṇita-kramât ||  
**Śrīmukhi-vatsarē ślāghyē Māghē** ch=ūsita-pakshakē |  
**Sivarātrau mahâ-tithyâṃ puṇ(pu)ṇya-kâlê śubhê** dinē ||

<sup>54</sup> The date regularly corresponds to Sunday, the 3rd November, A. D. 1435.

<sup>55</sup> The *tithi* of the date commenced 5 h. 19 m., and the *nakshatra* was Śravaṇa from 1 h. 58 m., after mean sunrise of Sunday, the 20th January, A. D. 1471.

<sup>56</sup> The date regularly corresponds, for **§. 1403** expired = **Plava**, to Sunday, the 3rd February, A. D. 1482; by the mean-sign system this day fell in the year **Saumya** (*i. e.*, Jupiter was in **Śimha**), which ended on the 7th July, A. D. 1482.

326. — §. 1435 (for 1436). — *As. Res.* Vol. XX. p. 30. Vijayanagar inscription of Kṛishṇarāya of Vijayanagara :—

‘In the reign of Śālivāhana 1435, corresponding to the year Bhāva, in Phālguna/ sudi Tṛitīyā, Sukravār.’ [Compare the following date.]

327. — P. 120, No. 43. — §. 1436, Bhāva, Phālguna-śudi 3, Sukra-vāra. Kṛishṇāpura inscription of Kṛishṇarāya of Vijayanagara.

328. — §. 1436.—*Archæol. Survey of West. India*, Vol. III. p. 115. Saundatti (?) inscription of the time of Kṛishṇarāya of Vijayanagara :—

Śālivāhana-śaka-varushaṃgaḷu 1436neya, Bhāva-saṃvatsaradallu.

329. — §. 1438 (?). — *Pāli, Skr. and Old-Kan. Inscr.* No. 228 ; *Mysore Inscr.* No. 112 p. 208. Rock inscription at Tyākal :—

‘Saka 1438 (in figures, 1. 1 ; *Mysore Inscr.* : ‘1434’), the Pramādi saṃvatsara,<sup>57</sup> the first day of the bright fortnight of Phālguna.’

330. — §. 1442. — *As. Res.* Vol. XX. p. 28. Vijayanagar inscription of Kṛishṇarāya of Vijayanagara :—

‘In the year of Śālivāhana 1442, corresponding to . . . Vikrama, in Māgha sudi Saptamī . . . on Rādhāsaptamī,<sup>58</sup> the 7th of the moon.’

331. — P. 5, No. 142. — §. 1444 (for 1445) vabhanu, Pausa, Tuesday, Makara-saṃkrānti. Simoggā copper-plates of Kṛishṇarāya of Vijayanagara.

332. — P. 1, No. 125. — §. 1448, Vyaya, Pausa-vadi 10, Bhṛigu-vāra, Makara-saṃkrānti. Kāñchīpura copper-plates of Kṛishṇarāya of Vijayanagara.

333. — P. 120, No. 44. — §. 1450, Sarvadhārin, Chaitra-śudi, Madana-tithi (13), Jīva-(Guru)-vārē. Kṛishṇāpura inscription of Kṛishṇarāya of Vijayanagara.

334. — P. 120, No. 45. — §. 1451, Virōdhin, Vaiśākha-śudi 15, Sukra-vāra. Kṛishṇāpura inscription of Kṛishṇarāya of Vijayanagara.

335. — P. 2, No. 126. — §. 1452, Vikṛiti, ‘Srāvaṇa-vadi 8, Sōma-vāra, Kṛishṇa-jayanti. Harihar inscription of Achyutarāya of Vijayanagara.

336. — §. 1453.\* — *Coorg Inscr.* No. 10, p. 14. Date in an inscription at Añjanagiri :—

Saka-varusha 1453neya Vikṛitu-saṃvatsarada Chaitradallu.

337. — §. 1453 (for 1454). — *Pāli, Skr. and Old-Kan. Inscr.* No. 130 ; *Mysore Inscr.* No. 25, p. 43. Harihar inscription of Achyutarāya of Vijayanagara :—

‘Śālivāhana-Saka 1453 (in figures, 1. 3), the Nandana saṃvatsara, Tuesday (?), the tenth day of the bright fortnight of Āśvayuja’ (*Mys. Inscr.* : ‘the year Khara, . . . Wednesday’).<sup>59</sup>

338. — P. 129, No. 97. — §. 1455,\* Nandana, Jyāishṭha-śudi 5, Guru-vāra. Bādāmi inscription of Achyutarāya of Vijayanagara.

339. — §. 1459 (for 1460 ?). — *Inscr. at Sravaṇa Belgōla*, No. 99, pp. 75 and 160. Date of a private inscription :—

‘Saka-varsha sāvirada 1459taneya Vilāmbi-saṃvatsarada Māgha-śuddha 5 yalu.

340. — P. 120, No. 46. — §. 1460, Vilāmbin Kārttika-paurṇamāsī, Śāsisuta(Budha)-vārē, a lunar eclipse. Harihar inscription of Achyutarāya of Vijayanagara.

<sup>57</sup> Pramādin would be §. 1415 or 1475 expired ; Pramāthin, 1441.

<sup>58</sup> This should be *ratha-saptamī*.

<sup>59</sup> Nandana was §. 1454 expired, Khara §. 1453 expired ; for the former year the regular equivalent of the date is Tuesday, the 8th October, A. D. 1532.

341. — §. 1461. — *Pāli, Skr. and Old-Kan. Inscr.* No. 132; *ante*, Vol. XII. p. 214, No. 89; *Mysore Inscr.* No. 19, p. 29. Harihar inscription of Achyutarāya of Vijayanagara : —

(L. 8). — 'Sākê chaṇdra-ras-Âmarêndra-gaṇitê . . . Bhâdrapadasya . . . dvâdaśy-abhikhyê tithau vâre Bhūmisutasya.

342. — §. 1462. — *Ep. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 154. Ūṇamāñjêri copper-plates of Achyutarāya. of Vijayanagara : —

(L. 91). — Sak-âbdê Sâlivāhasya sahasrêṇa chatuś-śataih |  
dvishashtyâ cha samāyuktê(ktai)r-gaṇanām prâpitê kramât ||  
Sārvari-nāmakê varshê māsī Kārttika-nāmani |  
śukla-pakshê cha puṇyāyām=utthāna-dvâdaśī-tithau ||

343. — §. 1463.\* — *As. Res.* Vol. XX. p. 26. Vijayanagar inscription of Achyutarāya of Vijayanagara : —

'In the year of 'Sâlivāhana 1463, corresponding to the year Sārvari, in the month of Kārttika, śudi-pañchamī, Guruvâr.'†

344. — §. 1466.\* — *Ante*, Vol. X. p. 66. Bādāmi inscription of Sadāsivarāya of Vijayanagara : —

(L. 1). — Sâlivāhana-śaka-varusha 1466neya Sôbhakru(kṛi)t-saṁvatsarada Â[śvija śu]-dha(ddha) . . . . [I]û.

345. — §. 1466. — *Coorg Inscr.* No. 10, p. 14. Date in an inscription at Añjanagiri : —

'Saka-varsha 1466 sanda vartamāna-Krôdhi-saṁvatsarada Kārtika śu 15 yallu.

346. — §. 1467. — *As. Res.* Vol. XX. p. 35. Vijayanagar inscription of Sadāsivarāya of Vijayanagara : —

'In the year of Sâlivāhana 1467, corresponding to the year Visvāvasu, in Krishna (!) sudi Tritīyā, Guruvāram.'

347. — §. 1469. — *Ante*, Vol. X. p. 64. Bādāmi inscription of Sadāsivarāya of Vijayanagara : —

(L. 1). — Sâlivāhana-śaka 1469neya Plavaṅga-saṁvatsarada A(â)śvayuja śu 15 yalû.

348. — §. 1470. — *Pāli, Skr. and Old-Kan. Inscr.* No. 240; *Mysore Inscr.* No. 126, p. 224. Bêlûr inscription of Sadāsivarāya of Vijayanagara.

'Sâlivāhana-śaka 1470 (in figures, 1. 4), the Kilaka saṁvatsara; Monday, the eleventh day of the dark fortnight of Âshâḍha.'†

349. — P. 132, No. 115. — §. 1471, Saumya, month of Mêsha, śudi 7, Thursday. Inscription at the Viriñchipuram temple, of Bommu-nāyaka ('Siṅga-Bommu-nāyaka or Bomma-nṛipati of Vêlûr).

350. — §. 1476.\* — *Pāli, Skr. and Old-Kan. Inscr.* No. 47. Inscription at Bādāmi : —

'Sâlivāhana-śaka 1476 (in figures, 1. 2), the Pramâdi saṁvatsara; the eleventh day of the dark fortnight of Âshâḍha.'

351. — P. 120, No. 47. — §. 1476 (Ânanda), Vaiśākha-śudi 14, Monday. Harihar inscription of Sadāsivarāya of Vijayanagara.

352. — §. 1477. — *Pāli, Skr. and Old-Kan. Inscr.* No. 241; *Mysore Inscr.* No. 127, p. 225. Bêlûr inscription of Sadāsivarāya of Vijayanagara : —

'Sâlivāhana-śaka 1477 (in figures, 1. 3), the Bâkshasa saṁvatsara; the fifth day of the bright fortnight of Mâgha.'

353. — P. 17, No. 199. — §. 1478, Nala, Mārgasīrsh-âmāvāsyâ, Mārtāṇḍa-vârê, a solar eclipse. Chingleput copper-plates of Sadāsivarāya of Vijayanagara.



354. — P. 9, No. 159. — §. 1483, Durmati, Māgha-paurṇamāsī, Monday, a lunar eclipse. Harihar inscription of Sadāsivarāya of Vijayanagara.

355. — §. 1483. — *As. Res.* Vol. XX. p. 28. Vijayanagar inscription of Sadāsivarāya :—

‘In the year of Śālivāhana 1483, corresponding to the year Durmati, in Chaitra sudi pañchamī, Sanivār, . . . in the season of Makara-saṁkrānti-puṇyakāla.’†

356. — P. 133, No. 116. — §. 1488, Akshaya, month of Kumbha, vadi 12, Wednesday. An inscription at Arappakkam, records a grant made at the request of Siṅṇa-Bommu-nāyaka of Vêlūr by Tirumala-rāja (the younger brother of Rāmarāja) of Karṇāṭa, with the consent of Sadāsivarāya of Vijayanagara.

357. — §. 1490. — *Mysore Inscr.* No. 175, p. 334. Date in an inscription at Yelandur, of Singhadēva-bhūpa of Padināḍu :—

‘In the Śaka year 1490, the year Vibhava.’

358. — §. 1492 (?). — *Pāli, Skr. and Old-Kan. Inscr.* No. 246; *Mysore Inscr.* No. 129, p. 228. Hāsan inscription of Sadāsiva, the kumāra, “prince” or “son” of Achyutarāya, of Vijayanagara :—

‘Śālivāhana-Śaka 1492 (in figures, l. 5), the Rudhirōdgārī<sup>60</sup> saṁvatsara; Monday, the thirteenth day of the bright fortnight of Śrāvaṇa’ (*Mys. Inscr.* : ‘1482’ . . . ‘the 10th day of the moon’s decrease’).

359. — P. 17, No. 200. — §. 1497, Yuvaṇ, month of Makara, vadi 13, Wednesday. An inscription at Śattuvāchchēri near Vêlūr, records a grant made at the request of Siṅṇa-Bommu-nāyaka of Vêlūr by Kṛishṇappa-nāyaka Ayyaṇ, with the consent of Śrīraṅgarāya I. of Vijayanagara (Karṇāṭa).

360. — §. 1500 (?). — *Pāli, Skr. and Old-Kan. Inscr.* No. 242; *Mysore Inscr.* No. 121, p. 220. Bêlūr inscription of Kṛishṇappa-nāyaka, of the reign of Śrīraṅgarāya I. of Vijayanagara (Karṇāṭa) :—

‘Śālivāhana-śaka 1500 or 1560 (in figures, l. 10; *Mys. Inscr.* : ‘1500’), the Bahudhānya saṁvatsara; Saturday, the eighth day of the dark fortnight of Śrāvaṇa.’<sup>61</sup>

361. — P. 121, No. 48. — §. 1506, Tārana, Kārttika-paurṇamāsī, a lunar eclipse. Dēvanhalli copper-plates of Śrīraṅgarāya I. of Vijayanagara (Karṇāṭa).

362. — §. 1508. — *Ante*, Vol. V. p. 41. Date in the Śāsana of the Jaina temple at Kārkaḷa, of Immaḍi-Bhairava :—

‘Śrī-Śālivāhana-śaka-varsha 1508neya Vyaya-saṁvatsarada Chaitra-suddha 5ya Budhāvāra Mrigaśira-nakshatra Vṛishabha-lagnadallu.†

363. — §. 1514. — *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 86. Viriñchiparam inscription of the reign of Venkaṭapati I. of Vijayanagara (Karṇāṭa) :—

‘On the 6th solar day of the month of Tai of the Nandana year, which was current after the Śaka year 1514 (*had passed*).’

364. — §. 1523. — *Ante*, Vol. II. p. 371. Viḷāpāka copper-plates of Venkaṭapati I. of Vijayanagara (Karṇāṭa) :—

Sakti-nētra-kalamb-ēndu-gaṇitē Śaka-vatsarē |

Plava-saṁvatsarē puṇyē māsi Vaiśākha-nām[a]ni |

Pakshē ’valakshē . . . puṇyāyām dvādaśī-tithau |

<sup>60</sup> Rudhirōdgārīn would be §. 1485 expired, and for this year Śrāvaṇa-sudi 13 corresponds to Monday, the 2nd August, A. D. 1538.

<sup>61</sup> In §. 1500 expired = Bahudhānya the tithi of the date commenced 2 h. 42 m. after mean sunrise of Saturday, the 26th July, A. D. 1578.

365. — P. 121, No. 49. — **§. 1543**, **Durmati**, **Vaiśākha-śudi 3**, Saturday. 'Simoggā copper-plates of **Ramadēva** of **Vijayanagara** (**Karṇāṭa**).

366. — **§. 1547**. — *Pāli, Skr. and Old-Kan. Inscr.* No. 243; *Mysore Inscr.* No. 122, p. 221. **Bêlûr** inscription of **Kṛishṇappa-nāyaka** and others :—

'**Sālivāhana-śaka 1547** (in figures, l. 5), the **Krōdhana saṃvatsara**; Monday, the fifth day (*Mys. Inscr.*: 'the 8th') of the dark fortnight of **Māgha**.<sup>62</sup>

367. — P. 121, No. 50. — **§. 1556**, **Bhāva**, **Āshāḍha-śudi 13**, **Sthira**(**Sani**)-vāra. 'Sravaṇa **Belgoḷa** inscription of **Chāma Rāja Voḍeyar** of **Maisûr**.

368. — **§. 1558**. — *Ante*, Vol. XIII, p. 131. **Koṇḍyāta** copper-plates of **Veṅkaṭa II**, of **Vijayanagara** (**Karṇāṭa**) :—

(Plate iva, l. 14). — **Vasu-bāṇa-kalamb-ēndu-gaṇitē Śaka-vatsarē** |

**Dhātṛi-saṃvatsarē(ra)-nāmni māsi ch=Āshāḍha-nāmani** |

**Pakshē valakshē puṇyarkshē dvādaśyām cha mahā-tithau** ||

369. — P. 3, No. 136. — **§. 1560**,\* **Īsvara**, **Phālguna-śudi 5**, Thursday. **Haḷēbidī** inscription of **Veṅkaṭādri-nāyaka** (son of **Kṛishṇappa-nāyaka**) of **Vêlûr**.

370. — P. 126, No. 79. — **§. 1565**, **Sōbhānu**, **Pausa-vadi 14**, **Bhārgava-vârē**. Death of **Chārukīrti**.

371. — **§. 1566**. — *Ante*, Vol. XIII, p. 159. **Kaḷḷakurśi** copper-plates of **Srīraṅga II**, of **Vijayanagara** (**Karṇāṭa**) :—

(Pate iva, l. 8). — **Rasa-rtu-bāṇa-chandr-ākhyā-gaṇitē Śaka-vatsarē** |

**Tāru(ra)ṇ-ākhyē mahā-varshē māsi Phālguna-nāmakē** |

**Pakshē valakshē puṇyarkshē dvādaśyām cha mahā-tithau** ||

372. — **§. 1570**. — *Inscr. at Sravaṇa Belgoḷa*, No. 118, pp. 88 and 172. Date of a private inscription :—

**Sakē 1570 Sarvadhāri-nāma-saṃvatsarah Vaisāka-vadī 3 Śukkuravāra**.†

373. — **§. 1576**. — *Mysore Inscr.* No. 175, p. 335. Date in an inscription at **Yelandur**, of **Mudda-bhūpati** of **Padināḍu** :—

'In the **Śaka year 1576**, the year **Jaya**.'

374. — P. 133, No. 117. — **§. 1589**, **Plavaṅga**, month of **Vaiyāśi**, **śudi 3**, Thursday. **Rāmēśvaram Sētupati** copper-plates.

375. — **§. 1594**.\* — *Pāli, Skr. and Old-Kan. Inscr.* No. 33; *Mysore Inscr.* No. 137, p. 249. **Simoggā** copper-plates of **Keḷadi-Sōmasēkhara-nāyaka** :—

'**Sālivāhana-śaka 1594** (in figures, l. 2 of the first side), the **Virōdhikṛit saṃvatsara**; the fifteenth day of the bright fortnight of 'Srāvaṇa.'

376. — **§. 1601**. — *Mysore Inscr.* No. 167, p. 310. **Karigatta** copper-plates of **Chikkadēva** of **Maisûr** :—

'The **Śaka year** reckoned as *indru*, *bindru*, *aṅga* and *chandra* (1601) having passed, and the year **Siddhārthi** being current, in the month **Saha** (**Kārttika**), on the 2nd day of the moon's decrease, the anniversary of his father's death.'

377. — **§. 1602**.\* — *Inscr. at Sravaṇa Belgoḷa*, No. 116, pp. 88 and 171. Date of a private inscription :—

**Sālivāhana-śaka-varusha 1602nē Siddhārthi-saṃvatsarada Māgha-bahuḷa 10 yallu**.

<sup>62</sup> **Māgha-vadi 5** of the year of the date corresponds to Monday, the 6th February, A. D. 1626.

378. — §. 1615. — *Coorg Inscr.* No. 11, p. 16. Kattēpura copper-plates of **Kṛishṇappa-nāyaka** (son of Veṅkatādri-nāyaka):—

‘Śālivāhana-śaka-varushagaḷu 1615neya Sṛimukha-nāma-saṁvatsarada Pushya śu 12 lu.

379. — P. 4, No. 137. — §. 1619, Īsvara, Māgha-śudi 15, Saturday. Dēvanhaḷḷi copper-plates and stone inscription of **Gōpāla Gaṇḍa**, ‘lord of the Āvati-nāḍ.’

380. — §. 1620. — *Pāli, Skr. and Old-Kan. Inscr.* No. 36; *Mysore Inscr.* No. 144, p. 258. Kōlār copper-plates:—

‘Śālivāhana-śaka 1620 (in figures, l. 2 of the first side), the **Bahudhānya saṁvatsara**; the seventh day of the bright fortnight of Jyāishṭha.’

381. — §. 1636.\* — *Pāli, Skr. and Old-Kan. Inscr.* No. 34; *Mysore Inscr.* No. 138, p. 250. ‘Simoggā copper-plates of **Basapayya-nāyaka** (son of Sōmasēkhara-nāyaka):—

‘Śālivāhana-śaka 1636 (in figures, l. 3 of the first side), the **Vijaya saṁvatsara**; the fifteenth day of the bright fortnight of Chaitra.’

382. — P. 133, No. 118. — §. 1636, Jaya, first day of Sittirai, 10th lunar day, Monday. Rāmēśvaram Sētupati copper-plates.

383. — P. 133, No. 119. — §. 1637, Manmatha, second day of Māsi, third lunar day, Monday. Rāmēśvaram Sētupati copper-plates.

384. — P. 121, No. 51. — §. 1644, Subhakṛit, Mārgaśīrsha-paurṇamāsī, Tuesday, a lunar eclipse. Tonnur copper-plates of **Kṛishṇarāja** of Maisūr.

385. — P. 5, No. 143. — §. 1645 (for 1646), Krōdhin, Pausha-vadi 12, Wednesday, uttarāyana-saṁkrānti. Melkote copper-plates of **Kṛishṇarāja** of Maisūr.

386. — §. 1645 (?). — *Inscr. at Śravaṇa Belgōḷa*, No. 83, pp. 65 and 152. Inscription of the reign of **Kṛishṇarāja** of Maisūr:—

Śālivāhana-śaka-varsha 1621nē saluva Sōbhakṛitu-saṁvatsarada<sup>63</sup> Kārttika ba 13 Guruvāradallu.

387. — P. 121, No. 52. — §. 1650, Kilaka, Kārttika-śudi 2, Budha-vāra. A grant of the Coorg Rāja **Doḍḍa Virappa Voḍeyar**.

388. — P. 134, No. 120. — §. 1655, Pramādin, the 10th day of Kārttigai, a lunar eclipse, Saturday. Sētupati copper-plates.

389. — P. 134, No. 121. — §. 1658, Nala, month of Tai, Paush-āmāvēsyā. Sētupati copper-plates.

390. — P. 121, No. 53. — §. 1683, Vishu, Chaitra-śudi 1, Monday. Copper-plates from Maisūr.

391. — P. 134, No. 122. — §. 1705 (Kali 4884), Sōbhakṛit, month of Mithuna, śudi 13, Friday. Sētupati copper-plates.

392. — P. 4, No. 138. — §. 1714, Paridhāvin, the 4th day of Paṅguṇi, śudi 2, Wednesday. Inscription at Tirupparaṅkuṇṇam.

393. — P. 122, No. 54. — §. 1718, Nala, Chaitra-śudi 1, Bhṛigu-vāra. Abbimaṭha and Mahādēvapura copper-plates of the Coorg Rāja **Vira Rājendra Voḍeyar**.

394. — P. 126, No. 80. — §. 1731, Sukla, Bhādrapada-vadi 4, Budha-vāra. Death of Aditakīrtidēva.

<sup>63</sup> Sōbhakṛit would be §. 1645 expired, and for this year the date corresponds to Thursday, the 14th November, A. D. 1728.

395. — P. 126, No. 81. — §. 1739, *Īsvara*, *Jyaishṭha-vadi* 2, *Kali-dina* 1796 592, *Bhānu-vāra*. Merkara copper-plates of the Coorg Rāja Rājendra Voḍeyar.

396. — P. 127, No. 82. — §. 1748, *Vyaya*, *Phālguna-vadi* 5, *Bhānu-vāra*. 'Sraṇa Belgoḷa inscription of the reign of Kṛishṇarāja Voḍeyar of Maisūr.

397. — §. 1763.\* — *Coorg Inscr.* No. 22, p. 28. Inscription at Irpi :—

Śālivāhana-śaka-varsha 1763ne Śarvari-saṁvatsaradallu.

#### Additional Dates.

398. — §. 1305 (for 1306?). — *Ep. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 227. Ālampūṇḍi copper-plates of Virūpāksha, the son of Harihara II. of Vijayanagara :—

(L. 13). — 'Sakavarsha-sahasrādhi-pañchōttara-śata-trayē !

Raktākshī(kshī)<sup>64</sup>-Pushya-saṁkrāntau puṇya-kālē śubhē dinē !

399. — §. 1315. — *Ep. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 229. Kāñchīpura inscription of Harihara II. of Vijayanagara :—

(L. 1). — Saktyālōkē Sak-ābdē pariṇamati śubhē Śrīmukha-āshā[ḍha]-māsē  
śuddhē pakshē daśamyām<sup>65</sup> Ravisuta-divase Mitra-bhē.†

400. — §. 1556. — *Ep. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 244. Kūniyūr copper-plates of Venkaṭa II. of Vijayanagara (Karpāṭa) and Tirumala Nāyaka of Madhurā :—

(L. 103). — Ri(ṛi)tu-bāṇa-kālāmb-ēṁdu-gaṇitē Śaka-vatsarē !

Bhāv-ābhidā(dhā)nakē varshē māsi Vaiśākha-nāmani !

Pakshē vaḷakshē puṇyarkshē paurṇa(rṇa)māsyām mahā-tithau !

(To be continued.)

## THE DEVIL WORSHIP OF THE TULUVAS.

FROM THE PAPERS OF THE LATE A. C. BURNELL.

(Continued from page 153.)

BURNELL MSS. No. 15—continued.

### THE STORY OF KOTI AND CHANNAYYA—continued.

They mounted the hill of Pañja, and when they had ascended it, they spread, in the cool air, under a Banian tree, a blanket bordered with lace.

"Brother! Brother! Kōṭi Baidya! Is it not true that the lice on our heads were born at our birth?" asked Channayya. While the younger brother lay with his head on the elder brother's leg, and while the elder brother was searching for the lice, Channayya saw a company of boys playing together. A thousand cows and a she-buffalo were feeding on the grass in the plain of Pañja.

"Brother! I will tell the boys a lie,"<sup>13</sup> said he.

"Do not, Channayya! If you tell them one, they will answer nine," said he. Channayya did not listen to his elder brother's advice, and said : — "Boys, a bullock in your herd of cows has brought forth a calf and is licking off the dirt on the calf with its tongue!" said he.

<sup>64</sup> Raktākshī should be §. 1306 expired.

<sup>65</sup> In §. 1315 expired = Śrīmukha Āshāḍha-śudi 10 ended 2 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise of Friday, the 20th June, A. D. 1398, when the *nakshatra* was Viśākhā. The *nakshatra* was Anurādhā (the Mitra-n.) from 1 h. 53 m. after sunrise of Saturday, the 21st June, A. D. 1398.

<sup>13</sup> For 'lie' read the 'riddle' of folktale and legend.

"I and Sanda Giḍḍi have been at enmity for a long time, but I will shew you his house at a distance. You may go there," said he.

So they went and called "Sanda Giḍḍi ! Sanda Giḍḍi !"

When they called him, he was not there, but his wife answered the call.

"Do you know, girl, where he has gone ?" asked they. "He went to a *garadi*<sup>15</sup> at Peru Perumundê to teach boys to write and play," said she.

"O girl ! why did he go to the *garadi* at Peru Perumundê ?" asked they again.

"He went to teach boys to play," said she.

Then they went to the *garadi* at Peru Perumundê. Sanda Giḍḍi saw them from a distance, sent away all the boys, and sat still, shutting the doors on all the four sides. The heroes went three times round the *garadi*.

"Let us see if there is any entrance to this *garadi* or not," said Channayya.

So they broke down the frame of the door, and the stone doors themselves. They entered, and stood in the middle of *garadi*.

"If we are to fight seven battles, you can tell me how many kinds of lizards there are here ?" said Channayya to Kôṭi.

"There is a green lizard and there is a blue lizard," said the elder brother. Then they examined the four sides of the *garadi* and found Sanda Giḍḍi standing like a lizard behind a *kandoh* post.

"Why did you stand there, Sanda Giḍḍi ?" asked the younger brother.

"I concealed myself from my creditors, but I do not know who you are," said he.

They asked him who the teachers and scholars in the *garadi* were.

"They who came after me are *pradanis* (ministers), and I am the king !" said he.

"I went to examine the king, fought with him and put him on a rafter with his dagger. Now who is *pradani* or king ?" asked Channayya.

"Now they are kings who came after me, and I am a *pradawi*," said Sanda Giḍḍi.

Sanda Giḍḍi took them home and shut the doors of the *garadi*. As soon as he got home, he called his wife, ordered her to clean a hut, to purify it, to wave fire over it, and to spread a mat.

"You heroes, sit down awhile, as the sun is hot," said Sanda Giḍḍi.

Sanda Giḍḍi went out with a dirty sickle and with a blunt sickle. He went to the *chavadi* of Kemira at Pañja, and told the people that the two heroes had come.

"If they stay in this country they will not leave even a single village standing. We should somehow try to kill them ; at any rate we should put them in prison," said Sanda Giḍḍi to Kemira. "Do you hide yourself upstairs. Let them salute Jaru Kôṭṭari, the son of the concubine Siddu, instead of you."

Then he went home and took the heroes to the palace. Sanda Giḍḍi went and saluted Jaru Kôṭṭari.

"If we are to salute, let us see who is the master and who are the servants," said Channayya.

So they looked round and saw Kemira of Pañja murmuring and biting his lips.

"Do not act like a buffalo. We did not come to ask about the debt. Thistles grow not on the road by which we came and we had better return back," said the brothers.

Kemira Ballâ came down the stairs and thrust out Kôṭṭari by the neck, and sat on his throne.

"Heroes ! I did it wantonly to try you," said he.

<sup>15</sup> A public school house.

Then the heroes saluted him.

"Have you seen the palace yet, which I have built," asked the Ballāl.

He took them inside and made signs to every one, wherever he went. Kemira went first, and the heroes followed him. When they went on, the doors behind them were shut, and logs, too, were placed across the doors. Kemira of Pañja went out in front, and all the doors were shut in on the brothers.

"Ah! we crowed at Parimāl like a cock, but the day approached near for sighing at Pañja like a hen," said Kōṭi. "If I am a strong youth, I can break down this palace," and he pushed with his shield like an elephant.

He threw up the soil like a deer. He became small as a peacock. He trod down the walls by force, and made an opening by which an elephant could enter.

"Ho, elder brother! if you want to go, you may," said Channayya. Kōṭi went out, pushing aside with his dagger a stone, which could only be drawn by fourteen elephants.

"Ho, younger brother, sit down on that stone," said Kōṭi.

"I shall come, too, Kōṭi Baidya! Do you go and sit down at Bālitimār, the paddy field at Pañja."

(To be continued.)

## NOTES ON THE SPIRIT BASIS OF BELIEF AND CUSTOM.

BY J. M. CAMPBELL, C.I.E., I.C.S.

(Continued from p. 169.)

**Earth.** — As a blood stauncher, a poultice, an application for strains, a cure for diseases,<sup>47</sup> and a stayer of hunger pangs, earth holds a high place among spirit-scarers. To lay the ghost of the dead, the Musalmān gives it earth; the shade of the unburied mariner prays the Roman for the scanty present of a little dust;<sup>48</sup> the English mourner is directed to drop some handfuls of earth on the coffin lid. The red earth of a white-ant hill is a common Indian cure for a strain, and it is used as a poultice by the Khonds.<sup>49</sup> White-ant hills are considered sacred by Hindus.<sup>50</sup> According to the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, dust taken from a cow's foot-prints, cowdung, and cow-urine were used in driving away spirits from the infant god Kṛishṇa.<sup>51</sup> At Pandharpur, when a Brāhmaṇ pilgrim bathes, he takes earth from the bed of the Bhīmā, rubs it on his body, and says: — "Earth, free me from my sins and misdeeds, that, my sins being destroyed by thee, I may reach heaven."<sup>52</sup> Hindu women with child and young children eat a white pipe-clay, which, before it is eaten, is generally baked black, but is also sometimes eaten raw. It is called "edible earth" or *kṛhāyāchi māti*, and is sold by *gāndhis* or grocers, and by grain-parchers called *bhārbbhujās* (G.) and *chana karmurivāls* (M.)

<sup>47</sup> In Dhārwar earth is used in the following cases:— (1) To stop an issue of blood, cement from an old building finely pounded and dissolved in water is kept in a pot till the heavier parts sink to the bottom, when the clear water on the top is given to the patient to drink. (2) In pregnancy, a discharge of blood is arrested by drinking white earth (*gōpichandana*) mixed with curds. (3) To allay thirst in fever, white-ant earth, boiled in water, is given to the patient to drink. (4) In cases of seminal discharge, whitish clay powder is mixed in water and given to the patient to drink. (5) To cure an outbreak of small pimples, red earth or clay, called *śnakāṭa*, is mixed in oil and rubbed over the body. (6) When a pregnant woman is in pain, white earth dissolved in rice water is given her to drink. (7) A sty is cured by rubbing on it the powdered earth of a piece of pottery. (8) Swellings are reduced by applying black earth heated and dissolved in water. (Information from Mr. Turmalrāv.) In Kāthiāwār a special red earth is used to reduce internal swelling. Earth is also largely used for external application, in cases of sun-stroke and of wasp and other stings. An application of earth cools the head and eyelids. Bleeding from the nose is stopped by smelling a piece of wet earth. The application of *avalā* (*Emblia officinalis*) leaves, earth, and salt cures the contraction of joints. (Information from Mr. Himmatlāl.)

<sup>48</sup> Horace, *Carm.* I. XXVIII.

<sup>49</sup> Macpherson's *Khonds*, p. 59.

<sup>50</sup> *Common-place Book*, Vol. VII. p. 250.

<sup>51</sup> Information from Mr. B. B. Vakhārkar.

<sup>52</sup> Information from Mr. S. V. Kāmat.

In the Kônkan, among Kunbis and other lower classes, when women visitors enter a room where a new-born child is laid, they take a pinch of dust off their feet, wave it round the child, and blow it into the air and on the ground.<sup>53</sup> In Thâpâ, when a mother goes out with a young child on her hip, if she cannot get lamp-black to rub between its eyes, she takes dust off her left foot and rubs it on the child's forehead.<sup>54</sup> In Thâpâ and in many other districts of the Kônkan and the Dekhan, the second day of the Hôli festival, which is the beginning of the new field-year, is the dust or *dhul* day, when people throw dust on each other. If a Dekhan Mhâr is possessed, the exorcist takes a pinch of dust off his own feet, and rubs it between the eye-brows of the possessed person, and the spirit leaves his body. The Dekhan Chitpâvan priest, at a marriage, rubs bundles of betel-nuts with sand, and sprinkles water over them. The Chitpâvan boy, after his thread-girding, is told to rub his hands with sand before he washes them, and the Chitpâvan girl, on coming of age, is rubbed with seven kinds of earth and bathed.<sup>55</sup> On the fifth day after a birth, the Poona Sâlis scatter grains of sand about the image of Sathvâi.<sup>56</sup> The marriage guardians of the Lôdhis, a class of Hindustâni Hindus in Poona, are pinches of dust picked from five ways, and laid before the house gods.<sup>57</sup> The Poona Râuls lay handfuls of dust on the grave.<sup>58</sup> The Dekhan Kunbis, at the Hôli festival, throw mud and dirt on every one they meet.<sup>59</sup> The Dekhan Râmôsîs on the dirt-day or *dhulvâd*, the second day of the Hôli festival in March-April, carry about pots of earth, and if they meet a well-dressed man throw the earth on him, and ask him to come and play and wrestle.<sup>60</sup> The Poona Châmbhârs put sand under the mother's pillow after child-birth and, when they bury the dead, the body is laid on the ground and all present throw handfuls of earth on it.<sup>61</sup> The chief mourner among the Poona Halâkhors throws a little earth on the body before the grave is filled.<sup>62</sup> In the Dekhan on *jâlâ* or bull's day (July-September), cattle are rubbed with red earth. Among the Ahmadnagar Bhôis, the chief mourner throws earth on the dead.<sup>63</sup> Earth was an early food or stay of hunger. In the terrible famine of 1803, in Ahmadnagar, in the Bombay Dekhan, tamarind leaves mixed with white earth were made into a jelly and eaten.<sup>64</sup> Among the Satârâ Mhârs, when the body is laid in the grave, the chief mourner throws a handful of earth over it.<sup>65</sup> The Killikîâtâr wanderers of Bijâpur rub their cheeks with red earth.<sup>66</sup> People suffering from venereal disease come to the Qâdarî's tomb at Yemnûr, in Dhârwar, and smear their bodies with mud, that they may be cured of the disease.<sup>67</sup> The Bijâpur Râjput, before a marriage, sends a near kinsman to the banks of a stream or the side of a pond. He worships a plot of earth, spreads his waist-cloth over it, opens the earth close by with a pickaxe, gathers as much as is loosened, lays it on his waist-cloth, and carries it home. He spreads the earth in the marriage hall and on it sets the image of the marriage guardian.<sup>68</sup> The Bilejâdar Lîngâyats of Dhârwar throw handfuls of earth on the body in the grave.<sup>69</sup> If a Dhârwar Dêvâûg girl, who belongs to the *lîng*-wearing division, marries a man who wears the thread, to purify her, she is first rubbed with earth and white ashes, a blade of *darbhâ* grass is passed over her head, and she is oiled and bathed in warm water.<sup>70</sup> The Kâbâligârs, a class of Dhârwar beggars, rub their brows, shoulders and eyes with red earth.<sup>71</sup> At a Dhârwar *jaûgam* funeral, all present lay a handful of earth on the body, after it is seated in the grave.<sup>72</sup> Karnâtak Brâhmaṇs, at a thread-girding, fill five pots with red earth and worship them.<sup>73</sup> Shôlâpur Lîngâyats put in the grave dust from the *jaûgam*'s feet, and, when one of their girls comes of age, the *jaûgam* throws dust from his feet on her body, and she

<sup>53</sup> Information from the peon Bâbâji.

<sup>54</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XVIII. pp. 119, 141.

<sup>55</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XVIII. p. 399.

<sup>56</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XVIII. p. 293.

<sup>57</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XVIII. p. 327.

<sup>58</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XVIII. p. 439.

<sup>59</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XVII. p. 157.

<sup>60</sup> Lt.-Col. Etheridge's *Famines in the Bombay Presidency*, p. 80.

<sup>61</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XIX. p. 115.

<sup>62</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XXII. p. 790.

<sup>63</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XXII. p. 165.

<sup>64</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XXII. p. 209.

<sup>65</sup> Information from Mr. Govind Pandit.

<sup>66</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XVIII. p. 363.

<sup>67</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XVIII. p. 331.

<sup>68</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XVIII. p. 414.

<sup>69</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XVIII. p. 414.

<sup>70</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XVIII. p. 414.

<sup>71</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XVIII. p. 414.

<sup>72</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XVIII. p. 414.

<sup>73</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XVIII. p. 414.

<sup>73</sup> Dubois, Vol. I. p. 224.

is pure.<sup>74</sup> Among Shôlâpur Mhârs, the chief mourner scatters earth on the dead body, the other mourners follow, and the grave is filled.<sup>75</sup> A sacred yellow earth found in a pond in West Kâthiâwâr, called milkmaid's sandal wood, or *gûpîchandan*, is used by Vaishnavas to make the brow-mark.<sup>76</sup> Jain mourners, on going home after a funeral, wash their hands with earth and water.

The Kols swear by the earth of a white ant-hill.<sup>77</sup> Dust from cross roads is worn by Hindus as an amulet against the Evil Eye.<sup>78</sup> In Bengal, when a mother takes her child out of doors, she rubs its forehead with earth or the end of a lamp-wick, and spits on its breast.<sup>79</sup> In Bengal, women clean their hair with mud.<sup>80</sup> At the great annual bathing of the goddess Durgâ, she is first washed in earth thrown up by a hog's tooth gathered from the door of a courtesan, or from an ant-hill.<sup>81</sup> In rude stone-tombs on the Nilgiris, in 1832 and 1847, urns were found full of black earth and bones.<sup>82</sup> In his daily bath, a Hindu should rub himself with mud.<sup>83</sup> In Bengal, the dying Hindu has his head sprinkled with water and smeared with clay from the Ganges.<sup>84</sup> Fryer, in 1673 (p. 115), mentions a man at Sûrat trying to cure dysentery by setting a pot filled with dried earth on the patient's navel. The Egyptians, he says, had a similar practice. At Sûrat, in 1640, to avert a drought, Brâhman went about carrying a board with earth on it on their heads.<sup>85</sup> Scented earth is used as soap in some parts of Hindustân.<sup>86</sup> That rubbing with dust purifies a man was one of the ideas attacked by the Buddhists.<sup>87</sup> Hindus and Pârsîs use earth to clean their cooking vessels.<sup>88</sup> So before praying, if there is no water, the Musalmân may cleanse his face, hands and feet with sand. The Pârsîs purify with dry earth.<sup>89</sup> When they have cut their nails and their hair, they make the parings and clippings into a little heap, and pour earth over the heap, so that demons may not enter into the parings and clippings.<sup>90</sup> In Persia, during their monthly sickness, women lived in a separate room strewn with dry dust.<sup>91</sup> Among the Beni-Isrâ'îls, each mourner stuffs a handful of earth into a pillow, and it is set under the dead man's head in the grave. Afterwards each mourner throws a handful of earth into the grave.<sup>92</sup> The belief that spirits fear earth was perhaps the reason why, after a death, the Jews covered their heads with dust and ashes. In Central Asia, peoples scrape a little earth from the grave, carry it home and rub it on the breast to lessen grief.<sup>93</sup> Khurd women at funerals throw handfuls of earth on their heads, and tear their clothes.<sup>94</sup>

The Andaman Islanders use clay as a cure in illness,<sup>95</sup> and women with child eat clay.<sup>96</sup> The Andamanese cover the body with clay and sand as a protection against vermin.<sup>97</sup> The Australians also cover their bodies with coloured earth mixed with oil.<sup>98</sup> Among the Chinese armlets of perfumed clay are strung on thread and worn as charms.<sup>99</sup> The Australians cure a wound by sprinkling it with dust.<sup>100</sup> A poultice, of Nile mud, is a certain cure for a scalded head.<sup>1</sup> Some Madagascar tribes plaster their faces with white earth, as a cure for certain complaints.<sup>2</sup> Hottentot women paint themselves with red ochre when they pray.<sup>3</sup> In East Africa, red clay is eaten by Mahenge women.<sup>4</sup> The Wagogos of East Africa (and many other

<sup>74</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XX. pp. 82, 84.

<sup>75</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XX. p. 180.

<sup>76</sup> Information from Col. Watson.

<sup>77</sup> *Jour. R. A. Soc.* Vol. XVIII. p. 373.

<sup>78</sup> Ward's *View of the Hindus*, Vol. II. p. 161.

<sup>79</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 115.

<sup>80</sup> Ward's *View of the Hindus*, Vol. II. p. 30.

<sup>81</sup> Fryer, p. 418.

<sup>82</sup> Max Muller's *Hibbert Lectures*, 1878, p. 555.

<sup>83</sup> Bleek's *Khordah Avesta*, p. 186.

<sup>84</sup> Bleek's *Avesta*, pp. 122, 123.

<sup>85</sup> Schnyler's *Turkestan*, Vol. I. p. 152.

<sup>86</sup> *Jour. Anthropol. Inst.* Vol. VII. p. 462.

<sup>87</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. VII. p. 439.

<sup>88</sup> *Jour. Ethnol. Soc.* Vol. I. p. 39.

<sup>89</sup> Parson's *Travels*, 1775, p. 312.

<sup>90</sup> Hahn's *Tsun Goam*, p. 124.

<sup>91</sup> Balfour's *Encyclopædia*, Vol. V. p. 29.

<sup>92</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. III. p. 197.

<sup>93</sup> *Jour. Ethnol. Soc.* Vol. I. p. 161.

<sup>94</sup> Colebrooke's *Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. I. p. 185.

<sup>95</sup> Moor's *Little*, p. 296.

<sup>96</sup> Bleek's *Avesta*, p. 67.

<sup>97</sup> *Dûbislân*, Vol. I. p. 317.

<sup>98</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XVIII. p. 534.

<sup>99</sup> *Jour. Ethnol. Soc.* Vol. II. p. 181.

<sup>100</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. VII. p. 462.

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. VII. p. 445.

<sup>2</sup> Wallace's *Australasia*, p. 99.

<sup>3</sup> Sibree's *Madagascar*, p. 294.

<sup>4</sup> Thomson's *Across Central Africa*, Vol. I. p. 191.



tribes) smear themselves with red earth.<sup>5</sup> The Warundis of East Africa smear themselves with red earth and oil.<sup>6</sup> The Kâfirs rub themselves with red clay.<sup>7</sup> On the Guinea coast, hot sand is used as a styptic.<sup>8</sup> Kâfirs near the Cape of Good Hope covered their bodies and cloaks with ochre-coloured earth mixed with grease.<sup>9</sup> In South Africa, says Dr. Livingstone, those who go to salute the chief rub the upper arm and chest with ashes.<sup>10</sup> The emperor of Morocco puts in the head-dress of his horse a small pouch of scarlet leather, in which is earth from a holy tomb.<sup>11</sup> In Dahomey and on the Congo, people throw earth on the head when paying respect to superiors.<sup>12</sup> When the king of Dahomey goes to his chief priest the king throws dust on his own brow.<sup>13</sup> A Hottentot in pursuit of a wounded animal throws sand into the air, and the strength of the animal fails.<sup>14</sup> Hottentot women spread red earth and sweet herbs on the heads of their gods.<sup>15</sup> A bag of sand is one of the chief Madagascar idols.<sup>16</sup> The Papuans of Outamata River in New Guinea plaster their bodies with sand and mud;<sup>17</sup> rub white clay into cuts to make scars;<sup>18</sup> and smear their foreheads and faces under the nose and round the chin with red clay.<sup>19</sup> Some Dutch sailors looked at a newly-born Papuan baby which was laid on the sand: the mother saw them, dragged the child to her, and sprinkled sand over its eyes and ears, and then over its whole body: she then laid it under leaves.<sup>20</sup> South American Indians eat clay called *ypassa*.<sup>21</sup>

A resident of New York and a magistrate, sufferers from indigestion, copying the practice of birds, adopted a diet of sand and were cured.<sup>22</sup> "Blessed earth" is put in the Roman Catholic coffin.<sup>23</sup> In Russia, earth is thrown on the coffin by the priest, and by each member of the family.<sup>24</sup> In the Middle Ages, in Europe, when a nun was consecrated, her relations, as a sign that she renounced all her earthly possessions, threw earth on her arm.<sup>25</sup> The *Chronicon St. Bertini* relates how Richilde, before her fight with Robert the Frisian, threw dust in the air against the Frisians with formulas of imprecation, but the dust fell back on her own head in token of her speedy overthrow.<sup>26</sup> An early form of oath among the Hungarians and Slavs was for the person who swore to place earth on his head.<sup>27</sup> In a cairn in Northumberland was found an urn with bones, charcoal, ashes, and fine foreign red earth.<sup>28</sup> Rubbing with earth cures ringworm in Northumberland.<sup>29</sup> At Newcastle-on-Tyne sand is strewn on the pavement for bridal parties to tread on.<sup>30</sup> When the death struggle is prolonged, church dust is brought to the death-bed, and the sufferer dies soon and in quiet.<sup>31</sup>

**Eggs.**—Eggs as an early food and physic scare spirits. Again the egg, as the house of the chick, is a spirit home and so the egg pleases and lodges wandering spirits. Kônkan Kûnlis give a mixture of eggs and turmeric to a person who spits blood;<sup>32</sup> and to remove the effect of the Evil Eye they wave bread and an egg round the sick.<sup>33</sup> The Velâlis or Pelles, a Tamil tribe in Poona, offer eggs on the fifth day after child-birth to the knife which cut the navel cord.<sup>34</sup> The Sultankars, a class of North Indian tanners in Poona, when their wives are possessed by evil spirits, offer rice, a fowl and an egg, and the spirit goes.<sup>35</sup> The Beni-Israel babe is daily rubbed with turmeric and the white of an egg,<sup>36</sup> and to avert evil the Beni-Israel

<sup>5</sup> Cameron's *Across Africa*, p. 98.

<sup>7</sup> Cunningham's *South Africa*, p. 124.

<sup>9</sup> Buchholz's *South-western Africa*, Vol. I. p. 268.

<sup>11</sup> Hay's *Western Barbary*, p. 53.

<sup>13</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 353.

<sup>15</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 91.

<sup>17</sup> Earle's *Papuans*, p. 47.

<sup>19</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 18.

<sup>21</sup> *Jour. Ethno. Soc.* Vol. II. p. 251.

<sup>23</sup> *Go'tien Manual*, p. 757.

<sup>25</sup> Grimm's *Teuto. Myth.* Vol. II. p. 613.

<sup>27</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 343.

<sup>29</sup> Henderson's *Folk-Lore*, p. 140.

<sup>31</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 231.

<sup>33</sup> Information from the peon Bâbâji.

<sup>36</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XVIII. p. 367.

<sup>6</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 245.

<sup>8</sup> Burton's *Dahomey*, Vol. II. p. 159.

<sup>10</sup> Dr. Livingstone's *Travels in South Africa*, p. 286.

<sup>12</sup> Burton's *Visit to Dahomey*, Vol. I. p. 253.

<sup>14</sup> Hahn's *Tamul Goan*, p. 85.

<sup>16</sup> Sibree's *Madagascar*, p. 301.

<sup>18</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 5.

<sup>20</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 49.

<sup>22</sup> *Times of India*, 1st January 1831.

<sup>24</sup> *Rites and Customs of the Greek-Russian Church*, p. 214.

<sup>26</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. III. p. 1037.

<sup>28</sup> *Jour. Ethno. Soc.* Vol. I. p. 168.

<sup>30</sup> Henderson's *Folk-Lore*, p. 40.

<sup>32</sup> Information from the peon Bâbâji.

<sup>34</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XVIII. p. 237.

<sup>36</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XVIII. p. 526.

break a hen's egg under the forefoot of the bridegroom's horse.<sup>37</sup> In China, dyed eggs are eaten by women at and after child-birth.<sup>38</sup> At Teesee, in West Africa, no woman will eat an egg.<sup>39</sup> On the Gold Coast of Africa, the fetich man cures disease by laying an egg on the highway.<sup>40</sup> In Russia, Germany and North England, Easter Eggs are painted and gilded as a sign of the resurrection.<sup>41</sup> Good Friday Eggs never go bad.<sup>42</sup> In Scotland, on Easter Day, eggs are kept boiled and painted.<sup>43</sup> In England, there was a very old and wide-spread custom of making presents of eggs on Easter Day: the eggs were painted yellow or red: these eggs were emblems of the sun, and could put out a fire and cure disease.<sup>44</sup> In England, the shells of eaten eggs are broken in case the devil should fit ont the shells as a witch-house.<sup>45</sup> On the first visit of a babe to a neighbour's house, it should be given an egg, and some salt and white bread.<sup>46</sup>

**Feasting.** — Feasting scares the demons of hunger, thirst, weariness and sadness. Also feasting is a great spirit-housing rite, the feasters being inspirited by the entrance into them of family and other unbodied spirits. The Pârsî, says Anquetil Du Perron,<sup>47</sup> believes he honours God by nourishing himself. A fresh and vigorous body makes the soul more able to resist evil spirits.<sup>48</sup> At the close of all their leading ceremonies, at births, thread-girdings, marriages, and deaths, Hindus hold a feast. Among the Mâdhava Brâhman of Dhârwar, when a child is three or four months old and begins to turn on one side, a feast is held, and cakes, called *kulbâs*, are made and eaten; when the child learns to fall on its face, cakes of wheat flour, called *pûlis*, are made and eaten; when the child first crosses the threshold of a room, other cakes of wheat flour are made and eaten; and when the child begins to press one palm on the other, sweet balls are made and eaten.<sup>49</sup> The Telugu Mâsâlarus of Dhârwar, on the fifth day after a death, hold a feast, kill a fowl, and eat its flesh.<sup>50</sup> Belgaum Sâlis, on the fifth day after a birth, present women guests with turmeric and red powder, and feast children.<sup>51</sup> That the object of ceremonial feasts is to scare spirits, is admitted in the practice of the Kânara Roman Catholics who, on the day before marriage, give an *alind chêm jevan*, or soul's dinner, to satisfy the spirits of the family dead.<sup>52</sup> When an Ahmadnagar Hindu is affected by the planet Saturn, he calls a Mâng, feasts him with millet, pulse and oil, and gives him an iron nail or some cotton.<sup>53</sup> On the third day after a death, the Gonds hold a feast and eat the spirit-scaring cock, and drink spirit-scaring liquor.<sup>54</sup> When the dead body is buried the Maria Gonds kill a cow, the great purifier and spirit-scarer, and drink its blood.<sup>55</sup> A year or eighteen months afterwards they sacrifice a fowl near the tree, where the dead was buried, and there, for two or three days, men and women dance, drink and enjoy themselves without restraint.<sup>56</sup> The new-moon day is a spirit day. So, strictly religious Hindus on a new-moon day worship their ancestors and hold a feast in their honour.<sup>57</sup> After a death, the Beni-Isrâ'îls give a feast on the seventh day, also at the end of one month, finally at the close of three months, six months, and of a year.<sup>58</sup> The Persians passed their decisions under the influence of wine, the sense being that the spirits of the wise dead entered the drinker.<sup>59</sup> All over Germany a grand annual excursion of witches takes place on the first night in May. On the first of May the periodical assizes were held together with merry May-ridings and the kindling of the sacred fire.<sup>60</sup> In

<sup>37</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XVIII. p. 519.

<sup>40</sup> Moore's *Fragments*, p. 184.

<sup>43</sup> Chambers's *Book of Days*, p. 425.

<sup>46</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. III. p. 18.

<sup>47</sup> *Zend Avesta*, Vol. II. p. 601.

<sup>60</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XXII. p. 211.

<sup>38</sup> Gray's *China*, Vol. II. p. 184.

<sup>41</sup> Henderson's *Folk-Lore*, p. 84.

<sup>44</sup> Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 170.

<sup>45</sup> Henderson's *Folk-Lore*, p. 90.

<sup>48</sup> *Dâlistân*, Vol. I. p. 321.

<sup>49</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XXII. p. 75.

<sup>39</sup> Park's *Travels*, Vol. I. p. 70.

<sup>42</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 83.

<sup>51</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XV. p. 390.

<sup>52</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XVII. p. 171.

<sup>53</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XVI. p. 171.

<sup>54</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XVII. p. 171.

<sup>55</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XVII. p. 171.

<sup>56</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XVII. p. 171.

<sup>57</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XVII. p. 171.

<sup>58</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XVII. p. 171.

<sup>59</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XVII. p. 171.

<sup>60</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XVII. p. 171.

The original funeral feast was the eating of the dead man. The dead were eaten to keep the spirit from wandering and worrying. Later phases of the primitive funeral feast are the eating of some animal into which the spirit of the dead has passed.

<sup>51</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XXI. p. 146.

<sup>52</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XV. p. 390.

<sup>53</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XVII. p. 171.

<sup>54</sup> Hislop's *Aboriginal Tribes of the Central Provinces*, App. I. p. vi.

<sup>55</sup> Dalton's *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 263.

<sup>56</sup> Ballour's *Encyclopædia*, Vol. V. p. 31.

<sup>57</sup> Hislop's *Aboriginal Tribes of the Central Provinces*, p. 10.

<sup>58</sup> Herodotus, Vol. I. p. 133.

<sup>59</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XVIII. p. 535.

<sup>60</sup> Grimm's *Teuro. Myth.* Vol. III. p. 1050.

England, feasts of cross-buns used to be given to sailors on Good Friday to keep away storms.<sup>61</sup> A trace of the spirit-scaring aim of the funeral lives in the English<sup>62</sup> funeral practice of setting a black scarf and some biscuit soaked in wine, in the bee-hive mouth.<sup>63</sup> In North England, the birth of a child is marked by great eating and drinking of tea, brandy, short-bread, buns, and the groaning cheese, a piece of which was given to each young woman to lay under her pillow and dream of her lover.<sup>64</sup>

(To be continued.)

## NOTES AND QUERIES.

### A STORY OF VALMIKI.

BĀL MĪK RISHI, better known as Vālmiki who wrote the *Rāmāyaṇa*, was, according to Karmāl tradition, a great hunter before his conversion. Holy men brought him to a sense of his sin, and would set him a penance. They argued thus: "To say Ram Ram would be the most appropriate penance. But so holy a name cannot issue from the mouth of so sinful a man. He shall therefore say *Mra Mra*, which after all comes to very nearly the same thing, if you only say it fast enough." Years afterwards the holy men passed that way again, and sat down on a huge ant-hill to rest. Hearing a strange buzzing inside, they laid their ears to the ground, and heard issuing from the centre of the hill a faint "*Mra Mra*." "*Nārāyaṇ*!" said they, "it is the hunter we set to do penance!" And so it was. So they dug Bāl Mīk out, and he became exceedingly holy. This was at Bālū, in the Nardak, or uplands, of the Karmāl district.

DENZIL IBBETSON in *P. N. and Q.* 1883.

### SAUKAN MORĀ.

THE *saukan mōrā*, or rival wife's crown, is a small wall-plate of silver, worn as a locket by all classes round the neck of a subsequent wife married after the death of a previous one. It is put on at the marriage and worn till death. At the same time oil, milk, spices and sugar, are poured on the former wife's grave as a peace-offering. The *saukan mōrā* represents the dead wife, and all presents—clothes, jewels, etc., given by the husband to the new wife—are laid upon it before being worn, with the formula: "Honoured lady, wear this (dress, jewel, etc., as the case may be) first, and afterwards let this poor slave have your cast-off clothes."

At the 'Idū'l-fitr (end of the Ramzân fast)

Muhammudan women always wear new clothes, but second wives invariably offer them first to the *saukan mōrā*.

The charm is worn as a preventive of evil caused by the dead woman's jealousy, not so much of the new wife, as of the husband. Illness or death of the latter soon after marriage is invariably put down to neglect of the *saukan mōrā*.

F. A. STEEL in *P. N. and Q.* 1883.

### KALI IN GARHWAL AS A DISEASE DEMON.

The goddess Kālī lives on the top of a mountain, called Bhādan Garh, about four miles from the Gwāldam Tea Estate, and is considered to be the sender of all kinds of sickness. So if any epidemic breaks out in any village or district near it is put down to her, and the people at once go to her temple on the top of the hill, where they offer sacrifices of buffaloes, goats, fowls and pigs. The Hindūs proper offer the goats and the out-caste Dōms offer the other animals.

With the animals is offered a substance called *parśūt*, consisting of *ghī*, flour, and *gur* (unrefined sugar). Near the temple where the animals are slaughtered is a stone cup, rather larger than a big breakfast cup, imbedded in the ground. If the blood from the slaughtered animal fills the cup the goddess is appeased; but if the cup be not filled she is angry, and the epidemic will not soon leave the village.

The suppliants, too, promise at the time that if the goddess takes away the sickness they will again in twelve months' time make another sacrifice. This promise is religiously kept, as if it were broken they believe that every man, woman, and child of the offending village would be destroyed.

G. DALZIEL in *P. N. and Q.* 1883.

<sup>61</sup> Henderson's *Folk-Lore*, p. 83.

<sup>62</sup> Cherry Burton, 1827.

<sup>63</sup> Dyer's *Folk-Lore*, p. 128.

<sup>64</sup> Henderson's *Folk-Lore*, p. 11.

## NOTES ON THE SPIRIT BASIS OF BELIEF AND CUSTOM.

BY J. M. CAMPBELL, C.I.E., I.C.S.

(Continued from p. 220.)

**F**EATHERS. — Peacock feathers are considered sacred by the Hindus, and are used for fanning idols. The god Hirava of the Vārīs and Kōlīs of Thānā is a bundle of peacock feathers. At the Divālī (October-November) Vārī boys of Thānā put a peacock feather into a brass pot, and dance round it.<sup>65</sup> The Mōdī, or Kōrvī, sorcerers of Belgaum wear feathers in their turbans.<sup>66</sup> Hindu messengers used to wear a feather in their head-dress.<sup>67</sup> Feathers were the common ornaments of Egyptian gods.<sup>68</sup> The early tribes of Australia wear feathers, teeth and fish bones in their hair.<sup>69</sup> The people of New Britain, east of New Guinea, deck their hair with gay feathers.<sup>70</sup> The Melville Islanders fasten a feather in their hair.<sup>71</sup> Feathers are worn on the head by the Harvey Islanders.<sup>72</sup> The Motus of New Guinea wear the feathers of the cassowary as a head-dress.<sup>73</sup> The Easter Islanders wear a crown of grass round which feathers are stuck.<sup>74</sup> The state carpet of Hawaii, in the Pacific, is of feathers.<sup>75</sup> The Niam-Niams of Central Africa wear a plume of feathers.<sup>76</sup> The Wasagaras of the East African hills wear vulture and ostrich feathers in their hair.<sup>77</sup> Many Africans and Americans wear plumes in their hair. In South Africa a pink feather is a sure guard against lightning.<sup>78</sup> The Dinkas of the White Nile wear ostrich feathers in their hair.<sup>79</sup> Feathers are worn by the priestesses of Dahomey.<sup>80</sup> Among some American Indians a head-dress full of feathers is sacred.<sup>81</sup> In Russia, feathers are worn on the head only by married ladies.<sup>82</sup> In Russia, feathers used to be laid on the face of the dead.<sup>83</sup> The Pope is always accompanied with *flabelli*, or feather fans.<sup>84</sup> The badge of the Prince of Wales is of ostrich feathers.

**Flags.** — Flags are lucky. They scare fiends and they house guardians.<sup>85</sup> So on their New Year's Day, on the 12th of January, most high class Hindus in the Dekhan and Kōnkan chew *nīm* leaves with sugar, and set in front of their houses a bamboo pole capped with a brass or silver pot, and with a new piece of cloth hanging to it as a flag.<sup>86</sup> The pole is often adorned with flower garlands and mango leaves.<sup>87</sup> Four small flags are set in the ground where the Poona Dhruva Prabhu is burnt.<sup>88</sup> The Ahmednagar Dhōrs plant three small red flags on the grave.<sup>89</sup> Several large and small flags are set in front of the three-cornered mound, which is raised where a Dhārwar Mādhava Brāhmaṇ has been burnt.<sup>90</sup> The Rattas, early Hindu chiefs of the Karnāṭak, carried banners with a fig tree and a *garuḍ*, or eagle, and used the mark of a lion.<sup>91</sup> In Kānara, the Roman Catholics of each parish have a flag, with a picture of their patron saint on it, which, on the patron's yearly feast, is hung on a *pun* tree about sixty yards in front of the church.<sup>92</sup> The ancient Persians had a tiger skin banner.<sup>93</sup>

<sup>65</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XIII. p. 188.<sup>66</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XXI. p. 171.<sup>67</sup> *Dābistān*, Vol. II. p. 111.<sup>68</sup> Tiele's *Egyptian Religion*, p. 87.<sup>69</sup> Wallace's *Australasia*, p. 91.<sup>70</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 468.<sup>71</sup> Earl's *Papuan*, p. 200.<sup>72</sup> Gill's *Polynesia*, p. 9.<sup>73</sup> *Jour. Anthropol. Inst.* Vol. VII. p. 477.<sup>74</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. V. p. 111.<sup>75</sup> Jones' *Crowns*, p. 451.<sup>76</sup> Schweinfurth's *Heart of Africa*, Vol. II. p. 8.<sup>77</sup> Burton's *Lake Region of Central Africa*, Vol. I. p. 235.<sup>78</sup> Cunningham's *South Africa*, p. 159.<sup>79</sup> Schweinfurth's *Heart of Africa*, Vol. I. p. 150.<sup>80</sup> Burton's *Dahomey*, Vol. II. p. 154.<sup>81</sup> *Jour. Ethnol. Soc.* Vol. I. p. 304.<sup>82</sup> Mrs. Romanoff's *Rites and Customs of the Græco-Russian Church*, p. 215.<sup>83</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 393.<sup>84</sup> Chambers's *Book of Days*, p. 397.

<sup>85</sup> The freedom of its movements is perhaps the root cause why the flag is believed to be possessed or alive. Later their guardian influence is supposed to be due to their colouring and to the pictures of guardians drawn upon them. Each of the old secret societies of England, the Foresters and other brotherhoods, had its emblem and its flag with the emblem emblazoned on it. In England the war flag is known as "the colours," and "the colours" are still consecrated when new, and their torn remains preserved in some great place of worship. The camp religion of the Romans, says Tertullian (A. D. 196), was all through a worship of the standards. Smith's *Christian Antiquities*, p. 909.

<sup>86</sup> Information from Mr. P. B. Joshi.<sup>87</sup> Information from Mr. P. B. Joshi.<sup>88</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XVIII. p. 191.<sup>89</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XVII. p. 169.<sup>90</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XXII. p. 85.<sup>91</sup> Dr. Fleet's *Kānara Dynasties*, p. 7.<sup>92</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XV. p. 386.<sup>93</sup> West's *Pahlavi Texts*, p. 223.

The Jews seem to have held banners over feasters.<sup>94</sup> Each tribe of the Jews had a banner.<sup>95</sup> Freemasons have a general standard with a yellow cross.<sup>96</sup> Masons in a procession carry six banners of satin or silk fringed with blue, with, on each banner, one of the words Faith, Hope, Charity, Wisdom, Strength and Beauty. In the Royal Arch Chapter four officers carry banners — white, scarlet, and blue.<sup>97</sup> The Burmans have praying flags.<sup>98</sup> Between A. D. 1000 and 1200, Japan was wasted by the wars of the red and white flags.<sup>99</sup> In North-West Africa, every mosque has a banner;<sup>100</sup> and all Musalmân pilgrims carry flags.<sup>1</sup> In Morocco a white flag is hoisted on mosques at prayer time.<sup>2</sup> At the coronation of the Russian Emperor, the banner of Russia is first sprinkled with holy water and given to the Emperor, who waves it thrice.<sup>3</sup> Froissart<sup>4</sup> describes Douglas, who was slain at Otterburn, as buried at Melrose beneath the high altar, on his body a tomb of stone and his banner hanging over him.<sup>5</sup> According to Anglo-Saxon accounts the Northmen had a wonderful standard borne before their army, from whose behaviour they inferred victory or defeat.<sup>6</sup>

**Flowers.** — Their scent, colour and medical properties have earned for flowers a place among guardians, or spirit-scarers. When a Hindu visits the shrine of any local god or goddess, the ministrant gives him either ashes or flowers. These flowers are considered lucky. In the Kônkan, flowers are used by Hindu exorcists to drive out spirits. The exorcist gives flowers and ashes to a man suffering from spirit-possession. If the patient keeps them for a certain number of days the haunting spirit departs. In Western India, many classes of Hindus tie chaplets of flowers round the brows of the bride and bridegroom. In the worship of the boy at the Chitpâvan wedding, the boy has a chaplet of flowers, and grains of rice are thrown over him.<sup>7</sup> In the Chitpâvan pregnancy ceremony, a necklace of figs is hung round the woman's neck, she is covered with ornaments, and her hair is decked with flowers.<sup>8</sup> The Poona Halâlkhôrs hang a garland round the bride's neck, and the bride and bridegroom throw flowers and rice on the house gods. Among them, on the third day after a death, the chief mourner lays a flower garland on the grave, and on the spot in the house where the dead breathed his last.<sup>9</sup> The Lîngâyats hang flower garlands round the neck of the dead.<sup>10</sup> Poona dyers, or Nîlâris, sprinkle turmeric and flowers over the dead.<sup>11</sup> Sweetmeats and flowers are laid on the spot where the Pardêsi Râjpût of Poona is buried.<sup>12</sup> On the third day after death, flowers dipped in scent are strewn on the Dekhan Musalmân grave.<sup>13</sup> In a Dekhan Musalmân woman's first pregnancy, she and her husband are seated on a cot and wreathed with flowers.<sup>14</sup> In Kôlhâpur, when a child is suffering from a disease, called *bâlagraha*, or child-seizure, flowers are waved round the child's face.<sup>15</sup> The Kunbîs of the Bombay Karnâtak have a festival, called *pavatyâché pûrṇimâ*, or "the hank full-moon," when they throw round the neck of every one in the house, and round lamps and other articles, a hank of yellow thread.<sup>16</sup> In a Karnâtak Kunbî's wedding a flower garland is thrown by the bride over the bridegroom and another by the bridegroom over the bride.<sup>17</sup> The Karnâtak Mâdhava Brâhman throw flower garlands round the bridegroom's neck when he crosses the border of the girl's village,<sup>18</sup> and in the fifth month of her pregnancy the Mâdhava woman is decked with buds.<sup>19</sup> Among the Shenvis of Kânara, at the ceremony of betrothal, the boy's people cover the girl's head with flowers.<sup>20</sup> In

<sup>94</sup> Compare *Song of Solomon*, i. 2.

<sup>96</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 34. <sup>97</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 38.

<sup>98</sup> Reed's *Japan*, Vol. I. p. 137.

<sup>99</sup> Rohlfs's *Morocco*, p. 65.

<sup>5</sup> Note Z to *Lay of the Last Minstrel*.

<sup>7</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XVIII. p. 132.

<sup>9</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XVIII. p. 439.

<sup>11</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XVIII. p. 355.

<sup>12</sup> Information from Mr. Syed Daûd.

<sup>13</sup> Information from Mr. B. B. Vakhârkâr, B.A.

<sup>17</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XXI. pp. 121, 122.

<sup>19</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XXII. p. 83.

<sup>25</sup> Mackay's *Freemasonry*, p. 27.

<sup>28</sup> Shway Yoe's *The Burman*, Vol. I. p. 153.

<sup>100</sup> Hay's *Western Barbary*, p. 126. <sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 132.

<sup>3</sup> Jones' *Crowns*, p. 332.

<sup>4</sup> Vol. III. p. 165.

<sup>6</sup> Grimm's *Teutonic Mythology*, Vol. III. p. 1112.

<sup>8</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XVIII. p. 146.

<sup>10</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XXIII. p. 237.

<sup>12</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XVIII. p. 404.

<sup>14</sup> Information from Mr. Syed Daûd.

<sup>16</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XXI. p. 115.

<sup>18</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XXII. p. 80.

<sup>20</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XXII. p. 155.

Kânara, the office-bearers of the Catholic Church are installed by being crowned with flower chaplets and being sprinkled with holy water.<sup>21</sup> The Kurubar, or shepherd wrestler of Bijâpur, always wears a flower in his ear.<sup>22</sup> The Bijâpur Bêdars deck a woman's head with flowers on her wedding day and after she dies.<sup>23</sup> The Shôlâpur Kômatîs think a house where a birth has taken place to be impure. So they pay a Brâhmaṇ to read fiend-scaring-verses, Kunbi women to pour water in front of the house, and a flower-girl to hang flower garlands.<sup>24</sup> The Beni-Isrâ'îl bridegroom is covered from head to foot with flowers, and the Beni-Isrâ'îls cover their coffins with flower garlands.<sup>25</sup> In Bengal, at the worship of Durgâ, the Brâhmaṇ sticks a flower on the goat's head before he hands it to the slaughterer.<sup>26</sup> In South India, flowers that have been offered to an idol are eagerly sought for by men and women. The men wear them in their turbans, and the women in their hair.<sup>27</sup> At the new year purification ceremony in South India, garlands of green leaves and flowers are hung round the cattle's necks.<sup>28</sup> In Malabar, when the Hindus build a temple, they consecrate it, install an image, wave lamps round it, and hang it with garlands.<sup>29</sup> According to the Hindu religious books, as soon as a Brâhmaṇ dies, the body must be washed, perfumed, and decked with flower-wreaths.<sup>30</sup> In dedicating a Hindu temple 108 priests throw garlands on the god,<sup>31</sup> so in the Acts of the Apostles, when the priests of Jupiter came to worship Barnabas, they brought garlands. Castro, after his triumph at Diu (1647), entered Goa crowned with laurels and with a laurel bough in his hands.<sup>32</sup> The Egyptians crowned their altars with flower garlands. They also laid flower garlands on the coffins of the dead.<sup>33</sup> The victim white-horse in China is crowned with garlands.<sup>34</sup> Chinese women, even the old, dress their hair with fine flowers.<sup>35</sup> The Japanese put fresh flowers in summer, and green boughs in winter, over their graves.<sup>36</sup> In Teneriffe, before the crowning of the king, the palace is strewn with flowers and palm-leaves.<sup>37</sup> In America, the graves of those who died in the Civil War are hung with flower garlands. At the Fontinalia, the Romans decked fountains with flowers in honour of the nymphs.<sup>38</sup> Flowers are strewn in the coffin of a Russian girl.<sup>39</sup> On Ascension Day, in Germany, girls twine garlands of white and red flowers, and hang them in the rooms and over the cattle in the stable.<sup>40</sup> In Hesse, on Easter Monday, young girls go to a certain cavern, but no one will go unless she has flowers.<sup>41</sup> **Golden flowers are thrown when a great man passes through a city.** So in 1883, in Florence, when the body of the late Râjâ of Kâlâpur was taken through the streets, golden flowers were scattered; similarly in the procession before the coronation of Richard II. (1377) of England, he was met by girls who threw leaves of gold into his face and golden flowers on the ground.<sup>42</sup> In Wales, in 1804, the bed on which the corpse was laid was always strewn with flowers, and flowers were dropped on the body after it was laid in the coffin.<sup>43</sup> In his *Historical and Statistical Account of the Isle of Man* (1845, Vol. II. p. 136), Train says: — "When a person dies, the corpse is laid on what is called a straightening board. A trencher with salt in it and a lighted candle are placed on the breast. And the bed, on which the straightening board bearing the corpse rests, is generally strewn with strong scented flowers."<sup>44</sup> In Glamorganshire, when an unmarried person died, his or her way to the grave was strewn with sweet flowers and evergreens;<sup>45</sup> and in Yorkshire, if a virgin died, one nearest to her in size and age and resemblance carried the garland before the

<sup>21</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XXII. p. 387.

<sup>22</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XXIII. pp. 95, 96.

<sup>23</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XVIII. pp. 519, 539.

<sup>27</sup> Dubois, Vol. II. p. 353.

<sup>28</sup> Mackenzie Col. p. 352.

<sup>25</sup> Ward's *View of the Hindus*, Vol. II. pp. 7, .

<sup>33</sup> Spencer, Vol. I. p. 278.

<sup>36</sup> Careri (1695) in *Churchill*, Vol. IV. p. 353.

<sup>37</sup> Jones' *Crowns*, p. 417.

<sup>38</sup> Mr. Romanoff's *Rites and Customs of the Græco-Russian Church*, p. 235.

<sup>40</sup> Grimm's *Teutonic Mythology*, Vol. I. p. 58.

<sup>42</sup> Jones' *Crowns*, p. 145.

<sup>44</sup> Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, Vol. II. p. 235.

<sup>22</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XXIII. p. 122.

<sup>24</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XX. p. 55.

<sup>26</sup> Ward's *View of the Hindus*, Vol. I. p. 112.

<sup>28</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 387.

<sup>30</sup> Colebrooke's *Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. I. p. 156.

<sup>32</sup> Mickle's *Lusiad*, Vol. I. p. clxv.

<sup>34</sup> Gray's *China*, Vol. II. p. 36.

<sup>36</sup> St. John's *Nipon*, p. 149.

<sup>38</sup> Henderson's *Folk-Lore*, p. 2.

<sup>41</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 58.

<sup>43</sup> Brand's *Popular Antiquities* Vol. II. p. 309.

<sup>45</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 311.

corpse in funeral procession. When the funeral was over the garland was hung in the church.<sup>46</sup> In England, flowers used to be sprinkled on rivers on Holy Thursday.<sup>47</sup> Wells at Buxton and Tissington in Derbyshire used to be dressed with garlands of flowers, and nosegays used to be flung into fountains.<sup>48</sup>

**Fruits.** — Fruits scare spirits, because friendly ancestors are believed to live in fruit trees. So in the pregnancy ceremony, among higher class Hindus in Western India, a girl's lap is filled with rice and such fruits, as dates, plantains, betelnuts and cocoanuts.<sup>49</sup> Among higher class Hindus, the ceremony of lap-filling is also performed at a girl's marriage and coming of age, and when she gives birth to a child. The Bombay Prabhus, at their marriage and thread-girding ceremonies, fasten a pair of cocoanuts and an umbrella to a pole in front of their house. The origin of the distribution of betelnuts and leaves and cocoanuts among guests after a Hindu marriage is probably to scare spirits. Among high class Hindus in Bombay, with the admitted object of scaring spirits, when the bridegroom starts from the bride's house, a cocoanut, and sometimes a knife, is placed in his hand. The Bombay Prabhus and Pañchakālśis tie a betelnut and a piece of turmeric root to the wrists of the bride and bridegroom.<sup>50</sup> The Korvis of Belgaum tie a cocoanut to the bridegroom's right wrist.<sup>51</sup> That the original object of fruit or food offerings was to scare, and not to please, spirits, is seen in the drill plough-worship of the Bijāpur Raddīs. Among them in June, at the beginning of the sowing season, a cocoanut is broken and thrown on each side, that the place spirits may leave and make room for Lakshmi, who is represented by the plough.<sup>52</sup> Among the Jirê Gôvandīs, or Marāthā masons of Shōlāpur, at a wedding, the boy's brother stands behind him holding a lemon spiked on the point of a dagger.<sup>53</sup> Gujarāt Vānīs tie a cocoanut and a piece of sandalwood to the bier.<sup>54</sup> The Gond bride receives some pieces of cocoa kernel from the bridegroom's father the day before the wedding.<sup>55</sup> In England, oranges used to be hung over wine to keep it from getting foisty, and oranges stuck with cloves were given as a New Year's gift.<sup>56</sup> On All-hallow Eve it was customary to dive for apples, or to bite at an apple stuck at one end of a circling pole at the other end of which a lighted candle was fixed.<sup>57</sup>

**Food.** — Hunger<sup>58</sup> is a spirit; food removes hunger, therefore food scares spirits. In the Kōnkan, when a person is smitten by the Evil Eye, cooked rice is spread on a plantain leaf, curds and red powder are sprinkled over the rice, a flour-lamp is set on the powder, and the whole is waved round the possessed and taken to a place where three roads meet.<sup>59</sup> So in Dhārwar, if a child will not eat, the mother takes three pinches of food, waves them round the child, and throws them on the floor to a dog or a cat. The evil influence is caught in the waved food, and passes from the child to the dog by whom the food is eaten.<sup>60</sup> On the September-October full-moon days the Bijāpur Raddīs take cooked food to the fields, and lay some in the middle, and some in each corner.<sup>61</sup> Among Bijāpur Shimpīs, when the boy and girl reach the bridegroom's house, each puts five morsels of food into the other's mouth.<sup>62</sup> Among Gujarāt Brāhmins, when the bridegroom comes to the girl's booth, her mother waves round him a lamp and two balls of rice and turmeric.<sup>63</sup> In Madras the Līngāyats call dīning, *Siva-pūjā* or Siva worship.<sup>64</sup> The Ooras of Mexico spike meat upon sticks and set the sticks

<sup>46</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 302.

<sup>48</sup> Information from Mr. P. B. Joshi.

<sup>51</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XXI. p. 171.

<sup>53</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XX. p. 96.

<sup>55</sup> Hialop's *Aboriginal Tribes of the Central Provinces*, App. I. p. iii.

<sup>56</sup> Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 11.

<sup>58</sup> The German postern spectre, who, before Christmas, is chased from village to village, seems to be Hunger. Post is Slavic for 'fast' or 'hunger.' Grimm's *Teutonic Mythology*, Vol. III. p. 938.

<sup>59</sup> Information from Mr. P. B. Joshi.

<sup>61</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XXIII. p. 148.

<sup>63</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XVIII. p. 165.

<sup>47</sup> Dyer's *Folk-Lore*, p. 4.

<sup>48</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 2.

<sup>50</sup> Information from Mr. P. B. Joshi.

<sup>52</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XXIII. p. 147.

<sup>54</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XVIII. p. 277.

<sup>55</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. iii.

<sup>57</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 377.

<sup>60</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XXII. p. 50.

<sup>62</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XXIII. p. 168.

<sup>64</sup> *Madras Journal*, Vol. XI. p. 149.

round the field, to keep the dead from coming after the cattle he formerly owned.<sup>65</sup> In Germany, till late times, people used to set apart some of each meal to feed house spirits and dwarfs.<sup>66</sup> On New Year's day in Scotland, children went round and asked for bread and cheese.<sup>67</sup> When starting on a journey unlucky omens are turned aside by going home, eating and drinking, and starting afresh. In North England, if you meet a flat-soled man on a Monday, you must go home and eat and drink, or you will come to mischief.<sup>68</sup> Ague is cured in England by breaking a saltish cake and giving it to a dog to eat.<sup>69</sup> A North England cure for a wart is to rub the wart with raw meat.<sup>70</sup>

**Foam.** — **Spirits fear foam and sweat.** In the East Dekhan, spirits will not come near a horse from fear of its foam. So the Scythian sweated after a funeral to drive off evil spirits.<sup>71</sup> The Romans believed that the foam of a horse cured ear-ache, galls caused by over-riding, itch, and many women's diseases.<sup>72</sup> The people of Cyprus cured diseases by applying sweat.<sup>73</sup> Sir Walter Scott mentions a friend curing his hand by putting it in the mouth of an Irish horse.<sup>74</sup>

**Garlic.** — Among lower class Kōnkan Hindus the belief is strong that **garlic scares fiends.** Garlic and pepper rubbed into the eyes, and quashed up the nostrils, of those who faint, restore them to their senses, by, it is supposed, driving away an oppressing spirit. In the Kōnkan, when a person is possessed, especially by a *muñjā* or unmarried Brāhmaṇ boy, the exorcist quashes pieces of garlic into his ears, or squeezes garlic juice into his nostrils, and the *muñjā* flees.<sup>75</sup> Garlic is in Sanskrit called *mlēcchakanda*, the foreigner's root. Its peculiar smell, besides scaring spirits, cures cold, cough, wind, worms and swellings. It is a great taste-restorer to the sick. In the case of a dislocation, garlic should be pounded, heated and tied to the injured joint. It will remove the swelling and draw out the inflammation. Garlic is a favourite cure for acute pain in the side.<sup>76</sup> Vinegar, rue, and garlic scare the Pārsi devil.<sup>77</sup> In Greece, garlic was believed to keep off the Evil Eye, and so was tied up in newly built houses, and was hung over the sterns of Greek ships. To repeat *σφόδρον*, the Greek name for garlic, was of itself enough to scare the Evil Eye.<sup>78</sup> When it thunders eggs are spoilt. To prevent this Pliny proposes to lay an iron nail in the nest, along with laurel leaves, garlic roots, and other strong smelling plants.<sup>79</sup> To keep off local spirits the Swedish bridegroom sews in his clothes strong smelling herbs such as garlic, cloves, and rosemary.<sup>80</sup> A German witch will not eat garlic. Therefore, at Shrovetide many people smear themselves with garlic on the breast, soles, and arm-pits, as a safeguard against witches.<sup>81</sup> Before Baptism Danish children are apt to be carried off by the fairies: so Danish mothers guard their children by fastening over their cradles garlic, salt, bread and steel.<sup>82</sup> The eating of garlic was an early English cure for a fiend-struck patient.<sup>83</sup>

**Glass.** — **Spirits fear glass, perhaps as they fear the diamond, the ruby, the sapphire, and crystal, because they flash in the dark.** Glass is found in Egyptian tombs, with Buddhist relics, and near Roman urns, apparently in all cases to keep off evil spirits. Strings of glass beads are the favourite ornaments of the wilder Indian tribes. The mirror was a sacred symbol, perhaps from the reflections, *i. e.*, the spirits, which swarm in it. The early use of a burning glass to kindle fire would strengthen the belief in the sacredness of glass and its power over spirits. The spirit-scaring power of glass is perhaps the reason why a Hindu married woman wears glass bangles and glass necklaces. The object seems to be to scare spirits from her

<sup>65</sup> Spencer's *Folk-Lore*, Vol. I. p. 280.

<sup>66</sup> Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 14.

<sup>67</sup> Dyer's *Folk-Lore*, p. 162.

<sup>71</sup> Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II. p. 480.

<sup>73</sup> *Op. cit.* Book xxviii. Chap. 8.

<sup>75</sup> Information from Mr. P. B. Joshi.

<sup>77</sup> *Dābistān*, Vol. I. p. 348.

<sup>79</sup> Chambers's *Book of Days*, p. 720.

<sup>82</sup> Henderson's *Folk-Lore*, p. 14.

<sup>66</sup> Grimm's *Teutonic Mythology*, Vol. I. p. 46.

<sup>68</sup> Henderson's *Folk-Lore*, p. 117.

<sup>70</sup> Henderson's *Folk-Lore*, p. 139.

<sup>72</sup> Pliny's *Natural History*, Book xxviii. Chaps. 11, 15, 17, 19.

<sup>74</sup> Scott's *Border Minstrelsy*, p. 89.

<sup>76</sup> Paṇḍit Narsinha's *Nighanturāja*, p. 63.

<sup>78</sup> Moore's *Oriental Fragments*, p. 326. <sup>79</sup> *Zool. Myth.* Vol. I. p. 281.

<sup>81</sup> Grimm's *Teutonic Mythology*, Vol. III. p. 1078.

<sup>83</sup> Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II. p. 140.



husband. So at news of a husband's death the widow's glass bangles are broken. The bangles not only are no longer of use but are harmful, since their spirit-scaring power will interfere with the chief use of a widow, namely, to be a house always ready to receive the dead husband's spirit. The lucky thread tied round the neck of a Dhârwar Mâdhava Brâhman girl is always made of glass beads.<sup>84</sup> Among Bijâpur Brâhmanas, on the fifth day after child-birth, the midwife lays on a stool a lemon-tipped dagger and some glass bangles.<sup>85</sup> According to Hindu religious books, a mirror should be touched by the chief mourner, when he is purified.<sup>86</sup> At Chinese doors round looking-glasses with carved frames are placed to keep off evil spirits.<sup>87</sup> The Burman white witches use a looking-glass in restoring the soul of a child, in case the dead mother takes it away.<sup>88</sup> In Japan, the mirror is a great object of worship.<sup>89</sup> In Dahomey, at the end of a big festival, glasses are broken.<sup>90</sup> A similar custom is still not unknown in Europe.<sup>91</sup> In a Russian house of mourning all mirrors are covered with sheets.<sup>92</sup> The glass called adder gem was considered a great charm by the Druids.<sup>93</sup> In England, it is unlucky to break a looking-glass.<sup>94</sup> Mirrors were formerly used by magicians as part of their ceremonial, and there was an ancient divination by the looking-glass.<sup>95</sup> In England, it is unlucky to see one's face in a glass at night.<sup>96</sup> The Hindus have a similar belief.<sup>97</sup>

**Grass.** — The Hindus believe that spirits fear the sacred grass called *darbha*.<sup>98</sup> According to Paṇḍit Narsinhâ's *Nighanturâja*, p. 85, white *darbha* grass is a cure for fever, hard breathing and bile. The sacredness and spirit-scaring power of the grass are apparently due to these medical properties. Besides *darbha*, two other grasses, *durva*<sup>99</sup> and *munj*,<sup>100</sup> are held sacred by the Hindus. The *Durva* grass is known in Sanskrit by twenty-one names, of which one is *mahau-shadhi*, the great all-heal, another, *śatagranthi*, the hundred-knotted, and a third, *bhûtahantri*, spirit-slayer. *Durva* grass is a specific for fainting,<sup>1</sup> fever, dysentery and nausea.<sup>2</sup> *Munj* grass is soveran for cough and bile complaints. It is considered pure enough for *dikshâ* or initiation, for *griharâkshâ* or house-protection, and for destroying evil spirits.<sup>3</sup> *Darbha*, *Poa cynosuroides*, is invoked in the *Atharva Vêda* to destroy enemies.<sup>4</sup> In Western India, the dying Hindu is laid on *darbha* grass, and in all Hindu funeral rites *darbha* grass is required. While performing funeral rites, the chief mourner wears *darbha* grass rings, and sits on *darbha* grass.<sup>5</sup> Among Pattanê Prabhus, the juice of *durva* grass is dropped into the left nostril of a girl, when coming of age and pregnancy rites are performed.<sup>6</sup> The Vadar chief mourner in Bijâpur sprinkles molasses, water and green grass on the corpse-bearers' shoulders.<sup>7</sup> Among the Bijâpur Nâdigs, after the burial, men bathe and return home carrying five stones and some blades of *durva* grass.<sup>8</sup> In thread-girding the Karnâtak Brâhmanas put a girdle of *darbha* grass thrice round the boy.<sup>9</sup> When a Dekhan Kanôj Brâhman girl comes of age, on the sixth day the husband pounds *darbha* grass and drops some of the juice into her nostril.<sup>10</sup> Among the Dekhan Dhruva Prabhus, before the thread ceremony a razor is taken and sprinkled with water, and with it a blade of the sacred grass is cut over the boy's right ear, a second behind his head, and a third on his left side.<sup>11</sup> A bundle of hay is tied to the lucky post in the Shôlâpur Mudliâ's wedding booth.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>84</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XXII. p. 81.

<sup>86</sup> Colebrooke's *Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. I. p. 174.

<sup>88</sup> Shway Yoe's *The Burman*, Vol. II. p. 102.

<sup>90</sup> Burton's *Dahomey*, Vol. II. p. 269.

<sup>92</sup> Mrs. Romanoff's *Rites and Customs of the Græco-Russian Church*, p. 239.

<sup>93</sup> Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, Vol. III. p. 287.

<sup>95</sup> Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, Vol. III. pp. 169, 170.

<sup>97</sup> Information from Mr. P. B. Joshi.

<sup>99</sup> *Agrostis linearis*.

<sup>1</sup> The *durva* grass being a cure for fainting, is the reason why *durva* grass juice is squeezed into the nostril of a Chitpâvan girl at her pregnancy-ceremony.

<sup>2</sup> Paṇḍit Narsinhâ's *Nighanturâja*, p. 86.

<sup>4</sup> Colebrooke's *Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. I. p. 90.

<sup>6</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XVIII. p. 219.

<sup>8</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XXIII. p. 257.

<sup>10</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XVIII. p. 170.

<sup>85</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XXIII. p. 84.

<sup>87</sup> Gray's *China*, Vol. II. p. 44.

<sup>89</sup> Reed's *Japan*, Vol. I. p. 59.

<sup>91</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 269.

<sup>92</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 239.

<sup>94</sup> Dyer's *Folk-Lore*, p. 277.

<sup>96</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. III. p. 171.

<sup>98</sup> *Poa cynosuroides*.

<sup>100</sup> *Saccharum munja*.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 84.

<sup>5</sup> Information from Mr. P. B. Joshi.

<sup>7</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XXIII. p. 213.

<sup>9</sup> Dubois, Vol. I. p. 224.

<sup>11</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XVIII. p. 188. <sup>12</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XX. p. 46.

Suppliants put grass in their mouths, apparently to scare anger from the mind of the person they address. So, about 1760, when the Kôlis took the fort of Trimbak, the Musalmân garrison are described as going about with grass in their mouths.<sup>13</sup> Shôlâpur Mânḡs, on their return from a funeral, bring *haridâḷī*<sup>14</sup> grass and *nīm* leaves, and strew them on the floor of the house where the body was laid.<sup>15</sup> In Bengal, the Brâhman bride during part of the marriage ceremony sits on a mat of *virânâ*<sup>16</sup> grass, covered with silk.<sup>17</sup> In Bengal, at the beginning of the marriage ceremony, the first part of which is the solemn reception of the bridegroom by the father-in-law, the father presents the bridegroom with a cushion of *darbha* grass on which the bridegroom stands.<sup>18</sup> Hindus use *darbha* grass to purify their sacrificial vessels.<sup>19</sup> In the thread-girding, Karnâṭak Brâhman wind a girdle of *darbha* grass thrice round the boy.<sup>20</sup> Hindus scatter *darbha* grass over a place which has been smeared with cow-dung.<sup>21</sup> In South India, the sight of *darbha* grass is believed to drive off the giants, demons and other bad spirits, who hurt man and spoil Brâhman ceremonies. The charm called *pavitrak*, purifier, consists of three, five, or seven blades of *darbha* grass worn in the form of a ring. Before beginning any ceremony the priest takes the grass ring, dips it in holy water, and draws it on his middle right finger. This holy grass enters into all ceremonies, all sacrifices, and all religious and social rites.<sup>22</sup> On the 11th of Âśâdh (June-July) in Southern India no rice is eaten. People take a bundle of *darbha* grass, go to a temple of Vishṇu, make a bed of the grass, and pass the night in the temple.<sup>23</sup> In India, images of grass are made at places of pilgrimage,<sup>24</sup> and formerly a blade of grass in a man's hair was a sign that he was for sale.<sup>25</sup> The Brâhman's sacred waist-thread, at the time of thread-girding, is made from the *munj*<sup>26</sup> grass.<sup>27, 28</sup> Hindu recluses sit on *darbha* grass.<sup>29</sup> The Beni-Isrâ'îls, on leaving a grave, pick three handfuls of grass and throw them back over their heads, apparently to prevent the spirit of the dead following them to his house.<sup>30</sup> Similarly, the ancient Jews, as they returned from the grave, plucked grass and threw it behind them two or three times, saying:—"They shall flourish outside of the city like grass upon the earth."<sup>31</sup> In Egypt *kuphos* grass was burnt to drive off malaria.<sup>32</sup> In 1583, the Chinese wore straw hats as a sign of mourning.<sup>33</sup> In Japan, a straw rope is tied round the temple of the sun-goddess to keep off evil spirits.<sup>34</sup> The women of the South Sea Islands and the Motu women of New Guinea wear grass girdles.<sup>35</sup> The Motu men and women of New Guinea wear plaited strips of bark or grass about two inches broad, as an armlet, round the upper arm. These armlets are often smeared with red clay.<sup>36</sup> The Negrillos of the Philippine Islands (1695) wear no ornaments, except bracelets of rushes.<sup>37</sup> At a holy spot in Dahomey travellers are given a blade of grass to throw towards the object of worship.<sup>38</sup> The woman who led a band of Kafirs in the South African war of 1878 had wisps of straw in her ears, a charm which made her wound-proof.<sup>39</sup> Some Papuans plait rushes into their hair round the crown.<sup>40</sup> The only ornament of Wafip, an East African chief was a few strings of grass worn round his legs.<sup>41</sup> Well-to-do Nubian women wear glass bracelets; those who are poor wear bracelets of grass.<sup>42</sup> The Monbatus of Central Africa twist ornaments for themselves out of reeds and

<sup>13</sup> Mackintosh in *Trans. Bombay Geog. Soc.*, Vol. I. p. 244.

<sup>14</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XX. p. 174.

<sup>15</sup> Colebrooke's *Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. I. p. 213.

<sup>16</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 152.

<sup>17</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 208.

<sup>18</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 526.

<sup>19</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. III. p. 16.

<sup>20</sup> *Dâbistân*, Vol. II. p. 53.

<sup>21</sup> Ward's *View of the Hindus*, Vol. I. p. 7.

<sup>22</sup> Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, Vol. II. p. 266. The saying apparently means — they, that is the spirits, shall (rather, perhaps, may the spirits) flourish outside of the city [and not return among the dwellings of men.]

<sup>23</sup> Maurice's *Indian Antiquities*, Vol. VII. p. 631.

<sup>24</sup> Reed's *Japan*, Vol. I. p. 34.

<sup>25</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. VII. p. 479.

<sup>26</sup> Burton's *Dahomey*, Vol. I. p. 286.

<sup>27</sup> Earl's *Papuans*, p. 18. <sup>28</sup> Thomson's *Lakes of Central Africa*, Vol. II. p. 221. <sup>29</sup> Burkhardt's *Nubia*, p. 14.

<sup>30</sup> *Cynodon dactylin.*

<sup>31</sup> *Andropogon aromaticum.*

<sup>32</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 205.

<sup>33</sup> Dubois, Vol. I. p. 224.

<sup>34</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. I. pp. 202, 204.

<sup>35</sup> Ward's *View of the Hindus*, Vol. II. p. 131.

<sup>36</sup> *Saccharum munja.*

<sup>37</sup> Maurice's *Indian Antiquities*, Vol. V. p. 968.

<sup>38</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XVIII. p. 584.

<sup>39</sup> Kerr's *Voyages*, Vol. VII. p. 500.

<sup>40</sup> *Jour. Anthropol. Inst.* Vol. VII. p. 476.

<sup>41</sup> *Careri in Churchill*, Vol. IV. p. 414.

<sup>42</sup> Cunningham's *South Africa*, p. 373.

grass, and wear them, like rings, round their arms and legs.<sup>43</sup> The Balucka women of Central Africa pierce both their ears and lips, and insert inch-long bits of grass stalk.<sup>44</sup> Bongo women put straw into holes made through their lips and nostrils.<sup>45</sup> In some American tribes, a traveller, to drive out the spirit of weariness, rubs his legs with grass, spits on the grass, and lays it on a shrine at a crossing of ways.<sup>46</sup> In the Greek festival to the sun, grass was consecrated and carried about.<sup>47</sup> The Romans had a custom of laying a sacred sieve in the road, and using for medical purposes the stalks of grass that grew through the holes.<sup>48</sup> In Middle Age Scotland, oaths were taken on grass. Compare Scott's *Border Minstrelsy*, p. 362:—

“So swore she by the grass so green.  
So swore she by the corn.”

In England, a straw drawn through a child's mouth close to a running stream cures the thrush.<sup>49</sup> In England, herbs used to be strewn in churches on humiliation and thanksgiving days.<sup>50</sup> That spirits fear grass may have been one of the reasons for the old English custom of **strewn the floors of houses with rushes**. Rushes were used in Devonshire as a charm for the thrush, as well as for their coolness, and their pleasant myrtle-like smell when broken. In the north of England rushes are still (1857) used in making rush lights.<sup>51</sup>

**Grain.** — Spirits fear grain, probably because grain scares the spirit of hunger, is a valuable poultice, and yields liquor. According to the Hindus, grain scares spirits, because certain guardian spirits or gods live in grain. Five deities live in rice: — Brahmā the Creator, Sōma the moon, Ravi the sun, the Marutganas or wind gods, and Lakshmī, the goddess of wealth.<sup>52</sup> In all leading Hindu ceremonies, in Western India, grains of *sarshapā*, *Sinapis dichotoma*, and parched rice are scattered to scare fiends.<sup>53</sup> In Thānā, among the Marāṭhā Brāhmaṇs, when a daughter-in-law returns home from a distance, an elderly woman comes forward to greet her, and waves round her face water and rice, and throws the water and rice into the street, telling the lady not to look back.<sup>54</sup> The admitted object of this waving is to drive away any roadside or other spirit that may have attached itself to the travellers. In the East Dekhan, the exorcist piles small heaps of millet round the possessed person, and, when driving out the spirit, holds grains of millet in his righthand and keeps throwing grains in the patient's face. Rice is poured over the stool on which the Dekhan Chitpāvan boy sits, when he is being girt with the sacred thread.<sup>55</sup> The Chitpāvan bride and bridegroom stand on rice heaps, and, before her wedding, the Chitpāvan bride sits in front of a picture of the gods and throws rice over it.<sup>56</sup> When an Uchlā woman dies in child-bed, as the body leaves the house a nail is driven into the threshold to keep her spirit from coming back, and on the road to the burning ground *rālā* grains are strewn.<sup>57</sup> At their marriage, the Poona Uchlā bride and bridegroom sit on a blanket in a square of rice.<sup>58</sup> The Velālīs, a Poona Tamiḷ class of Vaiśyas, strew the ground with parched grain before the body, when it is carried to the burial-ground.<sup>59</sup> In the Dekhan, when one Brāhmaṇ asks another to dine at his house, the host lays a few grains of rice in the guest's right hand, and at their memorial or *śrāddh* ceremony the performer throws grains of rice and sesamum to all the Four Quarters to keep off evil spirits.<sup>60</sup> At the end of a Poona Dhruva Prabhu's wedding, when it is time to bow out the wedding gods, rice is thrown over them.<sup>61</sup> In Poona, on Dasahrā day (Sept.-Oct.), men of the higher classes wear in their turbans some seedlings of the rice, barley, wheat, and pulse, which have been grown in baskets in the temple of Bhavānī during the nine previous days. At a Dekhan Kunbī's wedding, in the girl's

<sup>43</sup> Schweinfurth's *Heart of Africa*, Vol. II. p. 117.

<sup>44</sup> Bancroft, Vol. III. p. 481.

<sup>45</sup> Grimm's *Teutonic Mythology*, Vol. III. p. 1200.

<sup>46</sup> Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, Vol. II. p. 118.

<sup>47</sup> The Sanskrit text is:—*Agnē Brāhmācha Sōmascha Ravir agnē Marutgandha*.

<sup>48</sup> Information from Mr. P. B. Joshi.

<sup>49</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XVIII. p. 117.

<sup>50</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XVIII. p. 474.

<sup>51</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XVIII. p. 260.

<sup>44</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 258.

<sup>45</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 297.

<sup>47</sup> Maurice's *Indian Antiquities*, Vol. V. p. 895.

<sup>49</sup> Dyer's *Folk-Lore*, p. 150.

<sup>51</sup> Chambers's *Book of Days*, p. 507.

<sup>54</sup> Information from Mr. Govind Paṇḍit.

<sup>56</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XVIII. pp. 130, 132.

<sup>58</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XVIII. p. 472.

<sup>60</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XVIII. p. 155.

<sup>61</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XVIII. p. 190.

village, a ball of rice is waved round the boy's head and thrown away, and at the lucky moment grains of rice are thrown on the couple.<sup>62</sup> In Poona, at Halálkhôr weddings, the bride and bridegroom throw rice over the sacrificial fire and the water jars.<sup>63</sup> Among the Dekhan Kanôj Brâhman a heap of earth sown with corn is the wedding *dêvak* or guardian.<sup>64</sup> At their weddings, the Dekhan Lôdhîs raise a pile of rice at the door of the boy's house, which he kicks down.<sup>65</sup> Among the Têlañg Nhâvis of Bijâpur the chief marriage rite is that the priest should throw rice over the boy and girl.<sup>66</sup> On Cobra Day, *Nâgpañchanî*, in July, Prabhu women draw a picture of a cobra in grains of rice, and on the cobra throw pulse, parched grain, and pieces of plantains and cocoanuts.<sup>67</sup> The Dekhan Prabhu during his morning visit to his cow throws grains of rice over her, pours water over her feet, and goes round her.<sup>68</sup> At the Dekhan Kanôj Brâhman wedding, a measure of rice is set on the threshold of the boy's house, and the bride as she enters spills it.<sup>69</sup> The Dekhan Govardhan Brâhman throw grains of Indian millet over the head of the boy at the thread-girding.<sup>70</sup> At Nâsik, when cholera breaks out, the leading Brâhman collect in little doles from each house a small allowance of rice, put the rice in a cart, take it beyond the limits of the town, and there throw it away. This rice is a scape into which has entered the evil influence of the cholera.<sup>71</sup> Ahmadnagar Brâhman women in the afternoon go to a temple, or a place where sacred books are read, sit for a while, drop rice before the god or the reader, and in the rice trace the shape of a lotus.<sup>72</sup> Among the Ahmadnagar Mhârs millet grains are thrown over the bride and bridegroom, and the bridegroom's mother waves burnt bread round them, and pours water at their feet.<sup>73</sup> In Kôlhâpur, if a man eats bread made of the seven grains — barley, wheat, sesamum, *râld*, *mug*,<sup>74</sup> *sâvé* and *chinak*, no spirit can harm him.<sup>75</sup> The Râjpûts of Kâthiâwâr distribute boiled wheat on the day of naming.<sup>76</sup> In the Karnâtak, the bride and bridegroom take rice out of two baskets and throw it over each other's head.<sup>77</sup> The Shênvis of Kânara fasten festoons of rice ears and mango leaves to their house lintel.<sup>78</sup> The North Kânara Lingâyats shower millet on the bride and bridegroom.<sup>79</sup> In Belgaum, when the Mudaliâr's corpse is laid on the pile, the mourners drop rice into the mouth.<sup>80</sup> Among Belgaum Vaddars, at their weddings, friends and relations throw rice on the heads of the bride and bridegroom.<sup>81</sup> During the festival of Dayamava in Dhârwar no corn-mills may grind corn, apparently from the fear that, as Dayamava is more of a fiend than a guardian, the blessed influence of corn-grinding may annoy her, may even put her to flight.<sup>82</sup> Among Bijâpur Shimpis, after the bride and bridegroom have been rubbed with turmeric paste, women throw rice on them, and wave lamps round them to guard them against unfriendly influences.<sup>83</sup> Bijâpur washermen throw grains of rice on the bridegroom to keep spirits from attacking him.<sup>84</sup> Among Shôlâpur Jîngars the priest mutters charms over the razor with which the boy is to be shaved, and drops red rice on it.<sup>85</sup> Among Shôlâpur Gôlak Brâhman the boy at a thread-girding sits on rice.<sup>86</sup> Among the Shôlâpur Tîrguls the family priest for ten days after a birth throws red rice over the mother.<sup>87</sup> Rice is used in emptying their divinity out of articles in which guardian power has been housed. So the Shôlâpur Jîngars, when the wedding bracelets, or *hankans*, are no longer wanted, untie them, lay them in a plate, bow to them, and drop a pinch of rice over them, and their guardian power leaves them. The sense seems to be that the guardian influence in the bracelet is bowed out and leaves, and that the pinch

<sup>62</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XVIII. p. 304.<sup>63</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XVIII. p. 438.<sup>64</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XVIII. p. 169.<sup>65</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XVIII. pp. 399, 400.<sup>67</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XVIII. p. 244.<sup>69</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XVIII. p. 170.<sup>71</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XVI. pp. 520, 521.<sup>73</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XVII. p. 177.<sup>75</sup> Information from Mr. B. B. Vakharkar, B.A.<sup>77</sup> Dubois, Vol. I. p. 310.<sup>79</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XV. p. 179.<sup>81</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XXI. p. 177.<sup>83</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XXIII. p. 168.<sup>85</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XX. p. 106.<sup>66</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XXIII. p. 256.<sup>68</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XVIII. p. 237.<sup>70</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XVIII. p. 162.<sup>72</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XVII. p. 53.<sup>74</sup> *Phaseolus mungo*.<sup>76</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. VIII. p. 120.<sup>78</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XV. p. 141.<sup>80</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XXI. p. 98.<sup>82</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XXI. p. 809.<sup>84</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XXIII. p. 276.<sup>86</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XX. p. 29.<sup>87</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XX. p. 42.

of rice is applied to prevent any wandering influence making its abode in the empty lodging.<sup>88</sup> When a married girl comes of age, Shôlâpur Kômatîs throw rice over the girl and her husband.<sup>89</sup> In the yearly village festival, in the Southern Marâthâ Country, every husbandman gets some grain and some flesh to bury in his field.<sup>90</sup> Among the Karnâtak Musalmâns grains of rice are thrown after the dead, and during the Muharram festival, to scare evil, wheat and rice are pounded, spread on the ground, and pinches of them laid in the corners of the house. In Jain temples the worshipper strews grains of rice in the form of the *svastika*, or guard-ended cross, in front of the image. A millet poultice is a common medicine with the Khonds.<sup>91</sup> The Khonds marry in the place where rice is husked.<sup>92</sup> The Orâôns put rice in the corpse's mouth.<sup>93</sup> They throw rice on the urn as they take it to the tomb, and sprinkle grain on the ground behind the bones to keep the spirit from coming back.<sup>94</sup> Like Pârsîs, Orâôns believe that they please the gods when they make merry.<sup>95</sup> At a Gond marriage rice is several times poured on the ground.<sup>96</sup> The Madia Gonds pour handfuls of rice on the ground when the corpse is lifted, and drop some grains on the body.<sup>97</sup> Among the Bengal Kôirîs, the bride and bridegroom walk seven times round a pile of water vessels, spilling grain as they go.<sup>98</sup> At a Beni-Isrâ'îl wedding, women touch the boy's knees, shoulders, and head with rice.<sup>99</sup> The winnowing fan, probably owing to its connection with grain, is holy. It is one of the gods of the Nilgiri Irulas.<sup>100</sup> The Kôis of Southern India fasten cords of rice-straw on trees or at the borders of fields.<sup>1</sup> In Southern India, the chief rite in the new-year, *pongol*, or boiling, festival, is the boiling of rice.<sup>2</sup> At the crowning of the chief of Kolastri (in Madras?) in 1778, the chief was seated on a throne under a canopy, screened from sight till the lucky moment came. The chief priest thrice dropped rice on the chief's crown. When the third sprinkling was over, a great shout was raised.<sup>3</sup> Rice, coloured with saffron and vermilion and charmed, is used at *pûjâ*, or worship. This coloured rice is the proper offering to make to any one asked to a wedding or thread-girding.<sup>4</sup> Mourners in south India drop some grains of rice into the mouth of the corpse.<sup>5</sup> In Ceylon, parched rice is scattered at special ceremonies connected with spirits.<sup>6</sup> According to the Persian sacred books, fasting brings the spirit of hunger and thirst. So with the Pârsîs fasting is wrong, and as with the Hindu Vaishnavas, feasting is a religious duty.<sup>7</sup> It is said in the *Avesta*:—"At seed-corn spirits hiss, at shoots they cough, at stalks they weep, from thick ears of corn they fly. He who grows much corn sears the mouths of spirits with red-hot iron."<sup>8</sup> With the Pârsî belief that the man who grows grain scares fiends may be compared the account given by a European writer (A. D. 1248) of a man who saw the Night Hunt coming, and rushed into a field because he was there safe. It is known, says the writer, that evil spirits cannot come into fields. Opinions differ as to the reason. Some say the Creator will not let them come, because grain is useful to men; others say the field guardians keep them off.<sup>9</sup> In a Japanese legend the sun goddess throws rice to drive off darkness, that is, evil spirits.<sup>10</sup> In Nubia, while crossing a certain valley each man throws grain on the ground as a spirit offering.<sup>11</sup> In Greece, in the rites of Isis, baskets were carried filled with wheat or barley,<sup>12</sup> and in modern Greece wheat is strewn over the dead.<sup>13</sup> The Romans offered millet cakes at the Palilia (21st April), because, says Ovid,<sup>14</sup> the rustic gods take pleasure in millet. A trace of the older spirit-

<sup>88</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XX. p. 114.

<sup>89</sup> *Jour. Ethno. Soc.* Vol. I. p. 99.

<sup>90</sup> Dalton's *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 261.

<sup>91</sup> Hislop's *Aboriginal Tribes of the Central Provinces*, App. I. p. v.

<sup>92</sup> Dalton's *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 321.

<sup>93</sup> Balfour's *Encyclopædia*, Vol. V. p. 34.

<sup>94</sup> Dubois, Vol. II. p. 337.

<sup>95</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 207.

<sup>96</sup> Bleek's *Khordah Avesta*, p. 135.

<sup>97</sup> Grimm's *Tsulongic Mythology*, Vol. III. p. 941.

<sup>98</sup> Burkhardt's *Nubia*, p. 184.

<sup>99</sup> Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 115.

<sup>90</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XX. p. 70.

<sup>91</sup> Macpherson's *Khonds*, p. 59.

<sup>92</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 261.

<sup>93</sup> *Op. cit.* p. v.

<sup>94</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XVIII. p. 523.

<sup>95</sup> *Jour. R. A. Soc.* Vol. XIII. p. 418.

<sup>96</sup> Jones' *Crowns*, p. 429.

<sup>97</sup> *Jour. R. A. Soc.* Vol. XIII. p. 522.

<sup>98</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 25.

<sup>99</sup> Reed's *Japan*, Vol. I. p. 30.

<sup>100</sup> Maurice's *Indian Antiquities*, Vol. III. p. 538.

<sup>101</sup> Ovid's *Fasts*, iv. 740-750.

<sup>92</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 55.

<sup>93</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 249.

<sup>94</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 10.

<sup>95</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 10.

<sup>96</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 10.

<sup>97</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 10.

<sup>98</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 10.

<sup>99</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 10.

<sup>100</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 10.

<sup>101</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 10.

scaring belief seems to appear in Ovid's remark,<sup>15</sup> that parched grain and salt purify. If a Cumbrian girl is jilted, the youths rub her with peas straw.<sup>16</sup> At a Corsican wedding, from the balconies girls strew flowers and grains of wheat as the bride passes.<sup>17</sup> In old legends, Seth is said to have put three seeds in Adam's mouth.<sup>18</sup> In Ireland, formerly when any one entered upon a public office, women in the streets and girls from the windows sprinkled him and his attendants with wheat and salt.<sup>19</sup> On St. Agnes' Eve, in Scotland, girls go into a field, and say: — "Agnes sweet and Agnes fair, hither, hither now repair."<sup>20</sup> In England, it was believed that straw would stop a witch. She could not step over it.<sup>21</sup> In England, beans were sacred to the dead. They were supposed to contain the souls of the dead.<sup>22</sup> In England, wheat used to be strewn before the bride on her way to church.<sup>23</sup> Wheat ears are mentioned as worn with rosemary in wedding garlands in England in the sixteenth century.<sup>24</sup> In North England, when the last sheaf is cut, a figure is raised on a pole crowned with wheat ears, and adorned with ribbons, and is carried home in triumph. It is called the *kern* or *corn baby*. Each cottage has its *kern* baby made of oat cake.<sup>25</sup> That peas are ominous or magical is shewn by the North England saying: — "Set a peapod with nine peas over the lintel, who ever comes in first will be your husband."<sup>26</sup>

(To be continued.)

## SPECIMENS OF MODERN BRAHMANICAL LEGENDS.

BY G. K. BETHAM.

### No. I. — *The Mañjgunī-Purāṇa.*

THIS is a short history of the holy place of Mañjgunī, known as *Veṅkaṭēśa-Māhātmya*, and taken from the *Mahāpurāṇa* called *Sahyādri-Khaṇḍa*.

### Preliminary Notes.

Mañjgunī is a small village situated in the west of the Tālukā, or Revenue Sub-division, of *Sirsi*, in the Collectorate of North Kanara, Bombay Presidency. According to the latest enumeration it contains 35 houses, and boasts of a population of 362 souls (194 males and 168 females). It is clean and healthy and possesses good water, and it is beautifully situated near the brow of the Western Ghāṭs. Though but a small village, it is a place of some local importance, on account of the large temple sacred to Śrī-Veṅkaṭaramaṇa, which is located there.

The Mañjgunī temple enjoys a yearly income of Rs. 1,600 from Government, which is given in lieu of the lands once attached to the temple, but now resumed. This income is supplemented by the takings of the *jātrā*, or religious fair, which is held here annually. The yearly expenditure is estimated at about Rs. 800; the outgoings being laid out on the expenses of the fair, the pay of the temple attendants — about 20 —, and the expenditure on the daily worship of the idol.

The fair is held in the month of Chaitra, the great day being the day of the full moon in that month. It commences six days before the day of the full moon, i. e., on the tenth of Chaitra, and on that day the image of Śrī-Veṅkaṭaramaṇa is placed on the lower tier of the smaller of his two cars, dragged down to a tank and then brought back again. The god is thus taken every day for five days in the flower (or small) car, each day a fresh tier, or story,

<sup>15</sup> *Op. cit.* ii. 20.

<sup>17</sup> *Sweet Anne Sage*, a novel (1868), Vol. II. p. 248.

<sup>19</sup> Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, Vol. III. p. 165.

<sup>21</sup> Henderson's *Folk-Lore*, p. 181.

<sup>23</sup> Dyer's *Folk-Lore*, p. 198.

<sup>25</sup> Henderson's *Folk-Lore*, p. 87.

<sup>16</sup> Henderson's *Folk-Lore*, p. 4.

<sup>18</sup> Yule's *Marco Polo*, p. 397.

<sup>20</sup> Dyer's *Folk-Lore*, p. 184.

<sup>22</sup> Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 115.

<sup>24</sup> Knight's *Shakespeare*, p. 82.

<sup>26</sup> Dyer's *Folk-Lore*, p. 19.

being added, till on the sixth day — the great day, the day of the full moon — the idol is placed on the great car and dragged down to the tank. Before the great car is started, cocoanuts in large numbers are broken on the wheels by the principal personages present, the cost of these cocoanuts being defrayed from the temple funds. It is then dragged down to the tank, drums and other instruments being played before it, and camphor burnt in front of it. It is next dragged back and the idol reinstated in its place in the temple. The next day a quantity of red color is prepared in a large vessel, which is kept for the purpose in front of the temple, and a great deal of horse-play ensues, the liquid being thrown over each other by the assembled people. With this the *jātrā*, or religious fair proper, closes.

About 2,500 is the average annual attendance at the fair, which lasts for about a fortnight. The people do not come from any great distance — sixty to seventy miles at the outside. Many come from below the Ghāṭs, the bulk of the pilgrims being goldsmiths and Havig Brāhmins. From the sixth day before the full moon, that is, the day of the commencement of the *jātrā*, during the time that the car is being dragged, all the Brāhmins present are fed at the temple expense — and on the great day — the day of the full moon — a regular feast consisting of sweetmeats, etc., is given, and on this day the attendance of Brāhmins is usually very large. Many people merely go to the fair to amuse themselves, but there is also a moderate attendance of *bonā fide* pilgrims, who come with offerings of jewellery, money, etc. These offerings are usually intended to propitiate the god and gain his good offices in prospering their business or in securing the recovery of relations and friends from severe illness: they are also sometimes thank-offerings. Nearly all who come offer something at the shrine, however trivial it may be: small pieces of money, or fruit, such as plantains, cocoanuts, etc.

There are two tanks at Mañjunī: a large one in front of the temple and a smaller one on one side of it. The tank to the side is called the *Kōṭhī*<sup>1</sup> Tank, and it is supposed to be particularly holy. Any one bathing in it is considered to have done as meritorious an action as if he had bathed a *karōṭ* of times in sacred springs. There is, however, but little water in it now, and so not much use of it is made by the pilgrims. There is plenty of water in the great tank, which has some twenty or twenty-five steps in it, by which people may descend or ascend. Near the great tank is a temple sacred to Hanumân and containing an image of that god.

A certain amount of trading goes on during the fair. Little business is done during the days that the car is being dragged, but afterwards, that is, from the day of the full moon, trading commences in earnest, and it usually lasts on till the day of the next new moon. The principal articles offered for sale are brass and copper vessels, cloth, cocoanuts, sweetmeats, spices, and sugar.

#### The Mañjunī-Purāṇa.

Sūta conversing with Vyāsa said: — “O! all-knowing and deeply learned Vyāsa, you have told me many notable stories. You have told me even about the origin of the Sahyādri Mountains, but I am most anxious to hear what you have not yet told me of, and that is the story of holy Venkaṭeśa, which is contained in the sacred history of god Viṣṇu. Be good enough therefore to relate it to me.”

Vyāsa, in reply, said: — “Listen to me, O Sūta! He who hears the story of the most holy actions of the glorious Viṣṇu, as well as he who relates them to others will be successful and happy. Śrī-Viṣṇu, after he had been kicked by Bhṛigu Rishi, left Vaikuṇṭha and came down to Venkaṭadri, where, on account of its resemblance to Vaikuṇṭha, he settled. The place abounded with tanks of pure water and various trees, plants, creepers, and flowers, such as the Aśoka, the Punnāga, etc. The demons, who resided in the place, being terrified by the presence

<sup>1</sup> *Kōṭhī*, a granary, store-house: also a common term for a square in a *māthā-gar*, i. e., for a salt-pan. The term *kōṭhī* applies to either the Kōnēri or the Dhēnu Tīrtha. I incline however to identify it with the Dhēnu-Tīrtha. A large tank might be the Kōnēri-Tīrtha of the *Purāṇa*, as it is square in shape and has steps on all four sides of it.

of Vishṇu, fled from the spot, and assuming the forms of wild beasts they entered Bhūtaka, where they began to trouble the Ṛishis. The Ṛishis thereupon went in search of Vishṇu, who, having assumed the name of Veṅkatêśa, had concealed himself on the hill or mountain of Veṅkatâchala and begged of him to relieve them from the troubles occasioned by the quondam demons (now wild beasts). Sri-Veṅkatêśa, in reply, told them that he had come down from Vaikuṇṭha to win Padmâvatî for his wife, and also to protect his devotees. He further told them to be in readiness to assist him in his matrimonial designs, and in return, should they prove useful to him, he promised to remove the cause of all their griefs and anxieties. Accordingly, Sri-Veṅkatêśa, after he had won Lakshmî, started from the Sêshâchala Mountain with her, attended by Vishvaksêna and other followers, and made a circuit in order to protect his worshippers, and to relieve them of their cares. He pursued and killed all the wild beasts he met with, and in doing this he travelled a considerable distance. He traversed the countries of Chôla and Pândya, and bathed in the river Kâvêrî. He crossed many rivers, among others the Nêtravatî, so called because it took its rise from the eyes of Varâhasvâmin, when he was living in the Sahyâdri, and the Kumâradhara,<sup>2</sup> both the Tuigâ and the Bhadrâ, which begin from Varâhasvâmin's jaws, and the Sôma<sup>3</sup> and the Aghnâśinî,<sup>4</sup> and thus seeking for a suitable shady and well-watered resting place, he eventually settled down near to a beautiful tank called Kaṅka, which is situated to the west of the river Aghanâśinî."

Sûta then asked Vyâsa to tell him about the origin of the tank, and how it came by its name, whereupon Vyâsa replied :—

"Hear, then, O Sûta, the (history of the) origin of the blessed tank.

Once upon a time a Ṛishi called Kaṅka, (a person) of profound learning and great piety, in the course of his travels, during which he had bathed in many sacred streams and exercised great charity, came at length to the Ṛishi-Parvata, on a mountain in the Sahyâdri Range. Here he found many Ṛishis living, namely, Bhâradvâja, Kauśika, Jâbâli, Kâśyapa and others, with several demi-gods, Gandharvas, Apsaras, Kumâras, and Siddhas. He, therefore, resolved to remain in the place for a long time. On one occasion, when he went into the surrounding forest to gather fruits and roots, he saw the birds and beasts gasping in the great heat of the sun, and suffering much from the want of water, which was not obtainable in the forest. Being filled with compassion for these helpless creatures, he created a tank, from which they could get water to drink, and which would likewise be generally useful. He used also to bathe every day in the tank himself, and commenced practising very severe austerities. Sri-Bhagavat, the husband of Kamalâ, was much pleased with the piety and devotion of the Ṛishi, and in consequence, after the lapse of some time, he appeared to him and promised to give him whatever he might desire. The holy man then asked that it might be ordained, that from that day he himself, as well as all others who should bathe in the tank, might receive absolution from all sins and thus obtain salvation. He also asked that the tank might be called after him. Sri-Bhagavat, being pleased at the request, promised to grant it, with the addition that great worldly happiness should likewise be the portion of all believers bathing in the tank, and then, having said this, he disappeared. Since that time the tank has been known by the name of Kaṅka-hrada (or the tank of Kaṅka)."

After hearing the above, Sûta asked Vyâsa to tell him, whether there was any instance of any one having been freed from sin and its consequences, by bathing in the blessed tank, to which Vyâsa replied :—"Hear from me, O Sûta, this ancient and mysterious history. Once upon a time Nârada, on the occasion of a visit to the holy city of Kâśî, saw a beautiful woman performing her devotions. He asked her who she was, and why she was thus doing penance : whereon Gaṅgâ gave answer thus :— 'O Nârada, all persons leave their sins in me, and go

<sup>2</sup> A river rising from the eyes of Varâhasvâmi ; lit., the taker away of virginity [Kumâradhara ?].

<sup>3</sup> The name of a small stream near Gôkarna.

<sup>4</sup> The Aghanâśinî or Tâdrî river, rises near Sirsî in North Kanara and falls into the Arabian Sea : known locally under the name of Donihalla also.



away free. I am thus doing penance in order to get rid of these sins, which are a great burthen to me, and to gain salvation. I am indeed fortunate to meet with you now thus. Advise me as to what I should do.'” Nārada then said :— ‘O woman, Śrī-Veṅkaṭeśa has come down (from Vaikuṇṭha) to relieve all people of their sins, and he has taken up his abode near the waters of the Kaṅka-hrada in the Sahyādris, and has promised to bestow complete absolution and salvation on those who bathe in those waters. If you join the river Svēdinī<sup>5</sup> your wishes will be gratified.’ Accordingly, the (river) Gauges, which had assumed the form of a woman, took its course through the rocks, and joined itself to the Svēdinī, the warm water of which is said to be the sweat of Śrī Veṅkaṭeśa. Having done this it passed on under the name of the Sītala-Gaṅgā to Veṅkaṭeśa, and so on to the Kaṅka-hrada. There being purified, it (or she) once more returned to Vārāṇasī, being, however, directed by Veṅkaṭeśa to repair thither (*i. e.*, to the Kaṅka-hrada), on one Sunday in the month of Māgha every year.”

Vyāsa then said further :—“Brahmā and Mahēśu assumed the forms of a cow and calf respectively and came to Śrī-Veṅkaṭeśa (at the Kaṅka-hrada), but were unable to ascend the stone on which he was reclining. Śrī-Veṅkaṭeśa, taking pity on them, caused the stone to become soft. After this the cow and the calf used to ascend the stone and bathe the image of Veṅkaṭeśa every morning and evening in milk. A Brāhmaṇ, observing this, used to feed them regularly every day, in return for which devotion they bestowed much wealth upon him, they themselves meanwhile wandering about in the jungles.”

After hearing this, Sūta asked Vyāsa to tell him (the story of) the origin of the Sōma and Aghanāśini Rivers.

Vyāsa then said :—“Dakshaprajāpati gave his thirty-three daughters in marriage to Chandra. Of these Chandra loved only Rōhiṇī, and neglected the others, wherefore in their wrath they cursed him. To avert the evil of the curse, Chandra, by the advice of his *guru*, made a *liṅga*, to which he gave his own name, and began to do penance. While thus engaged in worship, Paramēśvara suddenly appeared from the *liṅga*, and striking the earth with the *triśūla* he held in his hand, he caused water to rise out of the earth, wherewith he freed Chandra from the consequences of the curse. This holy water, rising as it does in the Sahyādris, flows south for a distance of twenty-four miles, and then turning backwards it joins the Chaṇḍikā,<sup>6</sup> whence receiving the names of the Somāghanāśinī<sup>7</sup> and Kāmāghanāśinī<sup>8</sup> Rivers, it passes to the south of Gōkarna and falls into the Western Sea.”

Sūta then asked Vyāsa what further deeds were done by Śrī-Veṅkaṭeśa, while resident in the Kaṅka-hrada.

Vyāsa replied :—“While Śrī-Veṅkaṭeśa was thus reclining on the stone, a *yōgin* called Tirumala, a follower of Viṣṇu, after travelling all over the world and visiting many sacred places, came at length to this very spot, which from its shade and the presence of the Kaṅka-hrada, appeared to be very charming. After bathing in the tank and performing his usual daily ceremonies, he drank some water, and then seating himself under a tree he commenced meditating deeply (upon Viṣṇu). Presently he heard a voice from the skies saying :—‘O Tirumala Yōgin, Śrī-Veṅkaṭeśa and his attendant deities are on the stone that is in Kaṅka-hrada here. Take him from this place and convey him to Mañjgunī, which lies in a northerly direction from here. Arrived there establish me (*sic*) near the *hutta*,<sup>9</sup> which is at the foot of an Aśōka tree, situated to the west of the Somāghanāśinī. To the north-east of the *hutta* lies the Kōṇēri<sup>10</sup> Tīrtha, and in this *tīrtha* a good deal of treasure has been buried by one Vasu

<sup>5</sup> Synonymous with the Pātāla-Gaṅgā; *lit.*, sweat of Śrī-Veṅkaṭeśa.

<sup>6</sup> A small stream rising in the Western Ghāts near Dēvīmaṇi, North Kānara.

<sup>7</sup> The Aghanāśinī of Sōma.

<sup>8</sup> The Aghanāśinī of Kāma, the name of a small stream near Gōkarna. These two streams are affluents of the Aghanāśinī or Tādri river.

<sup>9</sup> [*Hutta* means ‘an anthill’ in Kanarese.]

<sup>10</sup> A square pond or tank with steps on all four sides (Kanarese).

(by name). From this store (of treasure) take as much as you need for erecting the seat and finish the work as soon as possible.' On hearing these commands issued from the skies, Tirumala Yôgin swooned with delight, and while thus lying in a trance, he beheld as in a dream Śrī-Veṅkaṭeśa, resplendent in appearance with his bow and arrows, discus, spear and his other weapons in his hands, and adorned as to his person with all sorts of jewellery and ornaments, who thus addressed him:—'I am much pleased with your devotion. Since I left Veṅkaṭādri I have travelled far and wide and seen many countries, and now I wish to take up my residence for the future in the Sahyādri, or, as it is sometimes called, the Paśchimādri. Continue to worship me devoutly and I will bestow salvation on you. I will also assume your name and dwell there with my attendant deities. Mañjgunī is a sacred place, and is blessed by the presence of five *tīrthas*, called respectively the Chakra Tīrtha, the Dhēnu Tīrtha,<sup>11</sup> the Patanya<sup>12</sup> Tīrtha, the Indu Tīrtha,<sup>13</sup> and the Pāpanāśinī Tīrtha<sup>14</sup> Take me then from this place, and carry me till you feel my weight sensibly increased, and when that comes to pass establish me in that place. Awake, therefore, from your dream.' So saying he clapped his hands and vanished. Tirumala Yôgin woke up, pleased and joyful, from his refreshing sleep and happy dream, and forthwith proceeded to remove the image of Veṅkaṭeśa from the stone on which it was placed. While looking at it with great joy, he inadvertently let fall the chisel which he had in his hand on to the left side of Veṅkaṭeśa, thereby causing a wound from which the blood flowed freely. When Tirumala Yôgin perceived this he prostrated himself before the image and began to weep bitterly; when he again heard a voice from above, as on the previous occasion, saying:—'Press the wound with thine hand and the bleeding will cease.' He accordingly did as he was told and the flow ceased; he then took the idol up in his hands to convey it to Mañjgunī as directed. On his doing this, the cow and the calf assaulted him violently, striking him with their heads but not goring him, which terrified the *yôgin* very much, and he called upon Veṅkaṭeśa to come to his aid, whereupon a voice again came from above proclaiming:—'Know who this holy man is.' On hearing this the cow and the calf desisted from their attacks, and the cow bathed the idol in its milk, and the gods, casting aside their disguises, appeared in their true forms (*i. e.*, as Brahmā and Siva). The *yôgin* then again took up the idol, and, as it was smirched with blood and milk, he washed it in the waters of the Kaṇka-hrada. This made the water impure and so Tirumala implored the sun to cleanse it, whereupon the sun, assuming the form of a swan, removed all the impurities and threw them on to the edge of the tank. After washing himself once more in the water thus purified, Tirumala, under the direction of Brahmā, applied *gōpīchandana* of the earth from the edge of the tank, and then proceeded in a northerly direction.

"Brahmā and Mahēsa (that is, the cow and the calf) then addressed Śrī-Veṅkaṭeśa as follows:—'O god, we have devoted ourselves, soul and body, to your service until now: what reward will you bestow upon us in return?' Śrī-Veṅkaṭeśa replied thus:—'Those who in future shall worship your foot-prints on this rock, in the form of a cow and calf, shall obtain the reward which is the meed of those who observe *gōpathamahāvratā*,<sup>15</sup> and those who worship the foot-prints of a cow and a calf together shall obtain the same reward as though they had given away a cow and a calf together in charity. Return now to your native place.'

"Tirumala Yôgin then, still carrying the idol, advanced further and further into the forest, till at length feeling the weight (of the image) intolerable, he set it down on a white-ants' nest while he rested. After resting himself sufficiently, he essayed to lift the image once more, but was unable to do so; and while struggling with the weight, he once more heard a voice from above saying:—'O Tirumala, this is the sacred and beautiful spot called Mañjgunī. Seat the image here.' Overcome with joy, Tirumala lifted the idol, which no longer resisted his efforts and placed it in the appointed spot near the Aśōka tree, and having done this, he

<sup>11</sup> *I. e.*, the cow-spring.

<sup>13</sup> *I. e.*, the moon-spring.

<sup>12</sup> *Lit.*, poetry. The spring sacred to poetry or verse: the spring of recital.

<sup>14</sup> *I. e.*, the sin-cleansing spring.

<sup>15</sup> Worship of cow and calf.

worshipped it. While thus engaged, he heard voices reciting the *Vēdas* and chanting *Hara-Kīrtanas*, and the sound of drums of various descriptions being beaten, and he, therefore, bent his steps in that direction. On arriving at the place he espied Sômēśa, whereupon he hastily turned back again without performing any obeisance, or in any way acknowledging him. Paramēśvara then said to his wife Pārvatī:—‘O Dēvī, this *yōgin* is devoted to Vishṇu, and spends his life in his service and in performing his works. All the gods are willing to help him in this, and we also should go. To him all gods are alike.’ Pārvatī replied:—‘Oh Mahēśa! you may go, if you like to help one who did not acknowledge our presence by even bowing down before us,’ and so saying she cursed all gods to be stones. Mahēśvara, considering this unjust on the part of his wife Pārvatī, left her and went away to the North-East, with the intention of being kind to, and assisting the *jñānis*, devotees and others who are zealous in his service. There he assumed the form of Pañchānana, and began practising severe austerities. His wife Pārvatī, in a dejected mood, went to a place which was half a *yōjana* away to the South-East. Here she met the Rishi Nārada, who was going to visit Śrī-Veikaṭēśa, who had now taken up his abode near the Sômāghanāśinī river, so as to be near Tirumala Yōgin, whom he loved. Acting on the advice she received from Nārada, Pārvatī bathed in the waters of the Kaṅka-hrada and of the Sômāghanāśinī, and then she worshipped her son Gaṇapati, so that she might succeed in her object.”

Sūta then asked Vyāsa:—“What did Tirumala do at the foot of the Aśōka tree?” Vyāsa replied:—“When Tirumala returned from his hurried visit to Sômēśa, he found Śrī-Veikaṭēśa in the form of an idol, so he fell prostrate before the image in a swoon. Meanwhile Nārada having sent Pārvatī off as described above, came to Tirumala. He saw him lying senseless, and the god Śrī-Veikaṭēśa turned to stone. Being surprised at this, he played upon his *vīṇā*, in order to propitiate Jayadēśvara. Tirumala Yōgin thereupon recovered from his swoon, and begged of Nārada to restore Śrī-Veikaṭēśa to his former condition. Nārada replied:—‘You have committed two sins: one is that you let your chisel fall on the sacred person of Śrī-Veikaṭēśa, and the other is, that you did not make obeisance to Sômēśa. Go, therefore, to the North-East where Siva is performing austerities, and then go to the South-East of this place where Pārvatī is worshipping Gaṇapati, and pray to her devoutly. You will then be absolved from your sins, and Śrī-Veikaṭēśa will be as he was before. Build a temple and place (the image of) Śrī-Veikaṭēśa in it. All the gods will be present at the installation, and so will I.’ So saying Nārada departed. Tirumala Yōgin took out of the Kônēri-Tīrtha as much gold as he needed and erected the temple. He then, by the direction of Nārāyaṇa, bathed in the Brahma-Tīrtha, and bringing water from the Skanda-Tīrtha he poured it over Nārāyaṇa and Paramēśvara, the latter having now assumed the form of Pañchaliṅga,<sup>16</sup> and worshipped both gods. He then came to the Chakra-Tīrtha and begged for help in his work from Māruti. After this he went to the South-East whither Pārvatī had gone, and after duly performing obeisance to her, he begged of her to be present at the installation ceremony of the idol. He then went to the Kônēri-Tīrtha, which, having been dug out by Nārāyaṇa’s *chakra*, contained in its waters the efficacy of all sacred waters, and performing all his daily ceremonies, such as *snāna*, *sandhyā*, etc., and thus being made free from sin he came and presented himself before Śrī-Veikaṭēśa, who thereupon appeared before him in a living form. The *yōgin* worshipped him, and then summoned many learned Brāhmins well versed in Vedic lore. Brahmā and other deities were also invited, and then, in accordance with the forms and ceremonies prescribed in the *Vishṇu Āgama*, he placed Śrī-Veikaṭēśa on the spot indicated by him, at the happy hour of noon on the fourteenth day after the full moon of

<sup>16</sup> Pañchaliṅga refers to the local legend of Gōkarnā: the five *liṅgas* are:—

- (1) Shējēśvara in Shējvād near Kārwar.
- (2) Mahābalēśvara in Gōkarnā.
- (3) Siddhēśvara in Siddhēshvar near Gōkarnā.
- (4) Dhārēśvara in Dhārēshvar, five miles south of Kumta.
- (5) Murdēśvara in Murdēshvar.

Phālguna. After the installation, Śrī-Veṅkaṭeśa was bathed by all present in *pañchāmṛita* and with the juice of *pañchaphala* in the manner laid down in the *mantras*, and then they dried him with a soft white towel, removing all moisture, and having done this they decorated him with sweet scented flowers and with *suvarṇaśēṭakā*.<sup>17</sup> They put a crown on his head, and lace on his neck, and adorned him with *kēyūtra*,<sup>18</sup> *kavacha*,<sup>19</sup> and *makara-kundala*.<sup>20</sup> After worshipping him thus, *naivēdya* was performed with all sorts of delicate dishes, sweet fruits and betel leaves: then followed *maṅgalārati*,<sup>21</sup> with all sorts and kinds of drums, dancing, singing and *mantras*, and this was succeeded by the *namaskāra*. After this Tirumala did obeisance to the Brāhmaṇas with sugarcane and flowers, and presented ornaments and clothes to all, satisfying all completely. He also fed them sumptuously, and then received their blessing. He passed that night in vigil (as enjoined by the *śāstras*) and performed the usual daily ceremonies early in the morning. He then performed the rites of *raihōtsava* and *vasantōtsava*, and the next day he performed *avabhṛitha*,<sup>22</sup> *tīrtha-snāna* and the *yōjanās*. While these sacred ceremonies were in progress Pārvatī rejoined Paramēśvara and became happy through the good offices of Śrī-Veṅkaṭeśa."

Vyāsa then further said to Sūta: — "Nārada asked Śrī-Veṅkaṭeśa to use his influence to get all the gods to settle in his neighbourhood for the good of his devotees, whereupon Śrī-Veṅkaṭeśa looked at Lakshmi with a smile. Then Mahishamardini, taking with her the Dhruva-līnga, which was to the east of the Chaṇḍikā,<sup>23</sup> went to the north-west, where she settled. This place is called Dēvīmaṇi.<sup>24</sup> A young prince, called Dhruva,<sup>25</sup> brought the Dhruva-līnga, (so called from that circumstance) from Gōkarṇa as far as Dēvīmaṇi, and when feeling tired by the weight of the *līnga* and by the heat of the sun he placed it there. Half a league from there is the Suvarṇa-kunda Tīrtha, near which lives Suvarṇakēśinī,<sup>26</sup> the daughter of a Rishi. Half a league from thence is the sacred place called Lakshmi-pada-dvaya.<sup>27</sup> To the north-west of Mañjguni Sōmēśvara resides, in order to protect good people by the command of Hari.

"Mahēśa had told his son Gaṇapati of the quarrel between Pārvatī and himself, and how she had cursed all gods to be stones, and he had therefore advised him to go elsewhere and seek a quiet and safe resting place in the village of Navanīta,<sup>28</sup> which was situated in the Pāschimādrī. Gaṇapati was accordingly wandering with his wives Siddhi, and Buddhi,<sup>29</sup> and was travelling with them, when he came to Mañjguni and found a crowd of gods and people assembled there. He also saw the *ratha* with Śrī-Veṅkaṭeśa seated in it. Māruti told him that his father was there; whereupon, filled with fear, he and his wives fled eastward. Māruti told Śrī-Veṅkaṭeśa about this, and Paramēśvara also came to hear of it, whereupon, getting angry, he cursed Gaṇapati and his wives to be turned into stones, and then in high dudgeon he retired to the north-west. Gaṇapati and his wives were accord-

<sup>17</sup> Long yellow flowers of the *Pandanus odoratissimus*: a tree specially sacred to Kāma.

<sup>18</sup> An amulet worn on the upper arm.

<sup>19</sup> Armour.

<sup>20</sup> Ear-rings in the form of fishes: worn by males only.

<sup>21</sup> The ceremony of waving a platter bearing a burning lamp round the head of an idol at the close of worship.

<sup>22</sup> Bathing at the end of a principal sacrifice for purposes of purification.

<sup>23</sup> *Lit.*, belonging to Chaṇḍī (Durgā Dēvī), a small stream in the Western Ghāts rising near Dēvīmaṇi.

<sup>24</sup> A small hamlet in the Western Ghāts, situated at the head of the Dēvīmaṇi pass, twenty-one miles south-west of Sirāl and seventeen miles to the east of Kumta.

<sup>25</sup> Possibly the Rāshtrakūta prince of this name is indicated. His other names were Nirupama, Kalīvallabha, and Dhārāvārsha. One of the five *līngas* is located at Dhārēshvar on the coast, five miles south of Kumta and some twenty miles distant from Dēvīmaṇi.

<sup>26</sup> *Lit.*, the golden-haired one: she was one of the numerous daughters of the Rishi Dakṣha by Prasūti. Her story, which is told further on in this *Mahātmya*, resembles in some points that of Danae.

<sup>27</sup> The print of Lakshmi's two feet.

<sup>28</sup> *Lit.*, fresh butter. In the text the name of some small hamlet: untraceable.

<sup>29</sup> It is evident that this is allegorical. Gaṇapati is usually represented as unmarried. He is, however, the patron whose aid is invoked at the commencement of every undertaking, and he is also the god of wisdom. Siddhi, as the personification of a being of great purity and holiness, and Buddhi, typical of wisdom, are here depicted as his wives or attendants: helpful to him in both of his characters.

ingly turned into stones before they had walked a league and a half to the eastward of Mañjgunī. Mahēśa coming to the place shortly afterwards, and seeing the sad condition of Gaṇapati, prayed to Viṣṇu, upon which Nārada went to Śrī-Veṅkaṭēśa and besought him to be merciful. But Veṅkaṭēśa said to Nārada:— ‘No one can release a son from the curse of his father: therefore let him (*i. e.*, Gaṇapati) settle at Drōṇipur,<sup>30</sup> and protect the faithful there. Let him grant the petitions made by devotees at that place. Let him become famous under the name of *Sūta-Vināyaka* within the circle of my influence. Śaṅkara, under the form of Pañchalinga, will protect devotees near my residence. Gaṇapati will remain at Rēvanbhandpur,<sup>31</sup> and will take care of the faithful there: while my servant, the devoted Māruti, will protect the (outlying) villages. Let all the other gods, who have come here settle with their attendants, live round about this place, according to their pleasure.’ Nārada was much pleased at hearing this, and from that time forward Śrī-Veṅkaṭēśa, under the name of Tirumalēśa, took up his abode in the sacred place of Mañjgunī, surrounded by deities, attendants and the sacred springs.”

Sūta then asked Vyāsa:— “What is the story of the Kōṇēri-Tīrtha? Why did Vasu bury treasure in it?”

Vyāsa, in reply, said:— “In the Kṛita-yuga there lived in the town of Vaijayantīpura<sup>32</sup> a pious merchant, by name Padmadhara. He lived a happy and contented life, with his sons and grandsons, and, under the guidance of learned Brāhman, devoted himself to the service of Madhukēśa. He had one son, who wasted his father’s money in sinful pleasures. The merchant pleaded with him but in vain, for the son paid no attention to his remonstrances, so he at last turned him out of his house and even went to the length of having him turned out of the village. The son, thereupon, repented of his misdeeds, and wandering in the forest began to pray to Nārāyaṇa, fasting. After a little while the god presented himself before him, with his *śaṅkha*, *chakra*, *gadā*, and *padma* in his hands, and requested Vasu (which was the name of the son) to ask of him whatever he might desire, and then taking up some water from the Kōṇēri-Tīrtha, he sprinkled it over his head and made him pure. Again he asked him what he wanted. Vasu, on beholding Viṣṇu, worshipped him, and begged of him to grant him great wealth in this life and eternal happiness in the next. Viṣṇu granted his request: and then saying that the waters of the Kōṇēri, or Chakra, Tīrtha, which he created by means of his *chakra*, would remove the sins of all who bathed in it, he disappeared.

“Some time after the expulsion of Vasu from his home his father, the merchant, yielding to the entreaties of his wife Padminī, despatched a number of camels (under the charge of numerous servants) laden with much treasure for his son Vasu. A note was attached to the forehead of each camel, stating that the treasure was for Vasu. He ordered his servants to bring back the treasure should they be unable to find his son. The servants, in their quest, wandered over hill and dale, and through towns and villages, till at length being thirsty, they turned aside into a forest which lay to the west of them. Here they found water, but Indra was disporting himself therein with his wives. Nevertheless, they proceeded towards it. Indra, seeing them, became enraged, and seizing some huge rocks he hurled them into the air. These falling to the ground, produced a dreadful noise, and caused dust and mist and water to rise and splash in large quantities. The servants, on beholding these terrifying phenomena, forsook the camels, and fled in every direction. The camels (left untended) went on wandering aimlessly in the forest, till at length they came to the spot where Vasu was residing. He saw the notes on their foreheads, and on reading their contents found that the treasure with which they were laden was meant for him, and he therefore took possession of it. He led a very pious life after this, and at the end, when death was approaching, he buried all his treasure in the Kōṇēri-

<sup>30</sup> *Lit.*, the village of the watering trough.

<sup>31</sup> *Lit.*, the village of the train or line of striped bullocks.

<sup>32</sup> Also called Jayantī: the modern Banavasi, a town on the extreme eastern frontier of North Kanara, some fifteen miles south-east of Sirsi.

Tirtha, and after death he went to holy Vaikunṭha. This is the improving story of Kônêri, and how it came to be full of treasure. There are other springs also, called respectively Brahma, Shapmukha, Vinâyaka, and Bilva."

Sûta then said to Vyâsa : — "Tell me what kinds of austerities were practised by Tirumala Yôgin." Vyâsa replied : — "He satisfied the Brâhmanas, and gave them much money, so that they might worship Veṅkaṭêśa according to the forms laid down in the *mantras* of Viṣṇu. He worshipped Veṅkaṭêśa thrice a day, and at the ninth hour he prayed and bowed down before his image ; and on the twelfth, fifteenth and thirtieth day of every month he presented special offerings and took the god about in his car. He used also to worship the attendant deities of Viṣṇu every day with the usual (or customary) offerings, and also with occasional (or special) ones. He offered delicate dishes of food as sacrifice, dishes such as *sâlyanna*,<sup>33</sup> *sûpa*,<sup>34</sup> *ghṛita*,<sup>35</sup> *pâyasa*,<sup>36</sup> *mâsha-bhaksha*,<sup>37</sup> *vaṭikâ*,<sup>38</sup> *sâli-taṇḍula*,<sup>39</sup> *atirasa*,<sup>40</sup> *madhu*,<sup>41</sup> *mudgâ-bhaksha*,<sup>42</sup> *apûpa-pôlikâ*,<sup>43</sup> *chaṅguli*,<sup>44</sup> *môḍaka*,<sup>45</sup> and also plaintains, jack-fruit, etc. In the season of Vasanta-ritu sacrifice (*navivêdya*) was offered by means of *pânaka*.<sup>46</sup> In the month of Kârttika rows of lights were lighted in front of the idol (image). In the season of Hêmantâ-ritu *navivêdya* was performed by means of *huggi*,<sup>47</sup> *bhakti*,<sup>48</sup> *gudâ*,<sup>49</sup> *ghṛita*, *paṭôla*,<sup>50</sup> *kaklôla*,<sup>51</sup> *viśvarêkha*,<sup>52</sup> *kûshmânḍa*<sup>53</sup> and with fruits such as grapes, dates, jack-fruit, pomegranates, and also with other good ripe fruits full of seeds (*bijapûra*) ; also with *pân-supâri*. In this way he passed many years in the company of many saints, worshipping the god. At length, by the direction of Hari, he made a pilgrimage to Giri, whereon the god revealing himself to him in his true (or original) form, his soul became merged in his. In a former life this *yôgin* had been a Brâhmaṇ called Mâdhava (now under the name of Tirumala) and, as a reward for the severe austerities he had practised in Veṅkaṭâdri, he obtained salvation."

Sûta then said to Vyâsa : — "Tell me when Veṅkaṭêśa proceeded from Giri, what he did, what object he had, where he stopped, and what form he assumed."

Vyâsa replied : — "In order to destroy cruel beasts and to protect his worshippers, Veṅkaṭêśa held a conch shell and a bow in his right hands and a *chakra* and arrows in his left hands, and having wooden sandals (on his feet) he went to live at Mañjunî in the Sahyâdri mountains. One day, when Nârada came to Veṅkaṭâgiri, he saw Padmâvatî performing austerities, because her husband had left her, and he addressed her thus : — 'Oh goddess ! your husband is staying in the Sahyâdri : go there and be happy.' On hearing this she went away, wandering on through villages and towns, deserts and forests, hills and dales, till she came at length to the Suvarṇakunda. She bathed in that pool, and was performing her devotions, when suddenly a woman named Suvarṇakêśini made her appearance from the middle of the pool and told Padmâvatî her story, which was as follows : — Once upon a time when Indra came to the pool to disport himself with his wives, he caused a shower of gold to fall into it for her (Suvarṇakêśini's) sake, for the space of about six hours. She then gave Padmâvatî some butter, and saying that her wishes would be gratified she disappeared. Padmâvatî then walked for about six miles in a north-easterly direction, looking everywhere for Veṅkaṭêśa in a despairing kind of way. While wandering thus she unexpectedly met Tirumala Yôgin, who was perform-

<sup>33</sup> I. e., cooked rice.

<sup>34</sup> Broth, soup.

<sup>35</sup> *Ghî* : clarified butter.

<sup>36</sup> A dish of rice, milk and sugar.

<sup>37</sup> Cakes or cooked food : more especially cakes made of the best kind of *udḍu*, a split pea or pulse (*Phaseolus radiatus* or *max*).

<sup>38</sup> Cakes made of pulse flour fried in oil or butter.

<sup>39</sup> The very best kind of rice.

<sup>40</sup> Sweet cakes made of rice and sugar and fried in *ghî*.

<sup>41</sup> Honey.

<sup>42</sup> Cakes made of *mudgâ*, a kind of bean. Also cooked *mudgâ*.

<sup>43</sup> Light and rich bread or cakes : *apûpa* by itself signifies this : *pôrikâ* or *pôlikâ* means simply cakes, and is therefore more or less tautological.

<sup>44</sup> Excellent — the best — molasses. [Compare the Kanarese *chigulî*.]

<sup>45</sup> Sweetmeats.

<sup>46</sup> Cooling drink : especially acidulated drink such as lemonade, tamarind water, etc.

<sup>47</sup> Boiled rice mixed with any split pulse, salt, etc. <sup>48</sup> Loaves or cakes of bread : the classic form of *bhâkara*.

<sup>49</sup> Molasses, coarse sugar.

<sup>50</sup> A dish composed of rice, flour, pumpkin or cucumber, sugar, etc.

<sup>51</sup> All-spice (*Myrtus pimenta*).

<sup>52</sup> A variety of cucumber.

<sup>53</sup> A pumpkin gourd (*Cucurbita Pepo*).

ing his round of one *kôś* round Venkatêśa. On seeing her he guessed from her face what the object was that she had in view, and he therefore said to her :— ‘ Śrī-Venkatêśa is living only about two *kôś* from here: join him and be worshipped in company with him by my devoted disciples.’ She consented to do this gladly, and went and settled down on the right side of Śrī-Venkatêśa.”

Vyâsa then said to Sûta :— ‘ Now listen and I will tell you the story of the Bilva-Tîrtha.

“ A Brâhman devoted to Bhairava was going to the Sahyâdris with the intention of worshipping him on the day of the Mahâśivayôga. While going (there) he lost his way in the forest, and being unable to find it, he betook himself to prayer without food, and without performing his usual devotions. Bhairava, therefore, determined to succour his devotee, and for this purpose he assumed the form of a bull, his wife taking that of a cow, and appeared before him like ordinary cattle, returning homewards with the herds. The Brâhman, on seeing them, followed them with the fruits, etc., he had brought with him as offerings, determining to worship Bhairava after entering the town at least. Bhairava thereon immediately appeared to the Brâhman in a very tall form, and commanded him to erect a temple to him as high as he was himself, and such as would command from it a view of Gôkarua : in return for which he promised to bestow much wealth upon him. As Bhairava was disappearing after this, the bull as if to lower his pride struck his head with his horn, and the cow poured its milk upon him, and then they both vanished: on perceiving this, the Brâhman worshipped the *lînga*, and wreathed it with *bêl*-flowers and leaves. Upon this being done, Bhairava again assumed a human shape and spoke thus :— ‘ O Brâhman, a little distance away to the east of this place there is a Tîrtha, throw the *bêl*-leaves you have adorned me with into it, take a bath in it, and then go still further east when you will meet Sômêśvara. Worship him as well as myself with *pañcadravya*<sup>54</sup> devoutly. Śrī-Venkatêśa will do what you desire:’ and saying this he disappeared. Accordingly he (the Brâhman) searched for the spring, and when he found it he threw the *bêl*-leaves and the fruit into it. In the last *yuga*, a Gandharva had forced a woman, named Ambalâ,<sup>55</sup> for his sensual pleasure. She in her wrath cursed him to be a fish until he eat *bêl*-leaves, which had been consecrated by being placed on the head of a Sivaliṅga. This Gandharva had in consequence wandered through many rivers and tanks in the guise of a fish, till at length he had come to this tank. When the leaves therefore fell into the tank, the fish eat them all, and thus, being freed from the curse, it resumed its original (or rightful) form of a Gandharva. And then addressing the Brâhman, he said :— ‘ O pious and faithful Brâhman, I have regained my former state through the leaves which you have thrown into the water: so let this spring be known in future as the Bilva-tîrtha. Those who bathe in it will be purged from all sin committed by them in their former births.’ So saying the Gandharva returned to his native place. The Brâhman was greatly surprised at hearing this, and from that time forth he used to bathe daily in that spring, and worship Bhairava and Venkatêśa, till he finally obtained eternal happiness. I have told you this story as briefly as I could. It is from this story that the spring derives its name. He who hears it or reads it will become pure and attain to Svarga.”

Vyâsa said :— “ Oh Sûta! in the last *yuga*, Skanda and Vinâyaka, when boys, contended with each other, and they came to their father, Mahêśvara, and enquired of him thus :— ‘ Tell us, O father, which of us two is the wiser and braver?’ Their father told them to go and ask Brahmâ. They therefore went to Brahma-lôka, and there they saw Brahmâ with Sarasvatî by his side. Brahmâ knowing their errand took up some water in his hands from his

<sup>54</sup> The five elements of immortality, i. e., (1) milk, (2) curds, (3) *ghî*, (4) honey, (5) sugar, which make up the mixture *pañcāmṛita*, in which an idol is bathed.

<sup>55</sup> The name of the youngest daughter of a king of Kâśî and wife of Vichitravîrya. She became the mother of Pându by Vyâsa, the brother of Vichitravîrya :— the latter dying childless. There is a curious likeness here to the Jewish law enjoining the raising up of seed to a brother dying without issue. Ambalâ is also the name of one of the Apsaras. It is probable that she is the individual indicated in the text.

*kamaṇḍalu*<sup>56</sup> and said: — ‘I am going to throw this water down to the earth. Which ever one of you can drink it all up in the air without letting any of it reach the earth, will be looked upon as the wiser and braver of the two, and he shall be as happy as if he had bathed, given tithes, observed ceremonies and worshipped on the earth.’ So saying he threw a little water in a very thin stream into the *dēva-tīrtha*. Shaṇmukha and Vināyaka tried very hard to drink up all the water, while it was in the act of falling, but they did not succeed (in doing so). The water fell down on to the earth in the Sahyādrī mountains, and it fell so quickly that it would have been impossible for even Vāyu to have caught it. Being very angry and disappointed, they (*i. e.*, Shaṇmukha and Vināyaka) began to pray to Śiva. He and his wife Gaṅgā<sup>57</sup> came and said: — ‘Your efforts are vain, you had much better do as Brahmā tells you. The water that fell from the hands of Brahmā shall be known as the *Brahma-Tīrtha*, and he who bathes in it shall go to heaven.’ On hearing this, Kumāra took some water, charged with the efficacy of his austerities, and threw it down in front of the *Brahma-Tīrtha*. He then bowed down before Mahēśa and prayed to Brahmā, whereupon Brahmā, being pleased, told him that the water he had thrown down should be known as the *Kumāra-Tīrtha*. He who bathes in these two *tīrthas* shall obtain the same amount of merit as if he had bathed in the Ganges and in the Gōdāvarī. This *Kumāra-Tīrtha* is at the foot of the mountains. The two springs are in the same forest as is the *Pañchaliṅga-Tīrtha*.”

“Paramēśvara hurried to the spot where Gaṇapati and his wives were turned into stones in consequence of his curse. He observed their condition from a distance, and being very sorry for them he began praying to Viṣṇu, facing towards him and begging of him to release them from the effects of the curse. He was feeling hungry and thirsty, wherefore Vāyu-dēva brought some *tila*,<sup>58</sup> and put it in his mouth. Paramēśvara eat it, and in consequence became a little refreshed (strengthened). Meanwhile, by the grace (or interposition) of Hari the curse was removed. Nārada who had come to the place, when he saw this, treated Gaṇapati and his wives with great respect, and held a conversation with them. He (Nārada) could not find any water wherewith to worship Śiva, so Vināyaka made a trench with the little finger of his right hand into which water flowed, and this water was used by all for the purpose of worshipping Śiva. To this water Nārada gave the name of the *Vināyaka-Tīrtha*.”

A translation<sup>59</sup> of the tradition of the Mañjgunī Temple as obtained from the authorities, (*i. e.*, from documents in their possession).

In *Saka-St.* 1341, on the fifteenth day of the month Chaitra in the Samvatsara Vilambi, I, Mādhava, minister of the brave and learned monarch, Matkari Mahārāja, have, in accordance with orders received from the king, assigned the revenues of the six villages of Kalhalli, Kalugar, Savale, Barasguni, Badagi, and Mañjgunī to the name of the god Tirumalēśa of Mañjgunī, the husband of Lakshmi; a most powerful monarch among the gods, ready to grant to his devotees whatever they may desire: who thus granted a boon to Prahlāda and who conferred on Vibhīṣaṇa the sovereignty of Laṅkā: the possessor of such ornaments as a *kaustubha*, and other (ornaments), also of a golden throne (*pālka*), studded with precious

<sup>56</sup> A vessel for keeping holy water in. Brahmā is sometimes depicted as holding it in his hand. Śiva likewise. It is specially used by *sannyāsīs*. Ascetics alone are privileged to carry the *kamaṇḍalu*. The name is also used for the gourd of the *Cucurbita anguinaris*, which is carried by ascetics for receiving alms such as handfuls of rice, etc.

<sup>57</sup> This is curious. Śiva is called Gaṅgādhara, occasionally. Gaṅgādhara means the upholder of the Ganges, in allusion to the legend which represents him as receiving the river on his brow as she fell from heaven on the intercession of the saint Bhagrattha, but nowhere else is he described as the husband of Gaṅgā. She is said to have been the wife of king Śantanu, to whom she bore eight sons.

<sup>58</sup> Sesamum.

<sup>59</sup> The whole of this account seems garbled. Matkari, the king alluded to, is unknown to history. He was probably one of the petty chiefs belonging to one of the branches of the great Chālukya family. The attempt to connect the great Mādhava, who must have flourished some eighty to ninety years earlier than Matkari, is somewhat ludicrous.



stones wherein to be carried (lit., for his use) at the time of the great feast, which takes place every year.

Another pious King<sup>60</sup> of the East, named Vijayadhvaja, who was laboring under the misfortune of being childless, came and took up his abode at Veṅkaṭāḍri, where he remained worshipping at the shrine of Veṅkaṭēśa. One night he dreamed that a Brāhmaṇa told him to go on a pilgrimage to the holy place of Mañjgunī and to bathe in the *tirthas* there, and that then his desire would be gratified. He then awoke from his dream, and found that it was dawn; placing confidence in his dream, he left the mountain of Veṅkaṭāḍri and started, with his family, for the holy place Mañjgunī. It took him five months and twenty-two days to accomplish the (contemplated) pilgrimage, and it cost him a great deal (of money); still he did not mind this, but on the contrary was very much pleased to finish the journey. He then wished to go further on to Gōkarṇa and consulted with his wife about it, whereupon she told him that she was already pregnant about two and a half months, and she therefore entreated him that they might return home and go to Gōkarṇa another (lit., second) time. The king was overjoyed at hearing of his wife's pregnancy from her own lips, and ordered that a stone should be inscribed shewing that he made over the revenues of the four villages of Hosūra, Bandal, Tejparu, and Bengavi to the god Tirumalēśa of Mañjgunī. Afterwards his wife came and entreated him to make over the revenues of the three villages of Kursi, Chamani, and Gund to the same god of Mañjgunī in her name, as a token of her faith in the god. The king, being very much pleased at this speech, gave orders to his minister Śrīpati, and to his family priest Rāmakṛishṇa Upādhyāya, to make over all the revenues of the above-named seven villages to the name of the god Tirumalēśa of Mañjgunī. According to the orders of the king, they both caused a stone to be inscribed as a memorial of the above-mentioned gift, on the second day of Māgha in *Saka-St.* 834.

In the time of Tirumala Yōgin there were — a golden crown, an ear-shaped ornament set with jewels and pertaining to the crown, a pair of golden shoes, etc.

After the lapse of some years Gōvinda Nāyaka, as directed in a dream, presented a *padaka*, that is, an ornament shaped like a *pipal* leaf, usually attached to a necklace and worn round the neck, locket fashion.

A king of Sonda, by name Sadāśivarāya, gave a golden cuirass (armour) and cuisses (thigh-pieces) and some other ornaments.

During the time of the English a golden serpent-bed sacred to Veṅkaṭēśa (*ndgaśayana*), gold and silver armour, and various other ornaments, have been added.

## THE DEVIL WORSHIP OF THE TULUVAS.

FROM THE PAPERS OF THE LATE A. C. BURNELL.

(Continued from page 215.)

BURNELL MSS. No. 15 — (continued).

### THE STORY OF KOTI AND CHANNAYYA — (continued).

THE palace was broken down, as if it were trodden down by heroes who had to fight seven battles. Channayya went to Bālitimār at Pañja, pushing, with his dagger, a stone which could be drawn by seven and seven elephants.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>60</sup> The king here indicated must, I think, have belonged to the family of the Kadambas. He may be identical with Vijaya-varman. The whole of this story is, however, apocryphal; nothing but the names are known of the rulers of this family between the years A. D. 750 and A. D. 1068. The *Saka* date given here corresponds to about A. D. 912.

<sup>16</sup> I. e., fourteen elephants.

"O foolish Kemira! Silly Kemira! Opium-eating Kemira! *Bhaṅg*-smoking Kemira! Sour-*tāṭi*-drinking Kemira! Swollen-legged Kemira! Spindle-shanked Kemira! Snub-nosed Kemira! Broken-toothed Kemira! Pot-bellied Kemira! Big-headed Kemira! If we drag you to the East, we will beat you with balls of earth from a gram-field. If we drag you to the West, we will make you eat the sand of the sea. If we drag you to the South, we will make you mount the Ghāt of the god Tiliṅga. If we draw you to the North, we will make you ascend the mountain of the god Basiṅga," said the heroes. "Before we wash our faces we shall go to Brahmā at Kemmulagē. When we go there we will take little Channayya of Ēḍambūr," said they.

On the road they saw ten or fifteen *gudis* at Kemmulagē.

"What mean these, Little Channayya?" asked the heroes.

"You will die yourselves, but you will kill me also," said he.

"What are we looking at? Is it a *basti* of the Jains? Is it a *palli* of the Mappiḷas? Is it a church of Kudumba? Is it the door and house of a rich man? Is it the hut of a poor man?" asked they.

"Aho heroes! You kill me," said he.

"Go and hide yourself under a small mango tree, like a fruit under a leaf," said the heroes.

When they went to the forest of Kemmulagē, a Brāhmaṇa, having finished his daily *pūjā*, was going home to his household *pūjā*. They asked the Brāhmaṇa for some *sandal* from the god, and said they would take their offerings to the god.

"*Pūjā* for to-day is now finished; come to-morrow," said the Brāhmaṇa.

"If you are a Brāhmaṇa who knows the particulars of all *Sāstras*, you had better see us perform a *pūjā* with an upright heart!" said the heroes, and stood with bended heads on a flat stone and prayed:—"Let a drum tied to a cocoanut tree, and another drum hung on an areca tree, and let all the other musical instruments be heard! Let the sound of a horn and of a gun be heard! Let a torch that has been extinguished burn again! Let a golden plate be placed at the door!"

They made Brāhma Bhūta come to them, trying their best and not letting him go. Then all the musical instruments were heard, and all men and women trembled.

"What is this wonderful thing, this wonderful enchantment?" said the Brāhmaṇa, as he went to perform *pūjā* at home, and sat down to take his dinner. Then he returned to the temple running, and found the heroes standing with bended heads on the flat stone.

"One should beat these Billavar boys with a cocoa leaf. One should beat these Billavar boys with a bundle of prickly twigs," said the Brāhmaṇa.

Said Channayya:—"What do you know, O Brāhmaṇa, about lucky hours and times? Brāhmaṇa, you told us the day, the hour and the time; what do you say now? If you are a Brāhmaṇa, who is acquainted with the details of the *Sāstras*, shut one eye and open the other eye; bend one leg and make straight the other leg; and then I can examine all the *Sāstras*. Now, Brāhmaṇa, open your eye that is shut, and shut your eye that is open!"

He could not open his eye that was shut, and could not shut the one that was open. He could not make straight his leg that was bent, and he could not bend the leg that was made straight.

"Brāhmaṇa, who you are and who are we?"<sup>17</sup> This is not an earthen pot, and not even a relation of a Brāhmaṇa," said they.

<sup>17</sup> I. e., there is no difference between us.

Then the Brāhmaṇa became possessed by Brahmā Bhūta.

"O Kôṭi ! O Channayya ! Offer to the god the present which you have brought," said he.

A figure of Brahmā was offered, and *lāḥs* of Rupees, and Brahmā made a steel ball in the bellies of Kôṭi and Channayya. Thus they offered their present to Brahmā Bhūta and took *sandal*.

"O Brahmā, we must make you a present. Do you worship the god with flowers," said they. They then left the place and went onwards with the intention of getting a present and honour from the Ēḍambūr Ballāl. They stood under a small mango tree and called out : — "O Ēḍambūr Kinnyanna ! We have offered to the god a present and taken *sandal*. Now let us go ! O Kinnyanna, we have been to the Ēḍambūr Ballāl in our childhood.

(*To be continued.*)

## FOLKLORE IN THE CENTRAL PROVINCES OF INDIA.

BY M. N. VENKATSWAMI OF NAGPUR.

No. 1. — *The Thousand-eyed Mother.*<sup>1</sup>

ONCE upon a time, when Ammayaru,<sup>2</sup> the goddess of small-pox, had been making fearful havoc amongst the inhabitants of a certain town, the fond mother of an only son, in whom all her affections and hopes were centred, with a view to escape the wrath of the angry Mātā,<sup>3</sup> fled across hill and dale, wood and water, not knowing whither she was flying — such was her fright — until, in a dense forest, she was met by an old woman, who was no other than the goddess herself in disguise. Said the goddess :—

"Daughter, whither are you flying ?"

"Mother, I have only this son whom you see here, and I am trying to escape from the wrath of the goddess, who is devastating the whole town," replied the affrighted mother.

Receiving this answer to her question and seeming not to care anything more about the woman's flight, the old woman asked her to be kind enough to search for lice in her head, for, she added, she was very much pestered by them. The younger woman good humouredly began to search for the lice, both the women squatting themselves on the ground for the purpose, in the dishevelled hair of the old woman, when an extraordinary spectacle presented itself — the old woman's head was full of eyes ! Very much surprised, the young woman exclaimed :—

"Your head is full of eyes, mother ; may I know who you are ?"

"Daughter," said the other, "do you not know who I am ? I am the Thousand-eyed Mother, and how can you think of escaping by flight from the vigilant watch of so many eyes ?"

At this the young mother prostrated herself at the feet of the *dēvī*,<sup>4</sup> and asked what should be done to save her only son, who was the object of her life.

"Return," said the goddess, "to the town, and no harm will befall either your son or yourself."

With these words the *dēvī*<sup>5</sup> disappeared, and the woman and her son, who had thus ingratiated themselves into her favour, pursued their course back to the town. The goddess, true to her word, preserved them in the midst of the pestilence, which raged on all sides, attacking all without any distinction.

<sup>1</sup> Narrated by Chinta Poetti, an old man of Nawābastī, Nāgpūr.

<sup>2</sup> This is a Telugu title of the goddess of small-pox.

<sup>3</sup> Is a Telugu name for the goddess of small-pox.

<sup>4</sup>, and <sup>5</sup> are the Hindustānī names of the goddess of small-pox. It may be remarked that *dēvī* in Hindustānī oftener means "god" than "goddess."—Ed.]

Note.

When anyone says that small-pox is contagious to a high degree and that such and such persons — adults and children — would not have died had they not touched or come in contact with their small-pox-stricken relatives, the old people at once narrate the above story: the moral being that, if we are to be attacked by small-pox, we must be attacked, no matter how or where; and if destined to die by it or from its effects we cannot escape, as we are under the observation of the Thousand-eyed Mother.

MISCELLANEA.

THE AGE OF THE SATAPATHA BRAHMANA.

A FEW days ago, when reading the *Sathapatha-Brahmana*, I discovered a passage in it, from which it can be conclusively shewn that the age of that *Brahmana*, or, more properly, of that portion of it in which the passage occurs, is about B. C. 3000. I had a mind to write a detailed paper on the matter on some future occasion, when I should have time to do so; but, on reading Dr. G. Thibaut's paper in the April number of the *Indian Antiquary* just to hand, I thought it desirable not to delay in bringing the passage to the notice of Oriental scholars. At present I have no time to write on it in detail, so I only give the passage with its translation, with one or two remarks on it, and the approximate time of the phenomenon referred to in it.

The passage runs as follows:— एकं द्वे त्रीणि चत्वारिणि वा अन्यानि नक्षत्राण्यथैता एव भूयिष्ठा यत्कुत्तिकास्तद्धूमानमेवैतदुपैति तस्मात्कुत्तिकास्वादधीत ॥ २ ॥

एता ह वै प्राच्ये दिशो न च्यवन्ते सर्वाणि ह वा अन्यानि नक्षत्राणि प्राच्ये दिशश्च्यवन्ते तस्माद्यमेवास्यै तद्दिश्यादितौ भवतस्तस्मात् कुत्तिकास्वादधीत ॥ ३ ॥—  
शतपथब्राह्मण, II. 1, 2.

*Translation*:—Certainly one, two, three, four; so [are] other *nakshatras*, and these only are many, which [are] *Kṛittikāḥ*: surely [he who consecrates the sacred fires on *Kṛittikāḥ*] gets that plenty of it; [one] should, therefore, consecrate [the sacred fires] on *Kṛittikāḥ*. These, certainly, do not deviate from the eastern direction. All other *nakshatras* deviate from the eastern direction. His two [sacred fires] become consecrated in the very east. He should, therefore, consecrate [the fires] on *Kṛittikāḥ*.

The *Kṛittikāḥ*, or Pleiades, are here spoken of as not deviating from the east; while all other *nakshatras* are said to do so. Now, since in popular language all *nakshatras* rise in the east and set in the west, we cannot understand the above description of the *Kṛittikāḥ* in the popular sense; for in that case their appearance in the east cannot be contrasted with the other *nakshatras*. We must, therefore, interpret the passage to mean that the *Kṛittikāḥ* were always seen due

east; while other *nakshatras* were observed either to the right or to the left of this point. Translated into modern astronomical language this means a great deal. It means that in those days the *Kṛittikāḥ* were on the equator, or that their declination was nil, when the passage was composed.

The heavens are now divided by imaginary circles for the purpose of determining the positions of heavenly bodies. But in old days these conventions were unknown; and the passage in question is at once interesting and important for more reasons than one. In the first place it shews how the Vedic Rishis carefully observed the difference between the positions of the different *nakshatras*; and secondly, what is more to the point, how they managed to express the idea of declination in a simple and rudimentary manner. I do not think that it could be better expressed, if the present method of imaginary circles is not to be utilized. These old Vedic observers seem to have approximately, if not accurately, determined the due east point, and they must have observed that the *Kṛittikāḥ* never deviated therefrom. As remarked above, this would be the case, if, to use the modern astronomical language, the *Kṛittikāḥ* were then on the equator. Now we know that, on account of the precession of the equinoxes, the place of the *Kṛittikāḥ*, with reference to the equator, is not always the same. At present they are to the north of the equator. We can calculate the next preceding time when they were on the equator. Taking the annual precession of the equinoxes to be 50", and calculating roughly, I find that  $\gamma$  Tauri, the brightest star of the Pleiades, was on the equator about 2990 B. C., or, roughly speaking, in 3000 B. C. If we take the annual precession to be less than 50", which is probable, we are carried to a still earlier period,—earlier by about a hundred or two hundred years.

Here, there is nothing which is doubtful about the actual place of the *Kṛittikāḥ* at the time. We have a distinct point to start with in calculation. In my opinion, no other interpretation of the passage is possible. I have no time to

find by actual calculations whether any other *nakshatra*, was on the equator at the time; but, from a rough sketch of the position of the equator and ecliptic at that time, I see that one star of Rohini, three of Hasta, two of Anurâdhâ, one of Jyêsthâ, and one of Âsvini, were near the equator, but not a single star of the 27 or 28 *nakshatras*, except perhaps one or two of Hasta ( $\beta$  and  $\epsilon$  Corvi), was then on the equator; neither of these last two, however, is taken as a *yôgâtâra* of Hasta in later astronomy. The proper

motion of stars is not taken into account in any of the statements above.

The Passage<sup>1</sup> speaks of the rising of the *Kṛittikâ* due east, as occurring at the time, and not as a thing past. And, in my opinion, the statement conclusively proves that the passage was composed not later than 3000 B. C.

SANKAR B. DIKSHIT.

Poona Training College,  
27th April 1895.

### NOTES AND QUERIES.

#### A VOLUNTARY POOR RATE BOARD IN INDIA.

In Muzaffargarh, especially in the Alipûr *tahsil*, are found unofficial *pañchâyats* in towns, exercising many of the functions of Poor Rate Boards. They levy a rate, generally assimilated to, or based upon, the Government octroi. No one thinks of objecting to pay this. The money is kept by a treasurer, who disburses it on the written order of one or more of the *pañchâyats*.

The objects of expenditure are mainly those of alms-giving and entertainment of religious guests; but occasionally a useful work, like a small bridge, is taken in hand. The mode in which the members of the *pañchayat* are chosen is not clear. The institution differs in some respects from the social *pañchâyats* found in Dehli and elsewhere.

R. M. in P. N. and Q. 1883.

### BOOK-NOTICE.

#### DR. BÜHLER ON THE ORIGIN OF THE INDIAN BRAHMA ALPHABET.<sup>1</sup>

THE appearance of one of Dr. Bühler's Indian Studies is always eagerly welcomed by scholars on this side of the Arabian Sea: for we are certain of finding in it something new and original, illuminated by the steady light of experience, born of ripe knowledge. His essay on the *Brâhma Alphabet* need be no exception to the rule, and probably most of us will be ready to admit after its perusal, that a long-veiled question has been finally set at rest. After an introductory chapter discussing the various theories hitherto held regarding the origin of the alphabet called by Europeans, *Lâth*, Southern, Indian *Pâli*, Indian or Maurya, and by Hindûs *Brâhmi Lipi*, Dr. Bühler states briefly that the results at which he has arrived confirm the views of Prof. Weber, that the *Brâhma* is derived directly from the oldest Phœnician Alphabet, as against the theories of (1) Cunningham that it is an original Indian invention, of (2) Deecke that it is descended from the Assyrian cuneiform characters through an ancient southern Semitic Alphabet, of (3) Dr. Isaac Taylor that it comes from an Alphabet of South Arabia, and of (4) M. J. Halevy, that it is of a composite character, partly derived from

Aramaic, partly from Kharôshthî, and partly from Greek.

When Prof. Weber started his hypothesis, the list of quotable references in the more ancient Indian literature regarding writing was a short one, but since that time further explorations have brought to light various additional pieces of evidence. Amongst the older *dharmaśāstras*, that named after Vāsishṭha, which probably dates from some centuries before the beginning of our era, and which is older than the *Manusamhitâ*, mentions written documents (*lêkhyâ*) as proof of ownership; but the most fruitful researches have been those in the canonical works of the Southern Buddhists, especially in the *Jâtakas*. Dr. Bühler quotes several *jâtaka* stories in which writing is mentioned:—a slave gets himself a rich wife by means of a forged letter (*lêkha*), a teacher corresponds with his pupils, a king with a future Buddha, while in two instances reference is made to official correspondence between kings. In the *Buru-jâtaka*, a debtor invites his creditor to come with his bonds, and in several instances<sup>2</sup> particularly important records were inscribed on gold plates. The *Vinaya-piṭaka* also refers to writing (*lêkhâ*) and writers (*lêkhaka*) and to the cutting (*chhindati*) of inscriptions. In the *Mahāvogga*, we

<sup>1</sup> I do not know whether the passage is noticed by Weber in his essays on the *nakshatras*. I saw the essays in November last; but they, being written in German, are a dead letter to me.

<sup>2</sup> *Indian Studies* by George Bühler. No. III., on the

Origin of the Indian *Brâhma* Alphabet, with a table. Vienna, F. Tempsky.

<sup>2</sup> One instance not mentioned by Dr. Bühler may be quoted,—the *Sambhava-jâtaka* No. 515, Fausboll, V. 59.

find mention made of a proclaimed thief (*likhitakô chôrô*), and of the education of a boy at school in *lekha* 'writing,' *ganana* 'arithmetic,' and *rûpa* 'forms.' By the latter, Dr. Bühler ingeniously understands the *bâzâr* and agricultural system of accounts now taught in schools, after boys have been taught the simple rules of arithmetic. In ancient times, when coins were rare, specimens were placed before the pupils, which they had to handle and look at, in order to learn their *form*, weight, and marks.<sup>3</sup> Thus the *lekha*, *ganana* and *rûpa* of the *Mahāvagga* correspond to the three "Rs" still taught in indigenous Indian schools. Dr. Bühler refers only to the present custom of Western India, but my experience of the schools of Eastern Hindûstân has been the same. These references to the art of writing may be taken as dating from about 400 B. C. The oldest words used for writing all mean originally 'to cut,' such as *chhind*; or 'to scratch,' such as *likh*; 'the scratcher,' *lekha*; 'scratching,' or 'scratches,' *lekha*; and 'the indelible,' *akkhara*. On the other hand, *lipi* which we first meet in Pāṇini (*cir.* 350 B. C.) means literally, 'smearing,' and points to the use of ink.

Space does not allow me to do more than allude to the interesting digression of Dr. Bühler in the various Indian alphabets. — The Brāhma and the Kharôshthi ('Ass's Lips,' mentioned by the Chinese under a similar name), the sixty-four alphabets mentioned in the *Lalita-vistara*, and the eighteen of the Jaina *Āgamas*.

As in the indigenous schools of the present day, the Brāhma Alphabet had, according to the oldest authorities, only ten vowels, *ṛi*, *ṛi*, *ṛi*, *ṛi*, and *ṛi* not existing. At the present day *m*, and *h* are added, and each is combined in our schools with each consonant, forming the so-called *bârâ-kharâ*, or sets of twelve, 'the book in twelve sections' which Hiuen Tsiang describes as taught to Indian children in the seventh century A. D. As regards the omission of *ṛi*, *ṛi*, *ṛi*, and *ṛi*, an important piece of evidence is found at Bôdh Gayâ, where a series of mason's marks gives the alphabet as far as *ta*, but omitting these vowels. This proves that separate signs for these vowels did not exist in 300 B. C. for, while omitting them, the alphabet contained the vowels *ai* and *au*, the visarga *ah*, and the guttural *na*, which were not required for the vernacular Prākṛit of the time, — and the use of which shewed that the alphabet, then current, was adapted to the expression of Sanskrit.

Dr. Bühler next considers the oldest form of Brāhmī Lipi, and argues that the very consider-

able variations in the forms of its signs point to the fact that it must have had a long history before the time of Asôka. Not only are there variations in form, but instances occur of its being written from right to left instead of from left to right. The varying forms are capable of being classified according to locality, and so far from the characters being homogeneous, they may be divided into two main divisions — a northern, and a southern, — each with sub-varieties. There are also differences between archaic and advanced forms, all of which Dr. Bühler discusses in great detail. He finally concludes :—

To me it seems that these (peculiarities) are most easily explained, on the supposition that several, both archaic and more advanced, alphabets existed in the third century B. C., that an archaic alphabet was chosen for the perpetuation of Asôka's Edicts, and that the clerks mixed the forms. And in support of this view I would adduce the Jaina tradition, according to which many alphabets were used about 300 B. C. But, even if we leave aside all conjectural explanations of the facts, it remains undeniable that the writing of the Edicts is in a state of transition, and this alone is sufficient to warrant the assertion that their alphabet certainly had a long history.

Taking now the question of coins into consideration, the very ancient inscribed coins, found in North-Western India, leave no doubt that since the beginning of the historical period, the Brāhmī Lipi has been the paramount Indian Alphabet, and that the Kharôshthi is a later Alphabet, of Aramaic stock, which held always a secondary place only in a very confined territory. In connexion with this point Dr. Bühler draws attention to the lately discovered Siddâpur Edicts, written in Brāhma characters, in which the scribe has added at the end his qualification *lipikarêna* 'the scribe,' in Kharôshthi characters. Dr. Bühler says 'this looks like a joke or a boast, as if Paḍa, proud of his accomplishments, had been anxious to make it apparent that he knew more than the ordinary characters. And as he was in the royal service, it is not unlikely that he may have acquired a knowledge of the Kharôshthi during a stay in a northern office.' It is strange how exactly history repeats itself in India. At the present day, a Kāyasth in Bihâr, who writes a document in the Kaithi character in a Government office, makes it a point of honour to subscribe his own name, as writer, in the Persian character, the Kaithi being the direct descendant of the Brāhma Alphabet, and the Persian well corresponding to the Semitic Kharôshthi.

Having thus cleared the way by his historical inquiry, Dr. Bühler sets himself to discuss the problem of the origin of the Brāhma Alphabet.

<sup>3</sup> [Market girls were thus taught in Upper Burma up to the last generation, say, 30 years ago. — ED.]

He rightly observes that the only safe way to compare the Brāhma with Semitic signs is (1) that the comparison must be based on the oldest forms of the Indian Alphabet, and on actually occurring Semitic signs of one and the same period; (2) that the comparison may include only such irregular equations, as can be supported by analogies from other cases, where nations have borrowed foreign alphabets; and (3) that the comparison must shew that these are fixed principles of derivation. Applying these sound rules it soon appeared that, while the Southern Semitic characters could not be considered as the origin of the Brāhma Alphabet, it became possible to identify in the latter all the twenty-two Northern Semitic letters, and to explain the formation of the numerous derivative signs, which the Indians were compelled to add. A table is given showing, letter by letter, the connexion between, on the one hand, the Archaic Phœnician, and the Moabite stone characters, and, on the other hand, those of India; and, given the principles of derivation which Dr. Buhler lays down, the resemblance between the characters leaps to the eyes. The following quotation illustrates this principle in a few words, and as clearly as possible.

A superficial examination of the Brāhma Alphabet shows the following chief characteristics:—

(1) The letters are set up as straight as possible, and they are, with few exceptions, made equal in height.

(2) The majority consists of vertical lines with appendages attached mostly at the foot, occasionally at the foot and at the top, or rarely in the middle: but there is no case where the appendage has been added to the top alone.

(3) At the top of the characters appear mostly the ends of vertical lines, less frequently straight horizontal lines, still more rarely curves on the points of angles opening downward, and, quite exceptionally in the case of the letter *ma*, two lines rising upwards. In no case does the top show several angles, placed side by side, with a vertical or slanting line hanging down from it, or a triangle or a circle with a pendant line.

The principles, or tendencies, which produced these characteristics, seem to be a certain pedantic formalism, a desire to have signs well suited for the formation of regular lines, and a strong aversion against all top-heavy characters. The natural result was that a number of the Semitic signs had to be turned topsy-turvy or to be laid on their sides, while the triangles or double angles, occurring at the tops of others, had to be got rid of by some contrivance or other. A further change in the position of the signs had to be made, when the Hindus began to write from the left to the right. They had, of course, to be turned from the right to the

left, as in Greek.<sup>4</sup> Instances where the old position has been preserved, are however met with, both in borrowed and derivative signs.

Given these principles of derivation Dr. Buhler's table is almost self-explanatory. Specially ingenious is his suggestion that in certain cases the substitution of a dot in a later Indian form for a circle in an older Indian one, indicates that the persons who invented the dotted form wrote with pen and ink. For the actual forms of the letters in Dr. Buhler's table the student must be referred to his article, but the following gives the net result (without giving the actual forms) of his inquiries in a succinct shape:—

Semitic letters.	Brāhma letters.	Derivatives.
<i>Alp̄h</i>	<i>a</i> (initial)	<i>ā</i> (initial and medial), <i>bha</i>
<i>Beth</i>	<i>ba</i>	<i>bha</i>
<i>Gimel</i>	<i>ga</i>	<i>gha</i> (Bhattiprōla)
<i>Daleth</i>	<i>dha</i>	<i>da, de</i> { <i>dhā</i> <i>de</i>
<i>He</i>	<i>ha</i>	
<i>Waw</i>	<i>va</i>	<i>n</i> { <i>h</i> <i>v</i> } (init and med.)
<i>Zain</i>	<i>ja</i>	<i>jha</i>
<i>Cheth</i>	<i>gha</i>	
<i>Theth</i>	<i>tha</i>	<i>tha, ta</i>
<i>Yod</i>	<i>ya</i>	
<i>Kaph</i>	<i>ka</i>	
<i>Lamed</i>	<i>la</i>	<i>l</i> (Bhattiprōla)
<i>Mem</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>m</i> (anusvāra)
<i>Nun</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>n</i> { <i>ma</i> <i>na</i>
<i>Samech</i>	<i>sha</i> (Bhattiprōla)	{ <i>sa</i> <i>sha</i>
<i>Ain</i>	<i>ē</i> (initial) <sup>5</sup>	{ <i>ē</i> (med.), <i>ai</i> (init. and med.) <i>i, ē</i> (init. and med.)
<i>Phe</i>	<i>pa</i>	<i>pha</i>
<i>Tsade</i>	<i>cha</i>	<i>chha</i>
<i>Qoph</i>	<i>kha</i>	
<i>Resh</i>	<i>ra</i>	
<i>Shin</i>	<i>śa</i>	
<i>Taw</i>	<i>ta</i>	

G. A. GRIERSON.

Howrah, 14th May 1895.

<sup>4</sup> In connexion with this, I may mention that a coin of Abdagases has lately been described by Dr. Hoernle, in which the Kharōshthī letters run from left to right.

See *Pro. A. S. B.* May 1895.

<sup>5</sup> In the modern Hebrew *ain* is used to represent *ē* in transliterating foreign European words.

## SOME EARLY SOVEREIGNS OF TRAVANCORE.

BY P. SUNDARAM PILLAI, M. A.

## Preface.

THE late Mahārāja of Travancore observed, in one of his public lectures, that if India could be considered a microcosm of the world, Travancore could be with greater justification regarded as the epitome of all India. The observation was made with special reference to the variegated natural features of Travancore and to her equally rich and varied flora and fauna. It is, however, no less applicable to her population. It would be difficult, indeed, to find elsewhere in India, in so limited an area, a people so varied and typical of the mixed races that inhabit it. The two predominant factors of Indian civilization — the Aryan and the Pre-Aryan — are to be found in Travancore in every degree of fusion. From the aboriginal Kāṇikār, or hillman, to the Vaidika Nambūri Brāhmaṇa, what stages of the meeting and mingling of the two races can we not perceive in the endless distinctions of caste so eminently characteristic of the extreme South of India? The subtle forces set in motion by the great Aryan race to subdue and absorb into its own polity the earlier races of India may be still seen at full work in Travancore. And there, again, may be seen, taking place under the very eyes of the observer, the gradual evolution of all the forms of marriage known to the student, — endogamous, exogamous, polyandrous, polygamous, *punaluan*, and what not.<sup>1</sup> Arrested in consequence at different stages of their natural growth, may be seen also all conceivable laws of inheritance. Equally diversified and full of philological import is the language of the country. Exactly as the practised ear perceives all possible stages of corruption between pure Tamil and pure Malayāḷam, on passing from one end of the land to the other, — say from Cape Comorin to Paravūr; so also may the critical student notice all varieties of mongrel mixtures of Sanskrit and Tamil, as he descends from the proud poems of the erudite few to the popular ditties of the illiterate many, — from a *Bhāshā-Sākuntalam*, for instance, to a *Tōṭṭampāṭṭu*.<sup>2</sup> Every phase, too, in the evolution of that all-embracing conglomeration of faiths, ceremonies, and philosophies, called the Hindū Religion, from the grossest fetishism, worship of trees, of snakes, of evil spirits and what not, to the highest Vedantic school of Sāṅkarāchārya, — himself supposed to be a native of the place, — finds in Travancore its votary to this day, — not to speak of the numerous representatives of foreign religions, such as the Syrian Christians, who claim to have received their gospel direct from Saint Thomas himself. With regard to manners, customs, dress, and ornaments, infinite is the variety that obtains. Each caste would appear to have been bent upon originating and appropriating to itself a particular form of these natural adjuncts of social organization. Even more tempting than all this pleasing variety, is, to the student of Indian ethnology, the general air of primitive simplicity that, despite its complications, pervades the entire society, its language and institutions, its manners and traditions. And the air of primitiveness is by no means deceptive. Most of these social peculiarities are in truth but strange survivals of what at different stages was the rule in all India, at any rate in the peninsular portion of it. Endless particulars from the daily routine of individual and social life might be given to illustrate how strangely things survive in this land, though long extinct elsewhere; but suffice it here to say that Travancore seems to have played, in Indian anthropology, the part of a happy and undisturbed fossiliferous stratum. And it is easy to understand why it should have been so. No internal revolution seems to have ever convulsed her social system so as to efface the past, to which her own remarkably conservative nature inclined her to steadfastly adhere; and as for the violent changes outside her domains, they seem to have never reached her till their fury was spent, so that

<sup>1</sup> Vide L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*. *Punaluan* is the Pāṇḍava type (a form of polyandry).

<sup>2</sup> This term means "a song on the apparition," and narrates the story of *Silappadigāram*, the ancient Tamil epic. It is being fast supplanted in popular favour by more modern songs and seems to have but a short term of life now before it.



when, floating down in the fulness of time, their influence came to be felt, the nett, or skeleton, results alone sank into the structure of her society to be preserved unmolested for ages to follow. Thus taking all in all, Travancore, I earnestly believe, deserves more attention from the students of Indian history than at first sight her apparent geographical and historical isolation would seem to entitle her to; her population being so remarkably varied and typical, and the social fabric a veritable mine of precious antiquities in many a department of anthropology.

To the best of my knowledge the mine remains unworked — nay even unnoticed — up to date. I do not complain that the history of the people is yet to be written; but I confess I am surprised to find that the political history of this principality, one of the most ancient in all India, is itself a blank beyond the immediate present. Even of the ruling dynasty, whose origin, Mr. Shungoonny Menon observes,<sup>3</sup> tradition reckons as coeval with creation itself, what information are we in a position to offer to the critical historian beyond a couple of centuries ago? The *Travancore Government Almanac*<sup>4</sup> publishes, no doubt, year after year, a list of 35 sovereigns from 1335 A. D., as having immediately preceded the present Mahārāja; but, apart from such indefinite and suspicious names as ‘*Wanaut Moota Rajah*,’<sup>5</sup> which cannot but detract from the scientific value of the document, what little I know from independent and indubitable sources of knowledge is not in favour of its accuracy. Mr. Shungoonny Menon begins, indeed, his *History* with Brahmā the Creator, but he fills up his first chapter, which brings down the account to Mārtāṇḍavarman, who began his rule just 164 years ago, i. e., within the memory in all probability of the historian’s own grandfather, with such questionable materials as to render it difficult to rebut Mr. Sewell’s condemnation of the whole as devoid of historical value.<sup>6</sup> Considering that of the political history of the country, of the history of the unquestionably ancient royal dynasty itself, we know so little, it is no wonder that we should know still less in the more obscure and less attractive branches of Travancore archæology.

But how long are we to remain in what I cannot but describe as a lamentable, if not disgraceful, condition of ignorance? To a native of Travancore — and I am one — it cannot but be galling to have to wait till competent foreign scholars find leisure to investigate and enlighten him on the history of his own fatherland. He would rather, whether fully qualified for it or not, gird up his loins and be doing something, than be simply moaning over the fact till the fortunate advent of a competent *savant*. But even should one be willing to wait, the sources of sure information, the facts and things to be observed, do not seem to be endowed with equal placid patience. With the rapid spread of education and the general uprising and commingling of the masses, the very things of archæological import are fast vanishing out of sight. No one with wakeful eyes could live a decade now in Travancore without being constantly reminded of the extraordinary rapidity with which the tide of progress is washing away all old landmarks, even in this retired creek of the so-called “changeless East.” Traditional beliefs, ways, and manners are dissolving like spectres in the air. Every caste seems bent now upon giving up its own, for the sake of the forms and ceremonies, dress and ornaments, and even the modes of speech, of some other, which it supposes to be superior to itself. What traits of the primitive Dravidian Vēṇḍ chiefs could one discover in the Anglicized Nair, or of the Vedic age of simplicity in the Nambūri police constable? However desirable such changes may be from other points of view, to the antiquarian they cannot be more gratifying than the too rapid gyrations of an animalcule can be to the microscopist. To neglect vaccination and

<sup>3</sup> Vide the opening sentence of Mr. Shungoonny Menon’s *History of Travancore*.

<sup>4</sup> Vide page 43, Part II. of the *Almanac* for 1894.

<sup>5</sup> Means but ‘the ruling sovereign of Travancore,’ ‘Wanaut’ being Vēṇḍ or Travancore, and ‘Moota Rajah’ or *Mōtta Tampiran*, being the popular way of styling the eldest member of the royal family.

<sup>6</sup> Vide Sewell’s *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. II., part treating of Travancore.

to trust to *ūrūt!u*<sup>7</sup> is certainly not desirable; to indulge in *paḍaiyaṇi*<sup>8</sup> or mock fights, in these days of peace, might be even more culpable; but when the *ūrūt!u* and *paḍaiyaṇi* are gone for good, the historian will look in vain for equally good and clear evidences of the past history of certain localities.

The damp atmosphere of Travancore is another source of dread. It is fast demolishing and disintegrating sources of information of the highest scientific value possible. A host of historical temples with valuable inscriptions are fast going to ruins. Left to the dissolving influences of nature, or worse still, to the tender mercies of Marāmut coolies,<sup>9</sup> the temples of the land, with their many and diverse architectural peculiarities and memorable historical associations and inscriptions, will before long either quietly cease to be, or so utterly change their aspect as to present no meaning to the future inquirer. Our sources of historical information then, both ethnical and epigraphical, seem to be all equally moribund, muttering, as it were with their dying gasp: "Observe now or never!" How important, how helpful, these dying declarations of the past are often found to be, only those who have dealt with them can know, and, if I here venture to catch and interpret some of the still voices of antiquity in the midst of which I live, with a view mainly to awaken general interest in our history, I have no other justification to offer, no other apology to make, than that they might ere long cease to be heard at all.

I propose to begin the study with the royal house of Travancore, and I propose also to confine my attention at present to what light can be secured from public stone inscriptions.

Of all the materials available to the critical student of Indian history, inscriptions, as far as they go, are the very best. It may be possible, indeed, to extract a few scattered grains of historic truth from the old and genuine *Purāṇas*, but only those that have made the trial can be aware of the difficulties and doubts with which the process is beset. Even when the genuineness of a *Purāṇa* is settled beyond doubt, and its age determined, one ought to have an extraordinary fund of faith, or, as it is called, 'piety,' to lack a sense of insecurity, as one threads one's way through the endless accounts of *dēvas* and *asuras*, and discerns here and there a glimmering, and perhaps distorted, view of matters earthly and human. But whatever may be the historical value of the real and old *Ashṭādśa-Purāṇas*, to follow the *Sthala-Mahātmyas* as faithful guides would imply an unconditional surrender of all canons of historic criticism. They all profess to be integral portions of the old *Eighteen Purāṇas*; but it is an open secret that their manipulation can scarcely be said to have yet ended. To quote a familiar instance, the late Mr. Minakshisundaram Pillai of Trichinopoly, the last of the Tamil bards, used to supply *Sthala-Purāṇas* on order; and I know a respected and scholarly physician in Kōṭṭayam is to this day engaged in writing a *Mahātmya* in Sanskrit on his own household deity. But whether old or new, it would be a satisfaction to find in these works of skill even remote references to events historical. For, true to their function, these religious compositions begin and end with gods, and condescend to chronicle only their miraculous dealings with friends and foes.

Local traditions in some countries may subserve historical purposes, though the logical rule for the rapid deterioration of their testimony has always to be kept in view. But in Southern India, all legendary lore is of the most mischievously misleading character. We cannot travel far, even in Travancore, without constantly coming across hills, valleys, streams, temples,

<sup>7</sup> *Ūrūt!u* is a village feast generally in honour of the heroine of the *Śilappadigāram*, celebrated as a disinfectant of small-pox, exactly as it was resorted to in the days of that old Tamil epic; — vide page 31, Swaminatha Iyer's edition.

<sup>8</sup> Means literally 'battle array.' It is a disorderly drunken march-past in torchlight, often ending in something worse than sham fights.

<sup>9</sup> Day labourers in the Government Public Works department. *Marāmut* is a word of Arabic origin used in Travancore to mark off the native Public Works agency from that under European engineers.

and hamlets, which are fondly believed to be connected with the incidents of the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyana*. As observed by Dr. Burnell, most of them are "merely attempts at explanation of the unknown through current ideas, which, in Southern India, amount to the merest elements of Hindū mythology, as gathered from third-rate sources."<sup>10</sup> In Travancore, even the legitimate names of places, of idols, of castes, of religious dignitaries, and of social ceremonies, which, when carefully understood, bear clear historical allusions, are strangely twisted and corrupted to suit fanciful derivations under the influence of the same myth-making tendencies.

Literature is another of the resources usually open to the student of history, and even in India, too, much valuable and reliable information may be gleaned from the ancient literary writings, so long as their authors had the good sense to be true to nature and man, and to dispense with the crutches of "divine machinery," so uniformly found at every turn in their later limping career. But, unhappily for us in Southern India, we know how soon the Tamil literature degenerated and lost its healthy realism. Copper-plate documents, temple and palace records, and what are called *granthavari*, or connected accounts, in respectable households of long standing, are less pretentious, though often more fruitful, sources of information; but even these are certainly inferior in point of reliability to contemporary stone inscriptions in open and public places. Copper-plate grants, being mostly the private property of individuals or corporations, always present the chance of turning out to be forgeries in favour of vested interests. As for the other records, it is always impossible to rebut the charge of corruption or interpolation, since they have frequently to be transcribed — mostly by unqualified hands — in consequence of the ephemeral writing materials to which they are generally committed. Unless, therefore, we have clear internal evidence, or other collateral information, it is seldom safe to lean on crumbling *cadjans*, however venerable. On the other hand, a contemporary inscription in a place of public resort, if once deciphered, and its age determined, will afford for ever a footing to the historian as sure and firm as the rock on which it is engraved. It would seem, then, to be the very first duty of those who crave for more light on the past of Travancore to ascertain whether such incontrovertible epigraphical evidence is available in this ancient principality, before proceeding to utilize less trustworthy sources of information. Fortunately for us, inscriptions are not altogether rare in Travancore. I have with me something over one hundred of these ancient stone documents, taken from different quarters, mostly from places south of Trivandram, and, though confining my attention, for the present, to the light they shed on the history of the royal house, I shall have an opportunity of illustrating their general historical value.

One word more I feel bound to add in the way of preface. Since most of the documents I have now the pleasure to place before the reader are in the *Chera-Pandya or Vatteḷuttu Alphabet*, the translation I give of them ought to be considered tentative only. The characters of this alphabet, which according to some authorities is the only one original to India, are not yet fully made out. Out of 180 letters, which ought to make it up, Dr. Burnell's conjectural Plate (No. XVII. in his *South-Indian Palæography*) is able to supply only 96. Until, therefore, photo-lithographed copies of the facsimiles with me are placed before the scientific public, and my readings and renderings subjected to searching criticism, I have no right to claim entire confidence. I may, however, in the meantime, say that each of the inscriptions I have to depend upon has received my best and most anxious attention, and that sufficient time has been allowed to elapse since the collection was completed for patient study and reflexion. I shall further indicate, as we go on, whatever doubts or difficulties still strike me as material to my interpretation. The whole being thus but provisional, I have not made the translations altogether and strictly literal, which would be but rendering them nearly unintelligible in the absence of the originals for reference. They are nevertheless as faithful as I can make them in the circumstances.

<sup>10</sup> Vide Burnell, *South-Indian Palæography*, Introduction, page 1.

The Sovereigns of Travancore in the 4th and 5th Centuries M. E.

I now proceed to select a period, which is an absolute blank in the history of Travancore, as it now stands. The list of 35 sovereigns given in the *Travancore Government Almanac* begins, as I have already said, with 1335 A. D., so that from the 14th century downwards, we have some sort of account to give of the Travancore royal dynasty, whether absolutely correct or not. In Mr. Shungoonny Menon's *History*, too, we have some sort of account, however interrupted or loose, only from that date downwards. "In the Kollom year 5 (830 A. D.)," writes this author, "Udaya Marthanda Vurmah Kulasekhara Perumal died, but his successor's name and the particulars of his reign are not traceable from the records. The names and other particulars of many of the succeeding kings are also not in the records."<sup>11</sup> He then goes on with his narrative only from 505 M. E., or 1330 A. D., when, according to him, the accounts of the pagoda at Vycome<sup>12</sup> shew that king Âdityavarman "assumed authority over the affairs of that Davaswam"<sup>13</sup> or temple. Thus, then, it is clear we have now no information whatever to give for the first five centuries of the Malabar era.<sup>14</sup> Leaving the earlier periods for later research I shall now consider the last two centuries of this blank epoch, viz., the fourth and fifth centuries M. E., and shall try to see how far inscriptions can help in filling up the gap with authentic facts and dates.

I.

In the very opening year of this period, viz., 301 M. E., or 1125 A. D., we find **Śrī-Vira-Kēraḷavarman** ruling over Travancore. The document—a public stone inscription—in proof of the fact comes from a deserted village, called **Chōḷapuram**, about a mile to the east of **Oḷuganachēri**, the transit station between Tinnevely and Trivandram. In this deserted village stands the neglected temple of **Rājendra-Chōḷēśvara**, to complete the ruin of which not many recurring monsoons are now needed. Of the historical importance of the temple, this is not the place to speak; but if any one wishes to verify the document I have now to present, it is to be found on the western wall of that shrine, engraved in old Tamiḷ characters in four long lines. It is, I think, advisable to warn the visitor that the temple is full of poisonous snakes! The document I depend upon runs thus:—

No.	<sup>115</sup> 9.	<b>Old Tamiḷ<sup>16</sup></b> <b>Sen-Tamiḷ Current.</b>	<b>Chōḷapuram Inscription of Vira-Kēraḷavarman.</b>
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"Hail! Prosperity! In the year opposite<sup>17</sup> the year 301, since the appearance of Kollam, with the Sun in the sign of Leo (i. e., in the Malabar month Chiṭṭam), we, the loyal chieftains<sup>18</sup> of **Śrī-Vira-Kēraḷavarman**, flourishing in Vēṇāḍu, (viz.) Danañjaiyan Kaṇḍan of Varukkappalli, Śrī-Toṅgappalla (?) Śrī-Saiyan alias Śrī Sakkarāyudhan of Maṇḍūr, Kaṇṇan Gōvindaṇ, the

<sup>11</sup> Vide page 89, Shungoonny Menon's *History of Travancore*.

<sup>12</sup> Vycome, or rather Vaikam, is a populous village about 24 miles to the south of Cochin. According to Dr. Gundert, the word means 'alluvial deposit,' pointing to the probable geological origin of the place. The local deity is called Kōḷappan, obviously a corruption of Kōyilappan, shewing that the name Kōyil must have been once used to designate the spot, exactly as Chidambaram was in the days of the early Śaiva saints.

<sup>13</sup> Vide page 93, Shungoonny Menon's *History of Travancore*.

<sup>14</sup> The report on the Travancore census of 1891 says: "The 1st Perumal was installed about 314 A. D. about 12 centuries after this there is no authentic record of any value." — Vide page 179, Vol. I.

<sup>15</sup> The numeral above indicates the serial number of the inscriptions as made use of in this paper, while the one below gives the number as in my register.

<sup>16</sup> The description above the line refers to the characters, and the one below to the language of each inscription. For a specimen of Old Tamiḷ characters, see Dr. Hultzsch's facsimile of Rājārāja's inscription, No. 1, in Vol. II. Part I. of *South-Indian Inscriptions*. That inscription is a specimen also of what I call Sen-Tamiḷ Current with reference to the language of the document.

<sup>17</sup> Endless are the controversies with regard to the interpretation of this expression as found in the Tirunelli copper-plate grant. For the opinions of Mr. Whish, Sir Walter Elliot, Dr. Burnell, Dr. Caldwell, and Dr. Hultzsch, see ante, Vol. XX. pp. 283, 289. Here, however, the word 'opposite' evidently means 'equivalent to.'

<sup>18</sup> The expression is *amañḷa vdhikārar*. — They were feudal chiefs and not 'paid agents,' as far as I can ascertain.

brief writer<sup>19</sup> (private secretary ?), and Kêraḷasimha Pallavaraiyan *alias* Vikraman Kuṇṇan of Uḷḷiruppu hill, in the discharge of our official agency, do make over the tax in paddy and money, due from Vaḍasêri, to this side of Mummudi-Chôla-nallûr, as a gift to the god, to be utilized for supplying every day four *nāḷi* of rice, vegetables, ghee, curds, areca-nuts and betel, and also one perpetual lamp, to the Mahâdêva of the temple of Râjendra-Chôḷêsvara, in Mummudi-Chôla-nallûr *alias* Kôṭṭâr, and in order that the arrangement might last as long as the sun and the moon endure, we make the gift, solemnly pouring water on the altar, and cause also the grant to be engraved on stone."

This document proves that Sri-Vîra-Kêraḷavarman was reigning in Travancore, in the first month of the first year of the fourth century of the Malabar Era, or roughly speaking about the latter half of August 1125<sup>20</sup>. It proves also that Travancore, or Vêṇāḍ<sup>21</sup> as it was then called, was under him a well-organized principality with loyal feudal chieftains to transact public business in her name, and levied taxes, as she does to this day, both in kind and in cash. The Government dues even in these backward days, with heavy military charges, could not have been anything but moderate and fair, as the whole revenue of the tract of country, as set apart for the purposes of the grant here recorded, was considered adequate to furnish daily but 4 *nāḷi* of rice and sundries to the Mahâdêva of the Râjendra-Chôḷêsvara temple. This temple, as the name indicates, was founded in honour of the famous Eastern Châlukya-Chôla emperor, Râjendra-Chôla,<sup>22</sup> who, according to the latest researches, ruled from 1063-1112 A. D. over almost the whole of the Madras Presidency, from Kalinga in Orissa to Viḷiṇam on the Malabar Coast.<sup>23</sup> The circumstances under which Sri-Vîra-Kêraḷa of Vêṇāḍ was prompted to dedicate so piously a portion of his revenue to a temple founded by a foreign monarch are, of course, now difficult to determine; but if I am at liberty to venture a hypothesis, I suspect the grant was meant, in all probability, as a political peace-offering to the representatives of the Chôla power in the land.<sup>24</sup> It being but thirteen years after the death of Râjendra, Vêṇāḍ must have been, about this time, just recovering from the terrible shock it had received from the victorious arms of that great conqueror, whose forces, after subduing the five Pândyas,<sup>25</sup> overran all Nânjinâḍ, and advanced as far to the west as the ancient seaport of Viḷiṇam<sup>26</sup> about 10 miles to the south of Trivandram. Râjendra's was no passing whim of conquest. His vigilance extended over every part of his territories, and he did all he could to consolidate them into one enduring empire. He transformed Kôṭṭâr, the chief city of Sôush Travancore, into Mummudi-Chôla-nallûr — <sup>27</sup> "the good town of the thrice-crowned Chôla," and left there, not merely the temple of Mahâdêva noticed in the document before us, but what is more, a powerful "standing army"<sup>28</sup> to watch over his interests in this distant corner of his dominions. The Oḍḍars<sup>29</sup> and Chaluppar,<sup>30</sup> so common all over the southern districts and in Trivandram, mark to this day the extent of the old Châlukya sway in the land. I am afraid, therefore, that Sri-Vîra-Kêraḷa was making but a virtue of necessity, when he thus yielded up the tax on the tract of land between Kôṭṭâr and Vaḍasêri for the support of the "great god" of

<sup>19</sup> The original reads *ekuttu-chchiru-vari-pan*.

<sup>20</sup> The equation for the conversion of the Malabar or Kollam era to the Christian is + 824½. I use the Malabar year throughout, as it is the one still current in the country.

<sup>21</sup> Vêṇāḍu is one of the twelve districts of low or vulgar Tamil according to Tamil grammarians. The Kêraḷa-*Uṭṭaṭi* makes it one of the divisions of Kêraḷa. It is derived from *vêḷ* = love or desire, either directly or through *vêḷ*. Vêṇāḍ would mean, therefore, 'the land of love' or 'the lovely land.'

<sup>22</sup> [Or, of his grandfather, the Chôla king of the same name.]

<sup>23</sup> *Ante*, Vol. XX. p. 276.

<sup>24</sup> I say Chôla power advisedly, for it seems probable that Râjendra's dominions in the South fell to the lot of the Chôlas rather than to the Eastern Châlukyas.

<sup>25</sup> *Piṭṭa taṇ-iṇṇil miṇavar-aivarum keṭṭa kēṭṭiṇai-kēṭṭilal pōlum nē. Kalingattu Parani.*

<sup>26</sup> *Vēlai koṇḍu Viḷiṇam-aḷittadam Sūlai koṇḍadam danḍu koṇḍ-allav. Kalingattu Parani.*

<sup>27</sup> Râjarâja is called "Mummudi-Chôla" in an inscription dated the 14th year of his reign; — *vide* Dr. Hultzsch's Report for 1892.

<sup>28</sup> Called *nilaippadai* in an inscription which I have, dated in the 39th year of his reign.

<sup>29</sup> Oḍḍar means the men of Oḍḍiyam or Orissa. Râjendra was himself first anointed king at Vêṅḡ in A. D. 1063.

<sup>30</sup> The word is evidently a corruption of Chalukkar or Chalukyas.

Rājendra. The inscription, however, proves, for one thing, that the Vēṇāḍ principality was gradually emerging, with the opening years of the fourth century M. E., from the effects of the Chālukya-Chōḷa eclipse. The receipt of a grant is an acknowledgment of the right of the grantor to make the grant. His action argues, therefore, both practical shrewdness and statesmanlike sagacity on the part of Vira-Kēraḷa; for he is shewn thus to have fully recognized the situation and made the best of it.

## II.

That the policy of conciliation with an enemy too powerful to at once overcome, was only a preliminary for the recovery of lost territories, as opportunities occurred, is proved by the document I have next to present, dated just eighteen years later. This inscription comes from Tiruvallam,<sup>31</sup> a petty village near the old mouth<sup>32</sup> of the Karamanai river, about four miles to the south of the Trivandram fort. Within a rectangular enclosure, on the eastern bank of the river, stand three chief shrines, of which the easternmost, dedicated to Mahādēva, is certainly the oldest. The middle one — the smallest of the three — is now said to be sacred to Brahmā, and it is on its western wall that the following grant is inscribed, in rather small and superficial Vaṭṭeḷuttu characters, running over ten closely packed lines. Being close to a holy bathing *ghaṭṭi*, still in use, and being in some measure related to the central temple in the capital, all the three shrines are in pretty good condition, though, because of the exposed situation, the inscription itself is fully open to the effacing influences of the sun and rain. The translation of this rather lengthy record would run thus :—

No.  $\frac{2}{47}$ .  $\frac{\text{Vaṭṭeḷuttu}}{\text{Old Malayālam.}^{33}}$  Tiruvallam Inscription of Vira-Kēraḷavarman.

“Hail! Prosperity! In the Kollam year 319, with Jupiter in the sign of Scorpio, and the sun in Capricornus (*i. e.*, the Malabar month of Makaram), was done the following deed.<sup>34</sup> Teṅganāḍu, belonging to the loyal chieftains of Sri-Vira-Kēraḷavarman Tiruvaḍi, graciously ruling over Vēṇāḍ, being recovered,<sup>35</sup> the said chieftains make over in writing the tax payable in paddy within the area of Nigamattūr, amounting to \* \*, and the duties called *chévadu* and *aḷagerudu*, as well as the tax on hand looms, in order to provide daily, in all, 7 *nāḷi* of rice, for the use of Brāhmaṇa worshippers (*namashāram*), and for evening offerings to the Mahādēva, Tirukkannappan,<sup>36</sup> and Gaṇapati in the temple of Tiruvallam, and also to provide once a month one candelabrum (*dīpamālā*), for each of the (first) two deities. Accordingly from this time forwards, Mahādēva shall have two *nāḷi* of rice, Tirukkannappan two *nāḷi*, Gaṇapati one *nāḷi*, and the worshipping Brāhmaṇas two *nāḷi*. Moreover, the eight coins<sup>37</sup> given in addition by the men of Kāṭṭuśēri, being also handed over as *nēli*, to Nārāṇa Tādar, he shall make a set-off with that money for the amount he has invested in the purchase of Aruviyūr-compound, and he shall further, after making forthwith a flower garden therein, supply the three deities with two garlands each, and take for himself (in return for his labour) the boiled rice offered to the gods. Nārāṇa Tādar, on his part, while accepting the aforesaid grant of the tax due from Nigamattūr, amounting in paddy to \* \*, and the duty called *aḷagerudu*, as well as the tax on hand looms and the 8 coins given as *nēli*, agrees to collect the said dues in half-yearly payments, to grant receipts therefor, to meet the charges thereon, and to furnish the *dīpamālā*, as well as the garlands from the flower garden (now

<sup>31</sup> *Fallam* means, according to Dr. Gundert, a place for watering fields. Would not *vallam* mean the same in *Ulavuṁ chellavum vallavum vāḍḍikkūṁ* in the *Siva-Purāṇa*?

<sup>32</sup> This river seems to have frequently altered its place of discharge even in recent times. The shifting boundary of the two adjoining *tāḷuks* is a guide as to what the course was, when the administrative divisions were last arranged.

<sup>33</sup> Old Malayālam differs but little from current Tamil. I should have reckoned it as Sen-Tamiḷ but for certain inflexions — for instance *varuvīdu* instead of *varuvadu*; *namashāratinnu* instead of *namashāratitṭu*.

<sup>34</sup> “*Seyda kāriyam-āvidu*” is an expletive to introduce a document.

<sup>35</sup> There is nothing to shew that the Tamil saint of this name had ever a temple at this spot. The word refers only to Krishna, now the presiding deity.

<sup>37</sup> *Achchu* clearly means a coin, though it is impossible now to determine its value.

<sup>36</sup> The word is *śiyittāḍi*.

directed to be opened). If Nārāṇa Tādar [should ever fail],<sup>38</sup> the village association, the Bidāra Tiruvaḍi,<sup>39</sup> and the temple managers are empowered to carry out this arrangement, as long as the moon and the stars endure, through such agencies as they might be pleased to nominate.”

We have here irrebuttable evidence of the continuance of Śrī-Vira-Kēraḷavarman's rule up to Makara 319 M. E., or roughly speaking up to the end of January 1144. How long his reign lasted, or when it actually commenced, we have as yet no means of determining; but that it did last for 18 years and 5 months at the least is established by the two inscriptions before us. The addition in the second document of Tiruvaḍi, or “holy feet,” to the name of the sovereign, if it means anything at all,<sup>40</sup> may be taken to indicate the expansion of his dominions and the consequent growth of his power, since we first met with him. The re-establishment of his authority, so far to the north as Trivandram, affords of course clearer evidence of the same. Though I have not yet been able to identify the exact locality of Teṅganāḍ, I have no doubt it must have embraced the sea-coast from Tōṅgāpaṇṇam on the mouth of the Kuḷitturāi river to Tiruvallam, including the famous seaport of Viliṇam. The enemy, from whose hands Teṅganāḍ is here recorded to have been recovered, may have been, therefore, the representatives of the very same Chōḷa power that Kēraḷavarman, in the earlier part of his career, found it wise to conciliate.

As for other inferences from the inscription before us, particularly about village associations, temple authorities, and the curious personage, Bhaṭṭāraka Tiruvaḍi, I would fain wait till our data accumulate. It is quite the fashion nowadays to suppose that ancient native Indian government was despotism, pure and simple, and I would wait till more facts are brought to our notice about the constitution and powers of the early village associations of Travancore, before I venture to discuss the soundness of this general assumption. When we remember the diverse secular functions the Hindu temples<sup>41</sup> were designed to discharge, besides being places of divine worship, we cannot be really too curious about their constitution and management. But I would allow the Buddhist monk, Bhaṭṭāraka, to go once more in proof, through his slow evolution of Bhaṭṭāraka Tiruvaḍi, Badāra Tiruvaḍi, Balāra Tiruvaḍi and Paṣṭhāra Tiruvaḍi, before I would identify him with the modern Pishārāḍi, whose puzzling position among the Malabar castes, half monk and half layman, is far from being accounted for by the silly and fanciful modern derivation of *Pishāraka!* + *Ōḍi*, *Pishāraku!* being more mysterious than *Pishārāḍi* itself.<sup>42</sup>

A word or two about the taxes and duties mentioned in the above document would prove more pertinent to our present inquiry; but I am sorry I have failed, even after repeated inspection of the original itself, to make out, not only the shorthand symbols<sup>43</sup> given to signify the quantity of paddy, but also what is intended to be read by the combination of letters which, as far as I can discern, look like ‘*chēvaḍu*’ and ‘*aḷayeruḍu*’ — terms which convey no intelligible meaning to me. From the context I take them to stand for certain duties then levied. The tax on looms is clear enough, though there is no means of discovering its amount. It must have been but a trifle, considering the total expenditure charged on all the revenues set apart by this deed. The word *nēli* is another obsolete term, which I take to mean ‘capital.’ Considering

<sup>38</sup> The expressions within square brackets are conjecturally supplied, while those within the semi-circular brackets are additions to render the meaning clearer.

<sup>39</sup> Bidāra is a corruption of Bhaṭṭāraka, in which full form, too, the word is often found.

<sup>40</sup> The kings of Vēṇāḍ were always known to literature, Tamil and Malayāḷam, as *Vēṇāḍṭṭa aṭiga!* “the holy feet of Vēṇāḍ.”

<sup>41</sup> They were fortresses, treasuries, court-houses, parks, fairs, exhibition sheds, halls of learning and of pleasure, all in one.

<sup>42</sup> I regret to observe that the *Travancore Census Report*, 1891, adopts this absurd derivation. See Vol. I, pages 743 and 755.

<sup>43</sup> This applies to all subsequent inscriptions. The symbols are arbitrary contractions of words and numerals, and difficult, therefore, of conjecture.

the difficulties of the Vaṭṭeḷuttu Alphabet in general, and the faintness of this inscription in particular, I have reason to be gratified that it has only served to attest at least Śrī-Vīra-Kēraḷavarman's rule in 1144 A. D. and the re-establishment of his authority in Teṅganāḍ.

### III.

Seventeen years later we get a glimpse of another sovereign of Vēṇāḍ. On Saturday, the 7th Iḍavam 336 M. E., the throne of Vēṇāḍ was occupied by Śrī-Vīra-Ravivarman Tiruvaḍi. The authority for this statement is an inscription in old Tamiḷ, in four long lines on the southern wall of an old temple, in another deserted village near Oḷugunachēri, now called Puravachēri, a name as much fallen from its original proud designation of Puravari-chaturvēdimangalam, as the village itself from its former pristine glory. For the benefit of such as may wish to verify this document, I must note that the priest in charge of this temple is an inveterate heavily-worked pluralist, and his movements are more incalculable than most mundane phenomena, so that one ought to go prepared to stay at Oḷugunachēri for a week to catch a glimpse of this servant of many gods and to be admitted into the courtyard of the pagoda. Yet if you believe the priest (and it would be profane not to do so), the *pūjās* are most regularly performed: only, if you go there in the day time, they are going to be performed at night, and if you go there at night, they will have been finished during day! The inscription would run thus in English:—

No.	3	Old Tamiḷ	Puravachēri Inscription of Vīra-Ravivarman.
29.		Sen-Tamiḷ Current.	

“Hail! Prosperity! In the year opposite the year 336, after the appearance of Kollam, with the sun six days old in the sign of Taurus (*i. e.*, the 7th Iḍavam), Saturday, Makayiram star,<sup>44</sup> was the following deed in *cadjan* passed:—The loyal chieftains of Śrī-Vīra-Iravivarman Tiruvaḍi, graciously ruling over Vēṇāḍ, declare that with the object of providing for the daily offerings to the Âlvār in (the temple of) Puravaravu, in Puravari-chaturvēdimangalam, and for a perpetual lamp to the same deity, are granted under *tiruvīdaiyāḷḷam* tenure, to last as long as the moon and the stars endure, the following paddy lands, irrigated by the Chārār channel of Tāḷakkuḍi, and by the waters of Cheyyānēri tank in Chāravayal, viz., Unnandiṭṭai, measuring  $\frac{1}{4} + \frac{1}{16} + \frac{1}{32}$  and Puḍuvūr Mūlai measuring  $\frac{3}{16}$ , making a total of  $\frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{32}$  lands, the dues on which at the rates of assessment obtaining in the village amounting to *māttāl* 7 \* \*, the servants of this Âlvār, shall lease out, levy, and cause to be measured at the door of the *paṇḍāra*<sup>45</sup> (granary), as per temple measure called *puravariyān*, and conduct the above said expenses without failure. The four boundaries of the lands, thus set apart, are ordered to be marked off by demarcation stones bearing the emblem of the holy discus, and in order that the allowances might continue without let or hindrance, this deed itself is commanded to be inscribed on stone and copper, in witness whereof are our signatures: Pullālan Aiyān (signature). Chingān Raṅgan (signature). Nārāyaṇan Saṅkaran (signature). Kōḍai Dēvan (signature), and sign manual.”

This proves that Śrī-Vīra-Ravivarman was on the throne of Travancore on the 7th Iḍavam 336 M. E., or about the end of May 1161 A. D. It being but seventeen years since we saw Śrī-Vīra-Kēraḷavarman, recovering possession of Teṅganāḍ, we may rightly presume that Śrī-Vīra-Ravivarman was his immediate successor. Pullālan Aiyān<sup>46</sup> and others who signed this document were probably the feudal chieftains who conducted the administration of the day. Tāḷakkuḍi being in the very confines of the present eastern boundary of Travancore, we may take this grant as evidencing the extension of the Vēṇāḍ sovereignty all over the south. It is noteworthy

<sup>44</sup> Makayiram is Malayāḷam for *Mrigaśīrṣham*, a star about the head of Orion. It means here the lunar mansion on the day.

<sup>45</sup> *Paṇḍāram* or *bhaṇḍāram* means usually the king's treasury.

<sup>46</sup> *Aiyān* is here no title, but the name of the person himself.



that the measurement of the lands given is in the style<sup>47</sup> still followed in the Tanjore district. There was, further, about this time, no standard of measures and weights anywhere in Southern India, each temple using its own under the name of the local deity. There are two revenue terms in this record, the significance of which I have not succeeded in finding out. These are *tiruvīḍaiyāṭṭam*<sup>48</sup> tenure and *māṭṭil*.

## IV.

On the western wall of the same temple at Puravari occurs another inscription in eight long lines relating to this identical grant; but a stone in the middle of the inscribed portion of the wall has been removed and replaced by another in the course of subsequent repairs, rendering the document thereby incomplete and enigmatic. It will be seen, therefore, that it is not altogether to be deplored that temples with historical associations do not receive frequent repairs! In the case before us, it is easy to supply the lost parts with the help of the related document which I have just discussed. With the omissions so made good, the inscription would read thus in English:—

No. 4. Old Tamil  
44. Sen-Tamil Current. Puravari Inscription of Vira-Bavivarman, No. 1.

“Hail! Prosperity! In the year [opposite the year 336, since the appearance of Kollam],<sup>49</sup> with the sun \* days old in Taurus, Saturday, Makayiram star, the officers in charge of Nāñjināḍu and the villagers of Tālakkuḍi, assembling together, did as follows: In accordance with the royal proclamation issued by the loyal chieftains of [Śrī-Vīra]-Iṭṭavarma Tiruvaḍi, [ruling graciously over Vēṇāḍ], to provide *tiruchēṇṇiḍai* and a sacred perpetual lamp [for the Ālvār in Puravari], in Puravari-ohaturvēdimaṅgalam, we, the people of Tālakkuḍi, [have caused demarcation stones bearing the emblem of the holy discs] to be put up at the boundaries of the paddy lands, [named Unnandittai, measuring  $\frac{1}{4} + \frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{4}$ , and Puduṇṇ Mūlai], measuring  $\frac{1}{2}$ , making in all  $\frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{2}$ , and irrigated by the Chārār channel of Tālakkuḍi-Kiḍachēri and by the waters of Cheyyānēri tank in Chāravayal, and we [have made them over] to the servants of the Ālvār, so as to enable them [to levy from this day forwards the rent due from them according to the rate current in the village], subject to minor charges and deductions, for the purpose of providing, without failure, and as long as the moon and stars endure, for the daily expenses, as well as for a sacred perpetual lamp, as graciously commanded; in witness whereof, we, the people of Tālakkuḍi, (hereunto affix) our signatures. Arayan Paṣitāṅgi, signature, Kēraḷan Araiyan, signature. \* \* \* Vikraman Araṅgan, signature. Vēḷān Kēraḷan *alias* Nāñjināṭṭu Māvēnda Vēḷān, signature. I \* \* \* of Panayūr wrote this deed, and wrote it at the bidding of the servants of the Ālvār, and the people of Tālai; [countersigned] \* \* \* Kēraḷa Santōsha Pallavaraiyan, signature. Gōvindan Vikraman, signature. Anantan Sakrapāṇi, signature.”

The grant declared in the previous inscription would thus appear to have been actually executed on that very day, — a fact reflecting no small credit on the administration of those ancient times. This document confirms the inference already drawn with respect to the extent of the Vēṇāḍ principality on that day, since the executive officers who complete the transaction are styled ‘officers in charge of the affairs of the Nāñjināḍ,’ — Nāñjināḍ<sup>50</sup> being the collective designation for the two southernmost taluks of Travancore. The Chōḷa power then must have been by this time altogether extinct there; and it is quite possible that the Vaishṇava

<sup>47</sup> Vide Inscriptions Nos. 4 and 5 in Vol. II, Part I. of *South-Indian Inscriptions*, for samples of this system of land measurement.

<sup>48</sup> The word might be analysed into *tiru* + *vidai* + *ḍi* + *tu* + *am*, and might then mean “the holy rule of the bull,” i. e., Śiva’s emblem, and hence perhaps ‘tax free or temple tenure.’

<sup>49</sup> The parts within square brackets are those supplied.

<sup>50</sup> It is indifferently spelt now Nāñjanāḍ and Nāñjināḍ, the correct form being Nāñjil-nāḍu meaning ‘the land of ploughs.’

temple at Puravari was thus patronized to spite the foreign Śaiva temple of Rājendra-Chōlāśvara, not far from it. But it is always unwise to attribute motives, and we may, therefore, be content with recording the fact that on the 7th of Idavam 336 M. E., Vīra-Ravivarman ruled peacefully over all South Travancore, his affairs in Nāñjināḍ being administered by a triumvirate, Kēraḷa Santōsha Pallavaraiyan,<sup>51</sup> probably in command of the local forces, if we may judge from his title, and Gōvindan Vikraman and Anantan Śakrapāṇi, in charge of the civil administration. His ministers of state at the capital were, as we have already seen, the loyal chieftains, Pullālan Aiyar, Chingān Raṅgan, Nārāyaṇan Śaṅkaran, and Kōḍai Dēvan. It is also worth noting, in passing, the part played by Araiyan Paṣitāṅgi and others, representing the village of Tāḷakkuḍi; for it is remarkable that the people of Tāḷakkuḍi had the right to execute, and in a manner to ratify, the royal grant. The reservation as to minor charges and deductions, appearing in this inscription but absent in the former, would point to certain cesses, levied by village associations, on lands falling within their union. There is a word in this inscription which I do not quite understand, *viz.*, *tiruchēṇṇidai*, though from the context it may be safely taken to signify some kind of daily offering in Vaiṣṇava temples.

(To be continued.)

## NOTES ON THE SPIRIT BASIS OF BELIEF AND CUSTOM.

BY J. M. CAMPBELL, C.I.E., I.C.S.

(Continued from p. 231.)

**Honey.** — Honey is believed to have power over spirits, because honey is one of the earliest foods, yields an intoxicating drink, has many healing virtues, and prevents corruption. Old honey is a cure for cough, wind and bile. It also increases strength and virility.<sup>27</sup> Honey is used by the Hindus for washing their household gods.<sup>28</sup> The Dekhan Brāhmaṇ father drops honey into the mouth of his newborn child. Among higher class Hindus, especially among Brāhmaṇs, when a child is born, honey is dropped into its mouth from a gold spoon or ring.<sup>29</sup> Among Dekhan Hindus, when the bridegroom comes to the bride's house, honey and curds are given him to sip. This honey-sipping is called *madhuparka*; its apparent object is to scare evil from the bridegroom.<sup>30</sup> Honey is considered by the Hindus a great cleanser and purifier. It is also the food of their gods.<sup>31</sup> In Bengal, the Brāhmaṇ bride has part of her body anointed with honey.<sup>32</sup> How highly the early Hindus valued honey appears from the hymn, "Let the winds pour down honey, the rivers pour down honey, may our plants be sweet. May the night bring honey, and the dawn and the sky above the earth be full of honey."<sup>33</sup> This intense longing is probably for honey-ale, *madhu*, or mead. In Africa, an intoxicating drink is made from honey.<sup>34</sup> The Feloops of West Africa make a strong liquor out of honey,<sup>35</sup> and the Hottentots are fond of honey beer.<sup>36</sup> Mead made from honey was the favourite drink of the Norsemen. In England, honey-suckle still keeps off witchcraft.<sup>37</sup>

**Horns.** — The horns of certain animals are believed to scare fiends. Also horns are used as weapons both of attack and of defence, and as weapons are worshipful. Further, the horn is a light giver: classic lanterns were made of plates of horn.<sup>38</sup> The hart's horn is very largely used as a medicine in Western India. In the Kōṅkan, it is a

<sup>51</sup> Pallavaraiyan, meaning the king of the Pallavas, is an old military title. It was sometimes conferred also on men of letters as a special mark of royal favour, *e. g.*, on the author of the *Periyapurāṇam*.

<sup>27</sup> Pandit Narsinha's *Nighanturāja*, p. 165.

<sup>28</sup> Information from Mr. P. B. Joshi.

<sup>29</sup> Maurice's *Indian Antiquities*, Vol. V. p. 190.

<sup>30</sup> Big Ved in Max Müller's *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 200 (1878).

<sup>31</sup> Park's *Travels*, Vol. I p. 7.

<sup>32</sup> Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, Vol. III. p. 54.

<sup>28</sup> Information from Mr. P. B. Joshi.

<sup>29</sup> Information from Mr. P. B. Joshi.

<sup>30</sup> Colebrooke's *Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. I. p. 208.

<sup>31</sup> Dr. Livingstone's *Travels in South Africa*, p. 206.

<sup>32</sup> Hahn's *Tuni Goam*, p. 38.

<sup>33</sup> Smith's *Greek and Roman Antiquities*, Vol. II. p. 6.

common cure for bile, fainting, and headache.<sup>39</sup> At a Hindu wedding, a horn is blown when the lucky moment comes.<sup>40</sup> The practice of blowing horns at weddings was formerly common; at present it is going out of fashion.<sup>41</sup> Among the Bharādīs of Ahmadnagar, when a child's ears are bored, a *shingī* or horn, made of horn or of brass, is tied round the child's neck to be blown by the child before worshipping his gods or taking his food.<sup>42</sup> The Liṅgāyats of Bijāpur in Śrāvan (July-August), the great spirit month, carry a long pole wound round with a coloured cloth and surmounted by a conical globe. They call this *nandi-kodu*, or Nandi's horn.<sup>43</sup> In Coorg, at a festival, at which a man used to be sacrificed, rude dances are performed, in one of which the dancers wear the horns of the spotted deer.<sup>44</sup> Naris, a Persian, had horns on his tiara; so also had the Assyrians.<sup>45</sup> A small horn called corniculum was worn on a Roman helmet as a mark of honour.<sup>46</sup> The Egyptian god Chnum wore ram's horns.<sup>47</sup> The Jewish altar had horns. At each corner of the masonic altar is a horn.<sup>48</sup> In the Bombay Dekhan the *hāmādpanti*, i. e., from seventh to eleventh century, Hindu temple roofs have horn-like bosses on the stones, and horns adorn the top of the spire of many Mahādēva temples. The Roman horn of plenty is still a Freemasons' symbol.<sup>49</sup> In China (in 1321), some women wore a great spike of horn on the forehead to shew they were married.<sup>50</sup> Both among the fifth century White Huns of Central Asia, Persia, and India and among the later Huns of Asia and East Europe the women wore horns on their heads, a practice which was the origin of the fashionable high-peaked Hunische hats of fourteenth century Europe. Among the Druses of Lebanon the women wear silver horns.<sup>51</sup> The women of one division of the wandering Vajjārās of Western India wear a high horn-like spike of wood. The Sunangs, a wild Malay tribe, greatly prize rhinoceros' horn as a cure.<sup>52</sup> The Dyaks of Borneo wear chips of deer horn as amulets and keep deer horns as talismans against sickness, death and defeat.<sup>53</sup> A favourite charm in West Africa is a large horn filled with mud and bark, with three small horns at its lower end. This horn is believed to keep slaves from running away.<sup>54</sup> The people of Madagascar consider the horns of cattle a symbol of strength. All horns are supposed to have a medical power like hart's horn.<sup>55</sup> Pinto says that, while in South-West Africa, when stricken by a strong fever, the people covered him with amulets, his chest with horns of antelopes and his right arm with bracelets of crocodile teeth.<sup>56</sup> Rhinoceros' horn is a great antidote of poison.<sup>57</sup> The Bongos of the White Nile make horn-like points on their roofs.<sup>58</sup> Bracelets of horn are worn by the Msuahili women of East Africa.<sup>59</sup> The musicians at Dahomey wear horns.<sup>60</sup> In Central Africa, a horn is used as a bleeding cup.<sup>61</sup>

In England (1724), it was the practice to swear on the horns at Highgate near London.<sup>62</sup> The Italian traveller Della Valle (1628) tells of a piece of horn owned by the captain of the ship *Dolphin*, which was believed to be unicorn horn, because it was good against poison.<sup>63</sup> In England, the husband of an adulteress used to be described as wearing horns.<sup>64</sup> The phrase, which is in use in French, German, Spanish and Italian, as well as in English, is that the unfaithful wife presents her husband with horns. This is a hard saying. The horns given by the wife cannot be the horns emblematic of power; they must be the guarding horns. Apparently, what

<sup>39</sup> Information from Mr. P. B. Joshi.

<sup>41</sup> Information from Mr. P. B. Joshi.

<sup>43</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XXIII. p. 229.

<sup>45</sup> Jones' *Coronations*, p. 4.

<sup>47</sup> Tiele's *Egyptian Religion*, p. 97.

<sup>49</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 64.

<sup>51</sup> Elworthy's *The Evil Eye*, p. 199; Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, Vol. I. p. 827.

<sup>53</sup> Earl's *Papuans*, p. 154.

<sup>55</sup> Cameron's *Across Africa*, Vol. II. p. 219.

<sup>57</sup> Pinto's *How I Crossed Africa*, Vol. I. p. 285.

<sup>59</sup> Schweinfurth's *Heart of Africa*, Vol. I. p. 277.

<sup>61</sup> Burton's *Visit to Dahomey*, Vol. I. p. 213.

<sup>63</sup> Chambers's *Book of Days*, p. 118.

<sup>64</sup> From MS. notes.

<sup>40</sup> Information from Mr. P. B. Joshi.

<sup>42</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XVII. p. 190.

<sup>44</sup> Rice's *Mysore*, Vol. III. p. 265.

<sup>46</sup> Smith's *Greek and Roman Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 543.

<sup>48</sup> Mackay's *Freemasonry*, p. 15.

<sup>50</sup> Yule's *Cathay*, Vol. I. p. iii.

<sup>52</sup> Featherman's *Social History*, Vol. II. pp. 282, 283.

<sup>54</sup> Sibree's *Madagascar*, p. 334.

<sup>56</sup> Stanley's *Barbosa*, p. 101.

<sup>58</sup> New's *East Africa*, p. 61.

<sup>60</sup> Park's *Travels*, Vol. I. p. 277.

<sup>62</sup> Hakluyt Society Edition, Vol. I. pp. 4, 5.

the husband's horns are to save him from is the pointed finger of scorn.<sup>65</sup> Neapolitan ladies wear small horns as charms. If by chance the charms are not worn, the first and fourth right finger pointed under a handkerchief save from the evil eye and other harms.<sup>66</sup> In early mosaics the Deity is expressed by a right hand issuing from the clouds with the first and fourth fingers pointed like horns.<sup>67</sup> Indian goddesses have both hands with horn-pointing fingers.<sup>68</sup> In a curiosity shop in Naples, a stag horn stands over the door. Inside are Etruscan glass beads, a ram's head to keep off the Evil Eye, a head with horned moon and a hanging horn.<sup>69</sup> In the Kircher Museum at Rome, among the collections from the early lake dwellings, are pieces of horn.<sup>70</sup> In Spain, horn shavings cure sickness caused by the Evil Eye.<sup>71</sup> Ram's horn is the only safe keeper of snuff; also in early classic and Norse times the horn was the proper holder of liquor: all good things remained safe from evil within the keeping of the horn of plenty: guardian sounds gained a special virtue when blown through a horn. Two oxen skulls guard the lid of a Roman incense box.<sup>72</sup> In Pompeian frescoes lxxviii. in the Naples Museum, a horn hangs from a fillet,—“for the Evil Eye,” says the guide.<sup>73</sup> Again, for the Evil Eye, in the streets of Naples cab horses have the forelock waxed and twisted into four or five horn-like spikes apparently the same as Homer's horn-shaped lock of hair.<sup>74</sup> An ass drawing a coster's cart has an upright brass horn on its saddle.<sup>75</sup> Wine, the beloved of spirits, and so specially, apt to be soured by evil influences, wants careful keeping. A wine shop has one horn upright over the door and a second slung across the door. A wine cart has often a hanging horn in front and almost always a horn hanging from the axle.<sup>76</sup> So notable is the scaring power of the horn that in Naples amulets of every description are spoken of as horns.<sup>77</sup> The house wants guarding, so near Tivoli, a shepherd's hut has a horn on the rooftop; and, in Tivoli, a blue piece of iron over the tram-shed door is twisted into a horn shape.<sup>78</sup> On the roof ridges of Bhîls' houses in East Gujarât, horns are common to keep off evil dreams and the ill-omened owl.<sup>79</sup> The crops want guarding from the blight of the Evil Eye. The bleached skulls of oxen or cows may be seen in market gardens near Bombay, and in most patches of garden crops grown by the Bhîls in the Pāñch Mahâls. The Bombay market man will say that the skull is a bird scare: the Bhîl admits that it keeps off the Evil Eye.<sup>80</sup> Cakes offered at Greek altars were horned, and called moons and oxen.<sup>81</sup>

Horns guard from evil not only the head of the injured husband. The horned human head is one of the best of guardians. Moses' rays stiffened, perhaps returned, into horns. When a Catholic Bishop is consecrated, the horned mitre is set on his head with the christianising formula that with his head armed with the horns of either Testament he may appear terrible to the gainsayers of truth.<sup>82</sup> The guardian Dionysos was essentially a horned god.<sup>83</sup> Among western Asiatics, Alexander is the great two-horned Zulkârnain. The coin-heads of the Seleucidæ are horned.<sup>84</sup> Weiner noticed in Peru a great horned head on the roof of a tomb.<sup>85</sup> Some of the Roman Medusa faces are horned.<sup>86</sup> Pompeian fresco ii. in the Naples Museum has a horned human head and a long-horned deer's head. According to the guide,

<sup>65</sup> The unfortunate husband is also called the cuckold. Apparently, this should be cuckold-ed, he who has been turned out of his nest as the hedge-sparrow is turned out by the Cock-wold or Moorecock, that is, the Cuckoo. Mr. Hislop (*Two Babylons*, p. 335) has a handsome bit of Babylonian connecting the two attributes of the ill-used husband; Nimrod as universal king was *khuk-hold* king of the world. As such the emblem of his power was the bull's horns. Hence the origin of the cuckold's horns. For the dread of the finger of scorn compare *The Denham Tracts*, Vol. II. p. 24. The common people of North England think the forefinger of the right hand venomous. It is never applied to a wound or a sore.

<sup>66</sup> Elworthy's *The Evil Eye*, p. 261.

<sup>67</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 267.

<sup>68</sup> From MS. note, 1889.

<sup>69</sup> Smith's *Greek and Roman Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 7.

<sup>70</sup> From MS. note, 1889; *Iliad*, xi. 385 in Smith's *Greek and Roman Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 496.

<sup>71</sup> From MS. note, 1889.

<sup>72</sup> Elworthy's *The Evil Eye*, p. 196.

<sup>73</sup> From MS. note, 1888.

<sup>74</sup> Potter's *Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 253.

<sup>75</sup> Brown's *The Great Dionysian Myth*, Vol. II. p. 112.

<sup>76</sup> Elworthy's *The Evil Eye*, p. 198.

<sup>67</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 265.

<sup>68</sup> From MS. note, 1889.

<sup>69</sup> Elworthy's *The Evil Eye*, p. 22.

<sup>70</sup> From MS. note, 1889.

<sup>71</sup> From MS. note, 1889.

<sup>72</sup> From MS. note, 1889.

<sup>73</sup> From MS. note, 1889.

<sup>74</sup> From MS. note.

<sup>75</sup> Elworthy's *The Evil Eye*, p. 186.

<sup>76</sup> Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, Vol. J. p. 827.

<sup>77</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 193.

both these shapes are still worn in Naples to keep off the Evil Eye.<sup>87</sup> All over India the horned face, or Singh Mukh, guards the threshold, the pillars, the ceiling corners, and the roof tops of countless Jain and Brahmanic temples. This face has absorbed the earlier hornless Fame, or Medusa-face, known as Kirtī Mukh, and the Sun face, or Sūrya Mukh. With slight alterations it remains the centre of many a flowing band of Musalmān tracery from Mahmūd's tomb in Ghaznī to the mosques and shrines of the Pañjāb, Gujarāt and the Dekhan. Singh Mukh still looks out from his veil of leaves in the central feature of many a belt of ornament in Indian carved tables, book cases, screens and almiras. The Christianity of Western Europe has degraded the early guardian horn face to Old Horny, the Devil. The Virgin standing on the crescent moon is said to symbolize the power of the Queen of Heaven. An earlier and ruder sense is that the crescent moon is chosen, because it is horned. The honoured Virgin wants protection. The horns, on which she stands, will scare evil influences. In a rough fresco in an inn at Baïæ near Naples, one of the horns of the moon, on which the Virgin's feet rest, is curved like an oxhorn. Across the other horn, which is stiff, a snake is thrown.<sup>88</sup>

**Incense.** — The fumes of certain gums and woods cure fainting fits and swoons. In the Kōṅkan, the fumes of the leaves of *Raphanus sativus* are supposed to cure piles.<sup>89</sup> Another element in the belief in the demon-scaring power of incense is the Persian idea that<sup>90</sup> bad smells are evil spirits which good smells can put to flight. The origin of burning incense in religious services seems to be partly to please the guardian, partly to scare evil spirits from him. On the one hand the medium, or *bhagat*, inhales the fumes of frankincense that his familiar spirit may enter his body; on the other hand, according to Burton, spirits can be driven<sup>91</sup> from haunted houses by a good store of lights, odours, perfumes and suffumigations, as the angel taught Tobias to use brimstone, bitumen, myrrh, and briony root. In the Kōṅkan, when a person is believed to be possessed by a spirit, a fire is kindled. On the fire some human hair, *narkyā lōbān* or dung-resin, and a little hog dung, or horse hair, are dropped, and the head of the sufferer is held over the fumes for a few minutes. If the spirit is weak, it gets frightened and makes off.<sup>92</sup> The burning of incense before an idol is an essential part of Hindu worship. No Hindu worship is complete until incense is burnt and waved before the god.<sup>93</sup> *Gūgal* (aloes) is believed to drive away spirits. So the Gūglī Brāhmins of Dwārakā say they get their name, because they drove away a demon by the help of aloes or *gūgal*.<sup>94</sup> Myrrh, aloes, benzoin, camphor and sandal are all considered purifying and healing by the Hindus.<sup>95</sup> The *Sāntikamālākara*, a Hindu religious work, states that when a child is suffering from the disease called *bālāgraha*, or child-seizure, sandal paste should be rubbed on its body, fumes of incense should be made to pass over it, and flowers, rice and a lighted lamp should be waved round its face.<sup>96</sup> The Hindu ritual lays down that, before it is set on the pyre, the dead body should be rubbed with sandal-wood, perfumes, saffron, or aloe-wood.<sup>97</sup> Strong fetid smells are used by Hindu doctors to cure diseases.<sup>98</sup> Karnāṭak Musalmāns say nothing is so great a spirit-scarer as a good smell, especially frankincense and flowers.<sup>99</sup> Among the Malays, incense is used to counteract spells and scare spirits.<sup>100</sup> The Chinese hold that incense purifies.<sup>1</sup> When a Chinese child is sick with fever, the mother puts three burning incense sticks in its hand. A servant carries the child out of the house, and the mother follows, pretending to sweep, and calls "Begone, begone, begone."<sup>2</sup> The Motus of New Guinea stick bunches of sweet-smelling leaves in their armlets.<sup>3</sup> In Madagascar, gums and fragrant wood are burnt on special religious occasions.<sup>4</sup> In Africa, when their

<sup>87</sup> From MS. note, 1889.

<sup>89</sup> Information from Mr. P. B. Joshi.

<sup>91</sup> Burton, p. 738.

<sup>93</sup> Information from Mr. P. B. Joshi.

<sup>95</sup> Maurice's *Indian Antiquities*, Vol. V. p. 397.

<sup>97</sup> Colebrooke's *Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. I. p. 153.

<sup>99</sup> Information from Mr. Kēlkar.

<sup>1</sup> Gray's *China*, Vol. I. p. 162.

<sup>3</sup> *Jour. Anthropol. Inst.* Vol. VII. p. 479.

<sup>88</sup> From MS. note, 1889.

<sup>90</sup> Bleek's *Khordah Avesta*, Vol. I. p. 69.

<sup>92</sup> Information from Mr. P. B. Joshi.

<sup>94</sup> Information from Colonel Barton.

<sup>96</sup> Information from Mr. B. B. Vakhārkar.

<sup>98</sup> Maurice's *Indian Antiquities*, Vol. VII. p. 637.

<sup>100</sup> *Jour. R. A. Soc.* Vol. XIII. p. 522.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 30.

<sup>4</sup> Sibree's *Madagascar*, p. 303.

husbands are hunting, Hottentot women burn something like rosin, which they find on the sea shore and pray for success.<sup>5</sup> In Roman Catholic ceremonies, the garments of the priests are incensed, apparently that no evil influence may lurk among them. Among the Roman Catholics, the bread and wine at Mass are incensed;<sup>6</sup> the altar and the priest are incensed,<sup>7</sup> and the Bible is incensed three times before the Gospel is read.<sup>8</sup> According to Mr. Ruskin, the daily services, lamps, and fumigations of cathedrals on the Continent make them safe. English cathedrals are unwholesome.<sup>9</sup> In a Greek Church baptism incense is waved in front of the font.<sup>10</sup> The Bulgarians hold it a sin not to fumigate flour when it comes home from the mill.<sup>11</sup> Intolerable smells drive off spirits.<sup>12</sup> So, the Angel Raphael drove out the demon Asmodeus by making a stench with a fish's liver.<sup>13</sup> In England, spirits were believed to have delicate nostrils, dreading certain stinks and loving certain perfumes.<sup>14</sup> In England (1570), on the Twelfth Night, to guard those organs from sickness, the head of the house burned frankincense and fumed his own and his children's noses, eyes, ears, and teeth. Then the incense was carried round the house to drive off witches.<sup>15</sup> In England (1800), coffins used to be anointed with rich odours.<sup>16</sup>

**Indecency.** — Spirits are said to be afraid of indecency, especially of the male and female organs. So in the Hôlî festival, Hindus call out the names of the male and female organs, according to the *Mahâbhârata*, to scare the monster called Dhundharâkshasî, who troubles children. Among the Dekhan Râmôkîs, before the turmeric rubbing, the bridegroom is stripped naked.<sup>17</sup> In Poona and in parts of Gujarât, at the festival of Sirâl Sêt, on the sixth of Srâvan, or August, lower class Hindu women dance in a circle round an image of Sirâl Sêt, singing indecent songs. This festival is specially observed by barren women.<sup>18</sup> The Shôlâpûr Mhârs are buried naked, even the loin-cloth is taken off.<sup>19</sup> The Lingâyat boy, about to be initiated, is kept naked and fasting all the morning.<sup>20</sup> On Ganpati's day, the waxing fourth of Bhâdrâpad (August-September), it is unlucky to see the moon. Any one who sees the moon picks a quarrel with some one, and uses bad language in order to be abused in return.<sup>21</sup> In a shrine at Mahâkût near Badâmi in South Bijâpur, a naked female figure lying on its back is worshipped by barren women.<sup>22</sup> In the Karnâtak, naked and indecent figures are painted on idol cars and temples to keep off the Evil Eye.<sup>23</sup> In 1623, the traveller Della Valle noticed on an idol car in Kânara the images of a man and woman in a dishonest posture.<sup>24</sup> At the village festival of Dayamâva, in the Southern Marâthâ Country, women used to vow, if the goddess answered their prayer, they would walk naked to her temple. Women still walk without clothes, but covered with a garment of *nâm* and mangoe leaves and boughs, and escorted by other women and children.<sup>25</sup> At the same festival to Dayamâva, the Mâng who carries the basket of pieces of kid and buffalo flesh, and scatters them in the fields, is naked,<sup>26</sup> and a Mâng, called Rânîgiâ, abuses the goddess in the foulest language. Sir Walter Elliot notices that a similar outpouring of abuse formed part of the Greek Field Dionysia.<sup>27</sup> In Bengal, at the

<sup>5</sup> Hahn's *Truni Goam*, p. 77.

<sup>6</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 242.

<sup>7</sup> *Mrs. Romanoff's Rites and Customs of the Græco-Russian Church*, p. 70.

<sup>8</sup> Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II. p. 159.

<sup>9</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 260.

<sup>10</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 28.

<sup>11</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XVIII. p. 416.

<sup>12</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XX. p. 180.

<sup>13</sup> Information from Mr. P. B. Joshi.

<sup>14</sup> Information from Mr. Kêlkar.

<sup>15</sup> *Jour. Ethno. Soc.* New Series, Vol. I. p. 98.

<sup>16</sup> *Jour. Ethno. Soc.* New Series, Vol. I. p. 100.

<sup>17</sup> *Golden Manual*, p. 249.

<sup>18</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 236.

<sup>19</sup> Preface to the *Seven Lamps of Architecture*.

<sup>20</sup> *Spencer's Principles of Sociology*, Vol. I. p. 259.

<sup>21</sup> Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, Vol. III. p. 55.

<sup>22</sup> Chambers's *Book of Days*, p. 274.

<sup>23</sup> Information from Mr. P. B. Joshi.

<sup>24</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XXIII. p. 232.

<sup>25</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XXIII. p. 636.

<sup>26</sup> *Hakluyt Soc.* Ed. Vol. II. p. 260.

<sup>27</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 98.

<sup>28</sup> The surface explanation of religious indecency in early festivals is that the object of the festival is to cheer, and so to drive away bad spirits, and that indecency aids to this end, because bawd is the cheapest and the earliest humour. Judging from the Hôlî abuse, laughter is not the aim of the indecent words used at early field festivals. The abuse consists mainly in shouting the names of the male and female organs. That such shouting is common during the great spirit-season of Hôlî and at other times is not tolerated, shews that the aim of the Hôlî shouting is religious, and that the words are shouted to bring luck, not to

Durgâ festival, indecent songs are sung.<sup>28</sup> The Vaishṇava priests of South India sing obscene songs, which, the more they are stuffed with dirtiness, the more they are liked.<sup>29</sup> In South India, the sculptures of most temples are obscene. Niches are filled with figures of men and animals in shameless positions.<sup>30</sup> According to Pliny, the Romans of his time had the pots they quaffed from graven with fair portraits of adulteries.<sup>31</sup> It is because of its evil-scaring power that the *liṅg* is a cure for barrenness.<sup>32</sup> The Beni-Isrâ'îl midwife, when she draws off into salt the Evil Eye that is blasting the child, abuses the person whose sight has worked the mischief.<sup>33</sup> The Shânâr exorcist beats the possessed, and uses the most filthy language he can think of.<sup>34</sup> In Central Asia, most of the comedian's representations are obscene, often vivid and witty, and approved by rounds of laughter.<sup>35</sup> Before Muhammad's time Arab men and women used to worship naked at the Kâ'aba.<sup>36</sup> Two of the stones worshipped at Makka in pre-Muhammadan times represented A'saf and Nâyilah, a man and woman who had committed whoredom. As the Prophet was unable to stop the worship, he allowed it to continue as a token of respect for divine justice.<sup>37</sup> In Japan, Yo and In, the male and female principles, are placed at the doors of Buddhist temples.<sup>38</sup> On New Zealand tombs phallic sculptures, symbolic of the *vis generatrix* are common.<sup>39</sup>

Among the Papuans and also among the Turkomâns funeral rites are performed by naked women.<sup>40</sup> So Alexander the Great ran naked round Achilles' tomb.<sup>41</sup> In Tartary and in South Africa, people used to scold at the thunder and lightning to drive them away.<sup>42</sup> In Madagascar, on the birth of a child in the royal family, the greatest licentiousness was allowed.<sup>43</sup> The Romans, when there was a plague or a famine, acted a play in which the gallantries of Jupiter were shewn.<sup>44</sup> The early Christians considered it lucky to meet a harlot in the morning.<sup>45</sup> The same belief is widespread in India. The harlot is the sin-trap or scape-goat. The Turkomân horse-doctor or saint, in Bonvalot's *Heart of Asia*, tells the owner of the sick horse: — "You must strip yourself naked, hold the horse by the tail, and kick him on the quarters while I pray."<sup>46</sup> Among the Red Indians, Minnehaha, at the request of her husband Hiawatha, when the noiseless night descended, laid aside her garments wholly and with darkness clothed and guarded, unashamed and unafrighted, walked securely round the corn fields, drew the sacred magic circle of her footprints round the corn fields, to protect them from destruction, blast of mildew, blight of insect, Wagemin the thief of corn fields, Paimosaid who steals the maize-ear.<sup>47</sup> In Greece, when it has not rained for a fortnight, young girls choose one of their number, who is from eight to ten years old, usually a poor orphan, strip her naked, and deck her from head to foot with field herbs and flowers. The others lead her round the village singing a hymn, and every house-wife has to throw a pailful of water on the naked girl's head.<sup>48</sup> In Germany, stand-

raise laughter. Luck is gained by clearing the air of spirits. To clear the air of spirits two influences must unite, each powerful over one of the two great swarms of unhoused spirits. The two influences required are, — a scaring influence to put to flight the host of man-hating irreconcilables, and a squaring influence to draw and house the army of friendlies and neutrals. This dual scaring and housing power of the male and female organs seems traceable to two experiences. First to the experience that the organs are the source of the great healer, urine, and so are a home to the squarable and a terror to the irreconcilable; and second to the experience that, as the source of being, these organs are a haunt and a fount of spirits, a home, in later phrase a symbol, of ancestral and other guardian influences, and therefore, like other guardian homes, at once a dread and a jail to man-hating wanderers. The shouts are as potent as the organs, because, from the experience that in the name dwells the spirit of the object named, it follows that to shout the names of the organs has the same effect as to shew the organs themselves.

<sup>28</sup> Ward's *View of the Hindus*, Vol. I. p. 119.

<sup>29</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 350.

<sup>30</sup> Moor's *Little*, p. 57.

<sup>31</sup> Dr. Caldwell in *Balfour*, p. 550.

<sup>32</sup> Burkhardt's *Arabia*, Vol. I. p. 178.

<sup>33</sup> Reed's *Japan*, Vol. II. p. 27.

<sup>34</sup> Earl's *Papuans*, p. 109; Schuyler's *Turkistan*, Vol. I. p. 13.

<sup>35</sup> Potter's *Antiquities*, Vol. II. p. 233.

<sup>36</sup> Sibree's *Madagascar*, p. 253.

<sup>37</sup> Smith's *Christian Antiquities*, p. 1461.

<sup>38</sup> *The Song of Hiawatha*, Vol. XIII. The custom is taken from Schoolcraft's *Ojéwa*, p. 83.

<sup>39</sup> Grimm's *Teutonic Mythology*, Vol. II. p. 594.

<sup>29</sup> Dubois, Vol. I. p. 150.

<sup>31</sup> Pliny's *Natural History*, Book vi. Chap. 22.

<sup>33</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XVIII. pp. 526, 527.

<sup>35</sup> Schuyler's *Turkestan*, Vol. I. p. 137.

<sup>37</sup> Sale's *Kuraan*, I. 27; Herklot's *Qu'ân-i-Islâm*, p. 65.

<sup>39</sup> Forrander's *Polynesian Races*, Vol. I. p. 47.

<sup>42</sup> Hahn's *Tsuni Goam*, p. 99.

<sup>44</sup> Hume, Vol. II. p. 41.

<sup>48</sup> *St. James's Budget* of 29th December 1888, p. 9.

ing naked, or walking backwards, was an usual requisite for finding out a lover. Another way was, being naked, to throw the shift out through the door.<sup>49</sup> German witches bathed naked in sand or corn.<sup>50</sup> In Germany, to bring rain, a little girl, completely undressed, was led outside of the town, and made to dig up henbane with the little finger of her right hand and tie it to the little toe of her right foot. She was then solemnly conducted by the other maidens to the nearest river and splashed with water.<sup>51</sup> A carved stone, representing a *lingam* was found in a grave near Norfolk.<sup>52</sup> In England, in 1268, to stay a cattle plague wood was rubbed till it burned and an image of the penis was set up to guard the cattle from disease.<sup>53</sup> In fifteenth century France, each Cathedral church had a bishop or an archbishop of fools, and in churches under the Pope a pope of fools. Mock pontiffs had crowds of mock ecclesiastics, some dressed as players and buffoons, some with monstrous masks, others with faces smutted, some dressed as loose women. In the service the crowd sang indecent songs in the choir. After the service they put filth into the censer and ran about leaping, laughing, singing, making obscene jokes, and exposing themselves in unseemly attitudes with shameless impudence.<sup>54</sup> The first time he takes them out in spring, the Saxon swine-herd in Transylvania goes naked with the pigs. The herd's nakedness keeps diseases from the pigs. Similarly in Transylvania, women helping a cow to calf should wear no clothes.<sup>55</sup> The story of Godiva at Coventry appears to be a case of meaning-raising invented to make possible the continuance of the old practice of opening fairs by a naked procession.<sup>56</sup> African chiefs and, according to Ajanta and other cave paintings, Hindu rulers of the sixth to the tenth century, were waited on by naked women. Persons to be initiated into the classic mysteries took off their clothes on entering the inner part of the temple.<sup>57</sup> In England, a charm for scrofula was for a fasting virgin to lay her hand on the sore, and say: "Apollo denies that the heat of the plague can increase where a naked virgin quenches it," and spit three times.<sup>58</sup> A part of the crowning rites of a Tahitian chief was that naked men and women danced and left excrement round him.<sup>59</sup> The Australians hold elaborate dances in which they imitate the loves of animals.<sup>60</sup> When a child is seriously ill, the Gujarât mother sometimes goes to the small-pox goddess's temple at night naked, or with nothing on but *nîm* (*Melia azadirachta*) or *asopûlo* (*Polyalthea longifolia*) leaves. She sometimes undresses in front of the temple and stands on her head before the goddess.<sup>61</sup> In Middle-Age Germany, a naked maiden stopped droughts and worked many cures.<sup>62</sup> According to Pliny, the touch of an unclothed maiden cures boils. The same authority states that a naked woman stills a storm at sea.<sup>63</sup> In the East, the belief prevails that a snake never attacks one who is naked.<sup>64</sup> About 1860, a cattle plague was wasting Russia. In a village near Moscow, the women stripped themselves naked and drew a plough so as to make a furrow round the village. At the end of the circle they buried alive a cock, a cat and a dog, calling: — "Cattle plague, spare our cattle, we offer a cock, a cat, and a dog."<sup>65</sup> In England (1805), valentines sent on February 14th were often indecent.<sup>66</sup>

The Florence Carnival was famous for the indecency of its songs. The Carnival songs of Lorenzo de Medici shew how far the license was carried.<sup>67</sup> The marriage songs of the Romans were indecent.<sup>68</sup> So are those sung by the women of many Hindu castes. Compare<sup>69</sup> among the Jews of the Eastern Caucasus: a week before the wedding the women sit on the roof, singing

<sup>49</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. III. p. 1117.    <sup>50</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. III. p. 1089.

<sup>51</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 592.

<sup>52</sup> *Jour. Ethno. Soc.* Vol. II. p. 430.

<sup>53</sup> Hardwick's *Folk-Lore*, p. 37.

<sup>54</sup> Strutt's *Sports and Pastime*, pp. 303, 304.

<sup>55</sup> *Nineteenth Century*, No. 101, p. 146.

<sup>56</sup> *Compare Notes and Queries*, Vol. VII. p. 437.

<sup>57</sup> Hislop's *Two Babylons*, p. 268.

<sup>58</sup> Pettigrow's *Superstitions connected with Medicine and Surgery*, p. 74.

<sup>59</sup> Reville *Les Religions des Peuples Non Civilisés*, Vol. II. p. 110.

<sup>60</sup> Featherman's *Social History*, Vol. II. p. 148.

<sup>61</sup> Information from Mr. Vaikunthram.

<sup>62</sup> Grimm's *Teutonic Mythology*, Vol. IV. pp. 593, 1182.

<sup>63</sup> Quoted in Bassett's *Sea Legends*, p. 110.

<sup>64</sup> Conway's *Demonology and Devil-Lore*, Vol. II. p. 225.

<sup>65</sup> Conway's *Demonology and Devil-Lore*, Vol. I. p. 267.

<sup>66</sup> *Gentleman's Magazine Library*, "Popular Superstition," p. 22.

<sup>67</sup> *Ency. Brit.*, IXth Edition, "Carnival."

<sup>68</sup> Pliny's *Natural History*, Book ii. Chap. 72.

<sup>69</sup> *St. James's Budget*, April 2nd, 1887.



old Tâtâr love songs. Mr. Elworthy is, no doubt, correct in explaining that the object of the lewd fescennine or marriage songs was to avert evil influences.<sup>70</sup> The Egyptian women (B. C. 480), floating in boats down the Nile to the fair of the goddess at Bubastis, in passing a town, drew near, sang, beat cymbals, cried out, lifted up their clothes, and loaded the townspeople with abuse.<sup>71</sup> The women of Ceylon keep at a distance Bodrima the ghost who died in child-bed, by waving brooms and abusing the demon with a string of epithets.<sup>72</sup> In Rome, on the 15th March, at the festival of Anna Perenna, the country people had rustic sports, drinking, singing and dancing. A remarkable and unaccountable feature, says Wilson, was the use of ancient or vulgar jokes and obscene language.<sup>73</sup> At the Athenian *stenia* the women made jests and lampoons against each other.<sup>74</sup> The Fiji women welcome warriors back with obscene songs.<sup>75</sup> In the Roman triumph, the soldiers shouted *Io Trinuphe*, and sang songs with the coarsest ribaldry at the general's expense.<sup>76</sup> The great spirit-searing festival at Axim, on the Gold Coast, begins with seven days of the freest lampooning and abuse.<sup>77</sup> At the great harvest festival of the Hos in North-East India, sons and daughters revile their parents in gross language, and parents their children.<sup>78</sup>

The *Cruise of the Marchesa*<sup>79</sup> gives insight into the reason why indecent statues or pictures, especially figures in the act of sexual union, and the emblems of the union of the sexes, came to have a religious meaning and to be objects of worship. The ruined Papuan temple at Monokware, in Dorei Bay, in north-east New Guinea, had on either side, not far from the entrance, a great image of a man and woman in sexual union. Within were other carved wooden figures of much the same kind, grotesque and indecent, intended to represent the ancestors of the Nufoor tribe, and known as the Mon or First People. In a note to page 281, Dr. Guillemard states that both in New Ireland and in the north-west and north-east of New Guinea, the aim in making the Divine Nine-pins, called Kurovar, which are the chief local household gods, is to house the spirit of a dead ancestor. He says: — "The belief is that the ghost must have some habitation on earth, or it will haunt the survivors of its late family." Whatever lodges the uneasy ghost protects the family from suffering and is therefore lucky. The object of the indecent figures is the same as the object of the Divine Nine-pins, that is, to tempt ancestors into them. Indecent is a vague word. It may mean simply naked. The belief, that the private parts are specially spirit-homes, seems based on the fact that they are appetite and passion centres, affected without or against the will of those to whom they belong. The belief on this point is a case of the great early religious law, the unwilling is the spirit-caused. To the early man both the local physical and the general mental effects of the promptings of the sex appetite imply the entrance and working of some outside spirit. In later religious thought the effects are explained as due to possession by Venuses, Loves, or Nymphs. In another view, the cause is Satan warring in man's members, or the old Adam goading to sin. Since, therefore, the private parts are great spirit haunts, they can be used as spirit-housers. Therefore, the private parts are lucky. The belief, that the private parts are specially open to spirit attacks, seems to be the origin of physical decency. The private parts are kept hid, lest the evil eye or other evil spirit should through them enter the body. So to intercept any fiend-bearing glance, the naked Madras Hindu child has hung round its waist a heart or V-like vulva or *yoni*-shaped metal plate. Similarly, the sense of ceremonial or religious nakedness in the attendant of the king, or in the devotee, or vow-payer of the god is that their nakedness draws into themselves the evil spirits, which, unhoused, might have vexed the king or the god.

<sup>70</sup> Elworthy's *The Evil Eye*, p. 425. Compare Munro's *Catullus*, 16, quoted in Smith's *Greek and Roman Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 839.

<sup>71</sup> *Herodotus*, Vol. II. p. 60; Wilkinson's *Egyptians*, 2nd Series, Vol. I. p. 279; Vol. II. p. 230.

<sup>72</sup> *Demonology and Witchcraft in Ceylon*, Journal of the Asiatic Society of Ceylon (1867), p. 37.

<sup>73</sup> Wilson's *Works*, Vol. III. p. 289.

<sup>74</sup> Potter's *Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 487.

<sup>75</sup> Featherman's *Social History*, Vol. II. p. 217.

<sup>76</sup> Smith's *Roman and Greek Antiquities*, Vol. II. p. 897.

<sup>77</sup> *The Golden Bough*, Vol. II. p. 170.

<sup>78</sup> Dalton's *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 196.

<sup>79</sup> Vol. II. pp. 280-282.

In addition to their luckiness or spirit-housing power as being simply naked, figures in the act of sexual union, or, in a later form Mâhadêva's favourite home, the symbols of the united male and female organs, have faurther power to tempt spirits to lodge in them. It may be said that the attractiveness to spirits of figures in union, or of the emblems of union, is nothing more than enticing the spirit to enter into the act which had been one of its chief human pleasures. But it is doubtful if this common-sense view is the true explanation of the belief that the representation of the act of sexual union has special spirit-drawing power. Because the passion or possession that accompanies the act of union, and still more the experience that the result of the union is the framing of a new human being, the calling a soul from out the vast and striking a being into bounds, must have impressed the conviction that the moment of sexual union is the chief of spirit-housing times. The other early belief, that the spirit of a dead relative comes back into the new-born babe's body, must have still further enforced the belief that sexual union was one of the chief spirit-housing conditions. The likeness to some one dead, which later thought traces to the handing down of certain physical strains, proves to the early man that in the child lives the dead relation whom the child resembles. This seems to be the chief consideration why representations or symbols of sexual union are believed to be specially tempting ancestor-lodgings, and are therefore specially lucky and worshipful.

(To be continued.)

## THE DEVIL WORSHIP OF THE TULUVAS.

FROM THE PAPERS OF THE LATE A. C. BURNELL.

(Continued from page 244.)

BURNELL MSS. No. 15 — (continued).

### THE STORY OF KOTI AND CHANNAYYA — (continued).

As they were going, the Ballâl sent a man to say to them:—"If you defeat in battle an elephant, a horse, and an army, too, I shall give you a *muṛa* of rice."

"Your servants get, as a present, a *sêr* of rice," said Kôti and Channayya.

"Do you, heroes, fight with an elephant and with a horse, and defeat nine *lâkhs* of men, and I will give you as a present a *muṛa* of rice. I shall send my servant to you. Be, at that time, with Little Channayya.

A man was sent to fetch the heroes from the Êḍambûr Baidya's house. They went to the Ballâl and saluted him. Five hundred elephants were loosed to fight with the heroes of Êḍambûr.

"If you come with justice, I will shew you a road to my heart, but if you come with injustice, I will cut you into pieces, like bees," said Channayya.

A troop of horses was brought out to them, but Channayya mounted on a horse, and killed it, by pressing it so that it vomited up its food.

"The elephant is defeated and the horse is defeated, but the nine *lâkhs* of men remain," said Channayya to his master.

The younger brother himself killed the nine *lâkhs* of men by his might. It was difficult even for the Ballâl himself to remain alive.

"I will give you a present, Channayya!" said the Êḍambûr Ballâl, and presented the heroes with land at Êkanâḍka.

"We want land that has been fallow for sixty years and on which wild plants and herbs have been growing for thirty years," said the brothers, and took their leave.

The land at Êkanâḍka was presented to them. They went there, made a plan, and built a palace. The palace was built with five hundred rooms below, with an upper story in the

middle, and with another story over that. The land was hilly, but the hills were dug down and made into a paddy field by the heroes. On the 18th of the month Paggu, they ploughed the field with four bullocks and sowed seeds in the corner of the field.

"We have ploughed and sown in the dry land sowing sixty *muras* of paddy, and in the wet land sowing ninety *muras* of paddy," said the brothers to each other.

"Let us examine the sprouts of the seeds. Do you, elder brother, go through the dry land and I will go through the wet land," said Channayya.

When Kôṭi went through the wet land and Channayya through the dry, the younger brother met the elder.

"Brother Channayya! what do we see in this country? A wild hog called Gujjara was born when the earth was created. He has destroyed all the crops. He has ruined all the paddy fields producing food for fifty men," said Kôṭi.

"There is no hunting and no army in this country," said Channayya.

"This is not a country where men live. This is a widow's country and a woman's country," said Kôṭi.

"We have not rubbed off yet the sweat of our limbs with the clothes tied to our middles. Our daggers rust," said Channayya.

Little Channayya told all this to the Ballāl of Ēḍambūr. The Ballāl sent Little Channayya to Ēkanāḍka Guṭṭu, to bring the heroes in a *ghaḷigē*. The heroes saw the letter and came in a *ghaḷigē*.

"I hear that you say that this is a widow's country and a married woman's country, and that, as this is a widow's and a woman's country, there is no hunting," said the Ballāl. "I will write a letter to the hunters, so that they may assemble under a small mango tree."

The Ballāl wrote a letter to a thousand people of Ēḍambūr and to three hundred people of Tolābāri to collect together, and proclaimed that each household was to come. Also, that every grandson, who was under the care of his grandfather, and every nephew, under the care of his uncle, was to assemble. Every elder brother and younger brother and every brother-in-law was to come to the hunt.

"Every one of these is to be present under the small mango tree for seven days and nights," said the Ballāl. "Little Kinnyanna, why do not the heroes come yet? Were they not informed?"

Soon after that, when Kinnyanna went to the heroes to call them, they came over. They came to the Ballāl and saluted him, standing on lower ground.

"Are the men and the army sufficient, Kôṭi and Channayya?" asked the Ballāl.

"Master, the men are sufficient for the hunting; but there are no dogs at all," said Channayya.

"Where are the dogs, Channayya?" asked the Ballāl.

"On the *ghḍṭs* in the Upper Country there is a dealer in dogs, who is call Mallodi," said Channayya.

A letter was written to the Upper Country to bring twelve dogs without leashes, and twelve dogs with leashes — altogether twenty-four dogs. The Ballāl ordered a servant, Bagga, to carry the letter. Bagga carried the letter to Mallodi. Mallodi read the letter, in which was written the order for twenty-four dogs. Then he called to a dog "Kalu! Kalu"! and gave him food of black rice. He called out "Bollu! Bollu"! and fed another dog with white rice. He put chains on the dogs' necks, and came to the small mango tree with the dogs. The Ballāl sent a man again in a *ghaḷigē* to the heroes, that they should come in a *ghaḷigē*, as the dogs

were brought. The heroes put shoes on their feet and took umbrellas, and arrived. Then the Ballāl said to them:—"Kôṭi, Channayya, let us go a-hunting now!"

"In what country, in what forest and in what prickly shrubs are we to hunt?"

"Let us go to a valley, where the long-horned deer feed, or let us go to a plain where the peacocks feed, or let us go into a black forest, or let us go to the mountains, where horses grow up, or let us go to any forest you like. Let us throw stones into the forest, and send dogs into the grass," said the Ballāl.

Flying birds and running birds did not rise up. Squirrels running on trees, bats hanging on leaves of trees, and coloured deer did not get up. Cranes and other birds crying, did not get up.

"Now let us go and hunt in a forest where black musk-deer live," said Channayya.

A large tiger, the longest in the country, got up. One Dēvanāgarī Ballāl killed the tiger. Channayya killed another, which was as old as the world. When they were going to a valley, where very large tigers live, a wild hog called Pañjina Gujjara, which was as old as the earth, got up quickly; and as he was coming along, grinding his teeth, as it were with the sound of thunder in the month of Karti, he ran at Kôṭi Baidya.

"If I run away, I shall lose my honor; but if I stand here, I shall be killed," thought Kôṭi himself, and killed the hog.

All men came to see the hog, which was smaller than an elephant, but greater than a horse.

Then the younger brother Channayya came to his elder brother, and called to him, "Brother, brother!" and asked him, "Did you kill a hog that is smaller than an elephant and bigger than a horse?"

"Brother, you see," said he, "we could both kill a thousand people of Pañja together with this hog!"

Then, the brothers brought a pot of water and a shoot of the *sañjimana* plant, and made the hog alive again and dragged it to Pañja Bālitimār, where a thousand people of Pañja on one side and the brothers alone on the other stood up to fight a battle. While they were fighting, Channayya speared the hog and killed it. A thousand people of Pañja took hold of the two hind legs of the hog, and Channayya, seeing this, tied his girdle to the hog's teeth and dragged. When they pulled only one foot, Channayya pulled seven feet, and took it to a rock called Munjolu Padē and told the people to cut up the hog. He said that a share was to be given to the village, the head and a leg to the hero who killed the hog, some curry to the neighbours, and poison to the thousand people of Pañja.

"Let us make the hog alive and draw it away to Rāyanāḍ Forest," said Kôṭi.

"We gave life to the hog, took him away, and now let us go to Ēkkanāḍka," said the brothers.

"What is to be done for the sin of killing a hog?" asked the younger brother.

"Channayya, one only need rub on oil; oil from oil-seeds; oil from a hand-mill; warm oil for the nails of the fingers; *kileṇṇe* oil for the ears; *ghī* for the head: ten or eighteen kinds of oil should be rubbed on."

A servant put oil on his left side and rubbed it on the right side. He put oil on the right side and rubbed it on the left side. But while the brothers sat having the oil rubbed on, a contemptuous letter from Pañja came to Ēḍambūr:—"Send back the whole of the wild pig, and with it some curry. When you send it, you should send our share. When you send it, you should give the hero who killed the hog the head and one leg. When you give it, you should transmit the honor. When you transmit the honor, you should send the instrument

with which the hog was killed. When you send it, you should send the heroes, too, who killed the hog, tied back to back. When you send them, let the army stand up to fight. When they stand up, let the Ballāl leave off male customs and let him dress as a female; let him put two cocoanut shells for his breasts; let him put on a small jacket; let him tie his hair into a knot; let him put collyrium on his eyes; let him put a *śirā* round his middle; let him be dressed with flowers. If he sees his feet holding a small knife, then his country is that of a female."

Thus was the letter written, and when the Ballāl saw it, he wept bitterly.

There was a poor Brāhmaṇa at the garden called Amasavanda. The Ballāl went there and called out, "Ēdambūr Śaṅkara."

"Why did you send a man to me, O Pergadē!" asked the Brāhmaṇa.

"Tell me what your pay is for going to Ēkkanāḍka," said the Ballāl.

Pergadē wrote a letter and gave it to the Brāhmaṇa.

"Channayya is very cruel; Channayya is hard-hearted; therefore, O Brāhmaṇa, go carefully," said the Ballāl.

The Brāhmaṇa went, passed the compound, and stood at the opening between two posts. He called out, "Kōṭi! O new hero! Channayya! O new hero!" and Channayya came out running to beat him, and gnashing his teeth.

"Let us ask him whence he comes and where he is going," said Kōṭi.

They asked him, and he replied: — "I am a man from Ēdambūr, and have brought this letter," said the Brāhmaṇa.

"There are many who remain at Ēdambūr for the sake of their meals; but let us see the contents of the letter," said Kōṭi.

When they knew the contents of the letter, it was no time for the Ēdambūr Ballāl to sit quiet, for then the seven kinds of battle appeared near. "We shall bathe to take away the oil off us, and drink rice water," said they. The water was warmed for seven nights with fire.

"O Brāhmaṇa, take rice for food, and return to Ēdambūr," said they, and gave him the letter for Ēdambūr.

The younger and elder brother bathed, and when they had dried their hair with a cloth violently, the drops of water from their heads like bees fell at Kemira's feet. They put on marks of sandal paste, and then they prepared to write a letter to their brother-in-law. It was one Ēlkoṭē Baṅgār Kujumba Kajēr at a *bellu* (dry land) in Uppuchekēr Bāl, to whom they sent a letter to come within a *ghaḷige*. Then they went home to their meal. They opened the lids of strong boxes. They made a pure gold key for the jewel box, a common gold key for the pure gold box, a silver key for the gold box, a wooden key for the silver box, and a key of copper for the wooden box. They opened the box and took a black silken cloth from Kavūr, and took out all their clothes, and dressed themselves. Channayya took a signet ring from a carved box, and put it on. They put jewels in their ears, and while they were putting a thick cloth on their shoulders, their brother-in-law arrived.

"Do you remain here cultivating the land thrice in a year. If we return back, we shall take back our house and property. If not, every thing belongs to you," said they to him, and went to the *chāvadi* of Ēdambūr. They went to the Ēdambūr *bīḍu* and saluted the Ballāl. Channayya asked the Ballāl:—"Why did you write that letter?"

"Seven kinds of battles are near, Channayya!" said the Ballāl. "I am a son of the Billavar caste; how can I fight?" said Channayya. "There is a sword in your stone-box. If I can wield it, I will fight the battle. Give me an iron chain from your swinging cot, to see if I can cut it with my dagger.

"Can iron cut iron in two, Channayya?" asked the Ballāl.

"If iron cannot cut iron, how can it be possible for a man to kill another, and how can a battle be fought?" said Channayya.

"When shall I see your face again, and when will you see my face again, brother?" asked Channayya.

Channayya Baidya went to battle at Pañja. Kôṭi Baidya went to battle at Nekilājya. Channayya killed thousand people of Pañja and had a gold post carried from Pañja to Ēdambūr. He did not leave even a single man to answer a call, and he did not leave even the sprouts of plants, but destroyed every thing. He dug up the steps with a pickaxe and burnt the house with fire. He made the house red and then black, and then said that he would go to his elder brother. When he went to his brother Kôṭi, he had gathered the seven battles into one, had defeated all in six battles, and was fighting the seventh. He made a sign with his cloth so as to turn his younger brother back, as there was an arrow shot by Sanda Giḍḍi.

"Has the arrow struck your eyes or legs?" asked Channayya.

Immediately an arrow came and struck Channayya's leg.

"If he was a good dog, he would have bitten in front, but as he is a dog of Pañja, he has bitten from behind. Therefore, I cannot see the arrow and take it out," said Channayya, and shook his leg with force.

Then the arrow struck Sanda Giḍḍi. Channayya was carried to Ēdambūr.

Kôṭi Baidya fought the battles and defeated all his enemies. He came to a white *saroli* tree and sat down under it. Then he was not himself. The black bird, *kaliṅga*, sat on his hat. In the meantime one Kalōri of Pañja, who had fled from the battle, came to Kôṭi and seized his dagger, and when Kôṭi Baidya opened his eyes and saw him.

"This is not my dagger, but belongs to Brāhmaṇa of Kemmulaje. It is not necessary to steal it from my hands. I will give you it myself," said Kôṭi.

When the Ballāl of Ēdambūr heard that one Kalu Naika had gone away with Kôṭi's dagger, the Ballāl sent his nephew Dēvanajiri Ballāl to Kôṭi. When Dēvanajiri Ballāl arrived, Kalu Naika was going away with the dagger, but he caught Kalu Naika and tied him to a horse's feet and made the horse run away. Then Kalu's face and nose were broken, and he died.

Dēvanajiri went back to Kôṭi Baidya. Kôṭi Baidya then said to the Ballāl, "Brahmā has ordered me to go to him. I leave this life, and therefore I give you a grant on copper."

Kôṭi Baidya wrote a document that Ēdambūr is for the elder brother, and Pañja for the younger brother, and gave it to Dēvanajiri.

"I leave my body and go to Kailāsa; therefore get holy *tulasī*, and pour water into my mouth. Under a white *saroli* tree at Hasalajya Bāil in Beltangāḍi Kôṭi left his body and went to Kailāsa. And when he died and entered Vaikuṇṭha, Brahmā ordered him not to touch the wall of the temple and not to descend into the yard.

"As you are the god who knows the particulars of all *Sāstrams*, why did you make me die?" asked Kôṭi.

"There is only one death and one burial ground both for you and your brother; therefore, bring your younger brother, too," said Brahmā.

When Kôṭi came to Channayya, as a spirit, his leg was being washed. Kôṭi called out, "O, my younger brother!" and then the younger brother Channayya struck himself on the head, and died, and went to his brother. Then they went together to Brahmā. Then

Brahmā ordered them to touch the wall and to come into the yard, and to walk three times round the temple, and then they entered the temple of Brahmā. Fuel was collected in a burial ground, for which a mango tree on the other side of the river and a jack tree on another side of the river were cut down. Sixty bundles of sandal were brought. Then the dead bodies were burnt. In this manner the Ballāl caused their dead bodies to be burned perfectly.

(To be continued.)

## FOLKTALES IN HINDUSTAN.

BY W. CROOKE, C. S.

### No. 11. — *The Tale of Pañchphālā Rājā.*<sup>1</sup>

THERE was once a Rājā, who had seven sons. One day he was asleep on the upper storey of his palace, and he dreamed a dream. He thought he was in a lordly garden. The walls were of gold, and in the centre was a bower made of gold and silver. The doors were as the doors of Vaikuṇṭha, and in the garden were all the fruits and flowers which are found in the garden of Rājā Indra. In fact it was the garden of Rājā Indra, which the Rājā saw in his dream. In the morning, when the Rājā awoke, he called all the noted craftsmen and gardeners of his kingdom, and ordered them to prepare a garden, such as he had seen in his dream, in a single day. Such was the wealth and magnificence of the Rājā that the garden was made, as he desired.

One night it so happened that Lāl Pari (the Red Fairy), Pukhrāj Pari (the Topaz Fairy), and Sabz Pari (the Green Fairy) came down on their flying couch to observe the world of men; and when they saw the garden of the Rājā they believed that it was the garden of Rājā Indra. So they dismounted and walked about the garden and were surprised at its beauty. They expected to find Rājā Indra and their sister fairies there; but when they searched for them in vain they knew that it was an earthly garden and not that of their lord. So they flew back to Rājā Indra and told him that a king on earth had made a garden surpassing his. Then Rājā Indra was wroth exceedingly, and calling his two demons, Siyāh Deo (the Black Demon) and Safēd Deo (the White Demon), he ordered them to fly down and see which Rājā had brought him to dishonour. When Rājā Indra heard the tale of the garden he was overcome with anger, and ordered his four demons Lāl Deo, Siyāh Deo, Sabz Deo, and Safēd Deo to destroy the garden by devouring the flowers and fruit trees. That night the demons came and ate several trees in the garden. Next morning, when the gardener saw the havoc they had made, he reported to the Rājā, and the Rājā himself inspected the place. He was very wroth, and calling his Darbār, he proclaimed that he would give half his kingdom and wealth to the man who would detect the ruffians that had injured his garden. On this his seven sons came forward and asked that they might first of all be allowed to undertake the duty, and to this the Rājā agreed.

Accordingly on the first night the eldest prince kept watch, but he fell asleep, and the demons came and ravaged the garden as before. So in turn all the other princes, except the youngest, tried and failed.

Then came the turn of the youngest prince, and he was so determined not to go to sleep that he cut his little finger and put salt into the wound. Then he climbed a tree and never slept. At midnight the demon, whose turn it was to ravage the garden at that time, came, and it was Safēd Deo. He appeared like a thunder cloud, and when he came into the garden he took the shape of a horse and began to destroy the trees, but before he could do any harm the prince jumped on his back and began to beat him so that the demon fell down and begged for mercy.

<sup>1</sup> Told by Wali-Muhammad Kasgar, and recorded by Sayyid Nawāb 'Ali, teacher of the Muhammadganj School, Bahraichi District.

Then he told the prince who he was and why he had come to injure the garden. He said to the prince :—

“Pluck a hair out of my tail, and, whenever you want me, you have only to burn the hair and I will attend to do your bidding. I am one of four demons, one black, one red, one white, and one green. They are called Siyâh Deo, Lâl Deo, Safêd Deo, and Sabz Deo. If you can bring them under subjection, as you have me, you will attain your object.”

In the same way the prince, during the course of the night, subdued the other three demons. In the morning, he went back to the palace, and as he had been awake all night, he lay down and fell asleep. In the morning, when the Râjâ went to his garden and found it safe from injury, he was delighted and searched for the youngest prince. When he found him, he held the royal umbrella over his head, and treated him with the utmost respect and brought him home. He was about to put him on the throne in his stead; but his six brothers began to repeat the saying — “There is no such friend as a brother and no such enemy as a brother (*bhâi aisâ hit, na bhâi aisâ muddai*), and they determined not to stay at home and allow their youngest brother to rule over them. So they left the kingdom and went to the land of China, where the Princess Pañchphulâ Râñi dwelt.

When his brothers left the Court, the youngest prince made enquiries about them, and, learning that they had gone to the land of China, he got a miserable, broken-down horse and saddle of rags, and putting some gold coins inside it, took the road to China, whither his brothers had gone. He passed through many forests and deserts, and at last reached the city of Pañchphulâ Râñi. He went to the inn, where he found his brethren, and when they saw him, they were angry.

“Is it not enough that you have taken the kingdom from us, that you must pursue us here also?”

But he offered to serve them, and they allowed him to join their company. When any one used to ask them who the youth was, they answered that he was their slave.

One day Râñi Pañchphulâ made proclamation that whoever could jump his horse on the topmost roof of her palace should win her hand. But he must strike her with a ball and do this five times. Now the Râñi was of surpassing beauty, and princes from the whole world were collected to contend for her. Many attempted the task but they all failed.

The young prince, who had been left behind at the inn, at last bribed the old woman with whom they lived to keep his secret, and he went to a tank and bathed and put on clean clothes; then he burnt a black hair and lo! a heavenly steed, black as the night, stood before him, and with him came a suit of black armour such as human eye never saw. He rode up among the princes, and when he spurred his steed it took him with one bound on the topmost roof of the palace. He struck the Râñi with the ball, and then jumped down and rode away so quickly that no one was able to recognise him. The Râñi got only one glimpse of him, but at this, she fell in love. When he got back to the tank, he put off his armour, and sent away the horse, and putting on his rags went back to the inn and no one knew him.

Next day he burnt a white hair and a white horse and armour came at his bidding. He rode up and leaped as before to the topmost roof of the palace, and no one knew who he was. So did he in all five times, and on the last day the Râñi was determined to recognise him: so, as he threw the ball at her, she marked him on the wrist with a heated pice. That day he was buying food at a Baniyâ's shop in the *bâzâr* when one of the Râñi's sepoy's saw the mark on his wrist and carried him off to the palace.

The Râñi wished to marry him at once; but he objected, and said that he was only a slave. He was, however, obliged to marry her, but he pretended to be a madman. Her father the



Rājā tried to dissuade her from marrying a madman ; but her love was fixed on him alone, and she would not heed their words.

One day the old Rājā, her father, was seized with a sore disease, and the physicians said that nothing would save him except the flesh of the *simurgh*. His other sons went in search of it, but they all failed. Then Pañchphûlā Rāñī exhorted her husband to undertake the quest. But he said :—

“What can a madman like me do ?”

At last, when she forced him, he asked for a horse and, as all of them wished that the madman who had married the Rāñī should die, they gave him the most vicious horse in the royal stables. But he overmastered it and rode outside the city. There he halted and burnt a black hair, and the Black Demon in the form of a black horse of heavenly beauty appeared. On this he rode over mountain and forest to the land where the *simurgh* abounds, and caught many of them and rode back. On the way he felt thirsty and looking round, saw a house in the midst of the forest, in which water and all kinds of food were prepared. He went in and roasting a *simurgh* ate and lay down. His brethren came there, and he knew them, but they did not recognise him. They asked him for one *simurgh*, and he gave it to them on condition that they would allow him to brand each of them on the back. This he did and let them go. He came home and told his wife and the Rājā that he had failed to find the *simurgh*. Meanwhile his brethren arrived with the bird and the Rājā was fed on the flesh and recovered. The Rājā was pleased with them, and gave them half his kingdom.

After some time an enemy of the Rājā attacked his dominions, and the brothers of his wife went out to fight, but they were defeated. The Rāñī Pañchphûlā was looking on from the roof of the palace, and when she saw the army of her father defeated, she called her husband to their aid. At first he said :—

“What can a madman like me do ?”

But at last he burnt a hair and a heavenly steed and armour appeared. He rode to the fight and mowed down the foe, as a husbandman mows down the standing corn. The Rājā knew not whether it was an angel or a demon that fought on his side. When the enemy was routed, the brothers of the Rāñī claimed the honour of the victory ; but the Rājā knew well that this was but idle boasting. So he had search made for the hero of the battle. Finally, Rāñī Pañchphûlā told her father that it was her mad husband who had saved him in the hour of need. When the prince was called before the *darbār*, he asked the Rājā to see if his brethren were branded or not. When they had to shew the marks, the prince told how he had captured the *simurgh*, and the brethren were overcome with shame and were driven out of the kingdom.

Then the prince went home in splendour and found his father blind from lamenting the loss of his son. When he saw him, his sight was restored to him, and the prince and Pañchphûlā Rāñī lived for many years in the utmost happiness.

#### Notes.

This tale, as usual, is made up of a collection of tolerably familiar incidents. We have the cycle of the youngest best (Grimm, *Household Tales*, Vol. I. p. 364 : and other references collected by Jacobs, *Report, Folkllore Congress*, p. 98). Next comes the *swayamvara* where the princess allots tasks to her suitors. It then branches off into the search for the *Simurgh*, the Rukh of the *Arabian Nights*, about whose size the narrator has only the very vaguest notion. The hair-burning charm is found in the *Arabian Nights*. The *Ifrītah* says :—“When as thou wouldst see me, burn a couple of these hairs and I will be with thee forthright, even though I be beyond Caucasus Mountain.” (Lady Burton’s edition, Vol. I. p. 163.)<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> [For the powers hair, see *Wî de-awake Stories*, p. 413f. — Ed.]

## MISCELLANEA.

## SOURCE OF SANSKRIT WORDS IN BURMESE.

THE following extracts from Dr. Führer's *Annual Progress Report* of the Archaeological Survey Circle, North-Western Provinces and Oudh, for the year ending 30th June 1894, will interest those readers who have followed the controversy between Messrs. Taw Sein-Ko and Houghton on Sanskrit words in Burma, Vols. XXII. and XXIII. of this *Journal*.

Dr. Führer and Mr. Oertel were deputed to Burma in 1893-94 to make an Archaeological Tour, which has resulted in a most valuable *Report*, and, as the *Report* is a good one on its own account, it is to be regretted that the indebtedness of the authors to the writer of this note is nowhere acknowledged, and that no mention is made in it of the great debt due by them to Mr. Taw Sein-Ko.

## Extracts.

Page 15. — "The most important discoveries as yet made at Pagàn are two long Sanskrit inscriptions on two red sandstone slabs, now lying in the court-yard of the ancient Kuzeit [Kuzék] Pagoda. The oldest one is dated in Guptasamvat 163, or A. D. 481, recording the erection of a temple of Sugata by Rudraséna, the ruler of Arimaddanapura. The second record is written in characters of the North-Indian alphabet and dated in Śakasamvat 532, or A. D. 610. Its object is to record the presentation of a statue of Śākyamuni by two Śākya mendicants, named Bôdhivarman and Dharmadāsa, natives of Hastināpura on the Īrāvati (the modern Tagaung in Upper Burma), to the Aśōkarāma at Arimaddanapura, during the reign of king Ādityasēna. Undoubted proof is here afforded that Northern Buddhism reached Upper Burma from the Ganges, when India was mainly Buddhistic."

Page 19b. — "The discovery amongst the ruins of Tagaung of terracotta tablets, bearing Sanskrit legends in Gupta characters and of a large stone slab with a Sanskrit record in the Gupta Alphabet of Samvat 108, or A. D.

416, affords a welcome corroboration to the statement of the native historians that, long before Anàratā's conquest of Datôn in the eleventh century A. D., successive waves of emigration from Gangetic India had passed through Manipûr to the upper valley of the Irrawaddy, and that these emigrants brought with them letters, religion, and other elements of civilization. The inscription is one of Mahārājā-dhīrāja Jayapāla of Hastināpura in Brahmadēsa on the Īrāvati, and the object of it is to record in [Gupta] Samvat 108 the grant of an allotment of land and a sum of money to the *ārayasaṅgha*, or the community of the faithful, at the great *vihāra*, or Buddhist convent, of Mahākāsyapa, for the purpose of feeding *bhikṣhus*, or mendicants, and maintaining lamps at the *stūpa* in the neighbourhood. The chief interest attaching to this inscription consists in its mentioning five lineal descendants of the Lunar Dynasty (Chandravamśa) of new Hastināpura, viz., Gōpāla, Chandrapāla, Dēvapāla, Bhīmapāla, and Jayapāla, and its mentioning that Gōpāla left his original home, Hastināpura on the Ganges, and, after various successful wars with the Mlechchhas, founded new Hastināpura on the Irrawaddy. The vast ruins of Buddhistic Hastināpura are now buried in dense jungle, and would, no doubt, on excavation, reveal the remains of buildings raised by Indian architects and embellished by Indian sculptors. Undoubtedly valuable inscriptions would be unearthed, which might throw new light upon many dark points in the earliest history of India and Burma, and upon a civilization that appeared when New Pagàn was founded, but then steadily declined. There are a few solid circular brick pagodas to the south, east, and west of ancient Tagaung, viz., the Shwézīgôn, Shwézati, and Paungdōkyā, which are held in great reverence, and which no doubt are very ancient. They were repaired during the reign of Alaungp'ayā, as recorded on three marble slabs."

R. C. TEMPLE.

## BOOK-NOTICE.

THE KATHAKOṢA OR TREASURY OF STORIES, translated from Sanskrit Manuscripts by C. H. TAWNEY, M.A., with Appendix containing Notes by Professor ERNST LEUMANN. [Oriental Translation Fund, New Series, Vol. II.]

THERE are good many Modern Collections of Jain Tales. One of the few anonymous ones among them is the above Kathākōsa. It is unnecessary to state that the translator has done his task well.

Any one, who has looked into the two stately volumes of the same scholar's famous *Translation of the Kathāsaritsāgara*, will know what he is to expect in the present volume. The references to other Folklore texts are, however, not quite as numerous as in the former work, owing to the heavy duties which his present office has laid on Mr. Tawney, while he carried through Press this new translation. His Preface, this time, gives a

short account of Jainism, in order to render the tales perfectly intelligible to those who are not acquainted with the tenets of that religion. The Notes by the writer add some more details of that kind, and trace a good many stories in the older Jain literature. The volume terminates by two indexes (an 'Index of Names' and a 'General Index') by Mr. F. F. Arbuthnot.

The Composition of Mr. Tawney's *Kathākōśa* is a usual one. The Jain *Kathākōśas* or *Kathāprabandhas* are either written in Sanskrit ślokas throughout, or they consist of prose interspersed with some verses which generally are gāthās in Jain Prākṛit or Sanskrit ślokas. The present collection is of the latter type, and Mr. Tawney has very nicely distinguished the metrical parts from the rest by using different type.

As to the Number of Tales there is some incongruity between the translator's own list (preceding his preface) and the list drawn from the Sanskrit College MS. (appended on pages 231 and 232) The latter has *twenty-seven* stories only, while Mr. Tawney's numbering goes up to *forty-one*. The difference results chiefly from Mr. Tawney's counting separately not only the independent stories, but also those which form parts of others. As the arrangement is somewhat confused by this method, I shall not adopt it in presenting below my own verified list drawn from extracts from MS. L. 94. For easy reference, however, I add in square brackets those figures of Mr. Tawney which differ from mine.

List of Tales contained in the *Kathākōśa*.

1 and 2. — Two stories illustrating worship (*pūjā*).

3, 4, 5 [40], 6 [5-7], 7 [8]. — Tales warning against the four passions (*kashāyas*), the first passion (*kōpa*, 'wrath') being treated in two tales (3 and 4), the others in one each. Of the fifth story [40] which refers to 'pride,' only the beginning is given in the text, but the whole is supplied by some MSS. in an Appendix. 'Cheating' which is illustrated by the sixth story [5-7] is also regarded as a passion, while love and hate are not among the *kashāyas*.

8 [9]. — A tale concerning a word spoken in season.

9 [10]. — A tale illustrating woman's virtue.

10-12 [11-14]. — Stories about asceticism. Also *bhāvanā*, illustrated in 12 [14], is asceticism (not meditation).

13-16 [15-18]. — Tales illustrating four kinds of worship mentioned in the *Pūjājayamālā*s of the Digambaras. This shews that the text, though it is on the whole of a Śvētāmbara character, bears

also some Digambara features. The second Appendix [41] even takes in a Brahmanic tale (about Nala and Damayantī), which is not found in any other Jain collection. So the book is pervaded by Śvētāmbara eclecticism.

17 [19-21] and 18 [22]. — Two stories having reference to liberality.

19 [23 and 24] — A tale reminding of the respect due to the Jinas and to the Congregation.

20 [25-27]. — A second story illustrating woman's virtue.

21 [28] and 25 [36] — Two tales concerning the first great vow proclaimed by all Indian religions, viz., compassion with living creatures.

22 [29-31]. — A story on the Namaskāra formula (*namo arahantānam*, etc.)

23 [32 and 33]. — A story on passion in general (*kashāya*).

24 [34 and 35]. — A third tale relating to liberality.

26 [37 and 38]. — A tale on an offence against a teacher.

27 [39]. — A fourth story about liberality.

First Appendix : 5 [40]. — See above.

Second Appendix : 28 [41] — The story of Nala and Damayantī. Its composition differs in several ways from the rest of the book, as the reader will learn from the end of p. 242.

About half the tales are derivable from older sources and invite comparison with other recensions.

The references given in the Notes may be augmented by one concerning the seventh story [8] which is drawn from the commentaries on *Uttarādhyayana* VIII. We find there the name Kapila instead of Vasudēva. This is one of the many instances that shew that many of the names are the compiler's invention. Indeed, ever since Dēvēndra and Hēmachandra it has been customary to invent names at large, while repeating the old stories. For general research it is, therefore, not advisable to fashion, as Mr. Tawney has done, the titles of the tales after the chief names contained therein, unless these are proved to be faithfully adopted from the original sources. Of course, Mr. Tawney is fully excused as a pioneer; but future translators and editors of tale-collections will perhaps accept the advice not to overrate the names. It is true that they will have to preserve in Titles the traditional names, but they should characterise those tales which have no traditional names so as to point out their general tendency only.

ERNST LEUMANN.

## SOME EARLY SOVEREIGNS OF TRAVANCORE.

BY P. SUNDARAM PILLAI, M. A.

(Continued from p. 259.)

## V.

ON the southern wall of the same temple, and not far from the inscription No. III. containing the royal grant of Unnandiṭṭai and other lands, is found a small document, in four short lines, recording another royal grant on the 8th of Chiṅgam 342 M. E. It purports also to be issued under sign manual, though it does not mention the name of the sovereign, which, however, we would be justified in assuming to be the same as in the two preceding records, until contradicted by other evidence. It may be thus rendered into English:—

No.  $\frac{5}{48}$ . Old Tamil. Puravari Inscription of (P) Vira-Ravivarman, No. 2.  
Sen-Tamiḷ Current.

“Hail! Prosperity! In the year 342 after the appearance of Kollam, with the sun 7 days old in Leo (*i. e.*, the 8th of Chiṅgam), was passed the following deed in *cadjan*:—The land granted under command to feed two wayworn Brāhmaṇa passengers, measures  $\frac{1}{2}$  in \* \* \* Nilakaṇḍan-parru, and is irrigated by the river Kōṭṭāru and the Kaichchirai channel. Nārāyaṇa Kuṇṛappōlan, signature. Kāḷi Kuṇṛappōlan, signature. And sign manual.”

The brevity of this document would lead us to suppose that it was a sort of note, issued under royal signature, and transmitted by two of the private secretaries in the palace to the ministers of state, with a view to having the usual more formal proclamation prepared and submitted. Anyhow, it may be taken to prove that Śrī-Vira-Ravivarman continued to rule Vēṇāḍ till at least the 8th day of Chiṅgam 342 M. E., or about the end of August 1166.

## VI.

Vira-Ravivarman, however, could not have occupied the throne of Vēṇāḍ long after that date; for we have evidence to shew that, on the 10th Mīna 348 M. E., it was occupied by another sovereign, Śrī-Vira-Udaiyamārtanḍavarman. This evidence is obtained from an inscription in Vaṭṭeḷuttu at Tiruvaṭṭār, as it is now called, about five miles to the east of Kuḷitturai, which is itself half way between Trivandram and Oḷuganachēri. In this inscription the place is named Tiruvaṭṭāru, and the old Vaishṇava Tamiḷ hymns, *Tiruvāymoli*, agree with our record in that spelling.<sup>52</sup> But the Sanskrit *Sthala-Purāṇa*, in manuscript, with which this place is honoured, prefers obviously to follow its modern corrupt designation, and calls it Chakratirtha, by way of translation. There could of course be not the least objection to the *Sthala-Purāṇa* using the modern name; but then it must surrender its insolent pretensions to antiquity. The work claims to be an integral portion of the *Padmapurāṇa*, and purports to report *verbatim*, in a series of ungrammatical *ślōkas*, a discourse of Śiva, on Mount Kailāsa, extolling to his spouse the unequalled sanctity of Tiruvaṭṭār, based mainly on the ground of certain dubious tactics practised by the local deity on two supra-mundane monsters.<sup>53</sup> On things earthly, and still more on local matters of any historical import, the legend preserves absolute silence. Its writer, however, must have been evidently struck by the similarity of the temples and idols at Tiruvaṭṭār and Trivandram, as well as the identity of the dates of their principal feasts, since now and again he makes Śiva compliment the former by calling it Ādyanandapura, or the original Trivandram. It is on the southern

<sup>52</sup> *Vāṭṭārṇṇ-āḍi vanaṅgi mā-āḷa-ppirapp-aruppāṇ*; similarly in all the 11 stanzas of the 9th *pattu* in the *pattāmpattu* of Nammālvār.

<sup>53</sup> These monsters are called Kēsan and Kēsi. Kēsan is killed and Kēsi his sister, come in the form of a stream to avenge the slaughter. The whole looks like an old Dravidian river myth, modified and adapted to suit the character of the local deity.

wall of the main sanctuary at Tiruvattār that the document I am now about to translate is to be found.

No. 6      Vaṭṭeluttu  
10.      Old Malayalam.      Tiruvattār Inscription of Vira-Udaiyamārtāṇḍavarman.

“Hail! Prosperity! In the Kollam year 348, with Jupiter in Cancer, and the sun \* \* days old in Pisces (*i. e.*, in the Malabar month *Mina*), Thursday, Anusham star, **Sri-Vira-Udaiyamārtātṭa**<sup>54</sup> **varma-Tiruvaḍi** graciously reigning at *Kōḷiḍaikkūru* in *Vēṇāḍ*, brought to *Kīlachchēri* palace, in *Kōḍainallūr*, in the form of *nēli*, 3 *śalāgai* and 30 *aḷagachchu*, due on (or to be advanced on the security of) the lands belonging to *Ādichchan Udaiyannan* and brothers, *viz.*, *Cheriyakarai Kūṭṭiya Perai* measuring \* \* \*, *Māttarai* measuring \* \*, making in both \* \* \*, in order that the fixed and regular allowances of *Paḷḷikonḍa*<sup>55</sup> *Perumāl* at *Tiruvattāru*, amounting to rice \* \* \* [might be continued without failure]; the income per harvest being \* \* \*.”

This is one of the *Vaṭṭeluttu* inscriptions I have, of which I cannot satisfy myself that I have found the full import. The only finite verb I can find in it is *koṇḍuvannu*, meaning “brought,” occurring nearly at the very end of the document; but owing to the omissions and difficulties in the previous parts of the sentence, I cannot be sure that its nominative is *Udaiyamārtāṇḍavarman*. The obsolete word *nēli*, already met with in inscription No. II., may be taken here also to mean ‘capital,’ or a sum of money. Both from the context and from the numerals following the terms, *śalāgai* and *aḷagachchu* must refer to the currency then in use. *Śalāgai* usually means a metallic rod of silver or gold. According to the Tamil *Nighantū*, it might mean also a superior kind of gem. All the three ideas, however, are closely related to one another and to money. It is quite possible that bars of silver or gold passed in those days as currency, with or without the Government stamp. *Achchu* of course, as in inscription No. II, cannot but mean coin, the addition of *aḷagu* (fair) being but expletive, as in *aḷagiya aḷippērōlai* meaning the “fair title-deed.” But I see no means of determining the value of *śalāgai* and *achchu* either in themselves or in relation to one another. All that we can safely conjecture, is that a considerable sum of money was taken to the *Kīlachchēri* palace. Why it was taken to that place, when it was evidently meant to be utilized for the temple at *Tiruvattār*, is an embarrassing question, to which I can find no answer. It is equally difficult to understand how so large an amount came to be due from the lands owned by *Ādichchan Udaiyannan* and his brothers. Since the last indistinct words of the document seem to indicate the quantity of paddy due every harvest, it is quite possible that the amount, instead of being taken from them, was only advanced to *Udaiyannan* and his brothers on the security of their lands, and on the understanding that a stated quantity of paddy would be delivered every harvest in return therefor. Hence the alternative construction given in the translation above. On the whole, therefore, this document must be noted as one yet demanding attention and study.

Nevertheless, for the main purpose in this connexion, it is as good a record as any yet noted; for it affords indubitable evidence of the reign of **Sri-Vira-Udaiyamārtāṇḍavarman** in *Mina* 348 M. E., or approximately speaking in March 1178. It being but six years since *Ravivarman* instituted the second grant at *Puravari*, there can be no legitimate doubt as to *Udaiyamārtāṇḍavarman* being his immediate successor. The document gives further the valuable information that *Kōḷiḍaikkūru* was the capital of *Vēṇāḍ* — at any rate, at the date of this record. As far as I can make out, this capital of *Vira-Udaiyamārtāṇḍa* is identical with the now insignificant village of *Kuḷikōḍ*, near *Padmanābhapuram*, *Kōḍainallūr* being a well-known place thereabouts. If my identification is correct, the way in which the old name has been corrupted by usage, might throw light upon the original name of the modern *Calicut* or *Kōḷikōḍ*. It would appear more reasonable to

<sup>54</sup> *Mārtātṭa* is an obvious error for *Mārtāṇḍa*.

<sup>55</sup> The *Perumāl* in a reclining posture as in *Trivandram*, *Srirangam* and *Seringapatam*.

derive Kôlikôḍ from Kôḷḷḍai-Kûru, — “the suitable middle part” of Malabar, — than to trace it to the popular and clever fiction that the territory was handed over to the Zamorin, to be measured out by the distance to which the crowing of the cock could be heard.<sup>56</sup> However that be, if Kôḷḷḍai-Kûru was ever “the suitable centre” of Vêṇāḍ, as the name indicates, we have some means of determining the original extent of that ancient principality. Taking this village, or Padmanâbhapuram, as the centre and Cape Comorin as a point in the circumference, Vêṇāḍ, as it originally stood, could not have embraced any territory further north of Trivandram. But the etymology of geographical names is not always a reliable guide to history.

## VII.

But, whatever might have been the original extent of Vêṇāḍ, in the 4th Malabar century it did include Trivandram, its present capital. For in 365 M. E. we find Âditya Râma making a present of a drum to the temple of Kṛishṇa in Trivandram. The gift is recorded in a Sanskrit *śloka* inscribed in old Malayâlam characters on the northern wall of the inner shrine of the Gôṣalâ Kṛishṇa temple. With the exception of those at Mitrânandapuram, this shrine appears to me to be the oldest in the Trivandram fort. In itself, it is a comparatively small building, standing in the middle of a rectangular outer temple, called the *gôṣâlâ* or cowshed, and the whole is situated in rather inconvenient contact with the north-western corner of the square formed by the corridors of the grand ‘Sri-Bali-maṇḍapa’ of Śrî-Padmanâbha, the presiding deity of the place. Tradition, for the nonce realistic, points to a worn-out granite tub, still remaining close to the wall bearing the inscription, as a memento of the good old days when the poor folks of the village resorted to it to whet their knives and hatchets before proceeding to the jungles around to fell and fetch fuel. The explanation suits very well indeed the appearance of the time-honoured tub, and also what may be otherwise inferred as to the past of the locality. It would be but an easy and pleasant exercise for historical imagination to picture, with the abundant evidences yet available, the real and original ‘cowshed’ and the patches of paddy lands and plantain topes by which it was then on all sides surrounded. But long before the date of this document, the primeval peace and solitude of the place must have been to a large extent broken. The Brâhmaṇa landlords of the north must have, centuries prior, planted a colony at Mitrânandapuram, as an outpost in their advance to the south. The Gôṣâlâ itself was, at the period of the inscription, a shrine worthy of a royal visit, and I feel inclined to think that the visit itself was induced by that Brâhmaṇa colony for some political purpose or other yet further north. At any rate, I fancy, it is to some learned member of that body we owe the *śloka*, which to us commemorates the reign of Âditya Râma in 365 M. E. The verse may be thus translated :—

No. 7    Archaic Malayâlam<sup>57</sup>    The Gôṣalâ Temple Inscription of Âditya Râma.  
86.    Sanskrit Verse.<sup>58</sup>

“Hail! Prosperity! In Dhanus (Sagittarius) and when life was at its height, Âditya Râma, who is the bearer of the state umbrella of Kôḍa Mârtânḍa, the lord of Gôḷamba, and who is further the soul of the earth, both prosperous and honoured, dedicated, after making due oblations, to the Lotus-eyed of the temple of the Cowshed, in (the town of) Syânandûra, a good drum made of silver, as huge as the Mandara mountain, and as lustrous as all the foam of the oceans gathered together.”

Such is the literal rendering of the rather cleverly composed Sanskrit distich. But, as Indian scholars know, cleverness in Indian versification means, to a large extent, skill in the use

<sup>56</sup> This fanciful derivation illustrates how traditions are invented in Southern India. It is but typical of what uniformly takes place with respect to most names of castes, villages, and customs. [Such intentions are not, however, confined to S. India, but are exceedingly common in N. India, and are the rule in Burma.—Ed.]

<sup>57</sup> Many letters of archaic Malayâlam differ from the characters now in use, though the affinity between the two sets is easy to discover.

<sup>58</sup> The metre of this verse is Śragdhara.

of tantalizing phraseology, with a view to suggest and yet to hide the thoughts to be expressed; it therefore behoves us to look into the lines a little closer.

Though the word *Dhanus* (bow) is evidently intended to suggest that Âditya Râma was, not only the inheritor of the state umbrella of Kôda Mârtânda, but also the carrier of his bow, or perhaps his standard bearing that device of the Chêra sovereigns,<sup>59</sup> yet, being in its locative case, it cannot but mean 'the month of Dhanus,' i. e., the month in which the sun is in the sign of Sagittarius. Similarly, the expression "when life was at its height" has its obvious astronomical interpretation. *Jîva* means Jupiter, and astrology assumes that that favourite planet reaches its 'height,' when it is in the sign of Cancer.<sup>60</sup> The use of the word *Gôlamba* again, or, as it is now more usually spelt, *Kôlamba*, indicates that somewhere close by lies buried the year of the inscription in the Kôlamba or Kollam era, the discovery of which, however, in old verses like the one before us, is often as difficult as a feat of astrological divination itself. A reference to Dr. Burnell's *South-Indian Palæography*, pages 77 to 80, would show the extent of the resources at the disposal of the Sanskrit versifier to find convenient sepulchres for the date he might occasionally condescend to embalm in his measured lines. But in the case before us there can be no doubt that the symbolism followed is what is called the Kaṭapayādi system of giving conventional numerical values to the letters of the alphabet; and the word whose component letters are here to be so valued, can be none else than *Mârtânda*, — the words immediately preceding the term *Kôlamba*. No other term in the neighbourhood is capable of expressing a possible past date in that era. I scruple not, therefore, to conclude that the date of this document is *Dhanus 365 M. E.*, or about the end of December 1189, when, astrologically speaking, Jupiter was in the zenith of his power in that part of the heavens which is graced by the figure of the crab.

But for the present inquiry, it is more to the point to know who was then in power here below in Travancore. "The prosperous and honoured soul of the earth" at that period, we are told, was one Âditya Râma. But with all my appreciation for the poet's feelings of loyalty, and commiseration for the common weakness to exaggerate the glory of the powers that are, I cannot but still complain that he did not somehow manage to put in 'Vêṇâḍ' instead of the whole earth. For as the lines now stand, it is not impossible for a sceptic to question whether Âditya Râma did really belong to that Vêṇâḍ dynasty whose history we are here engaged in tracing. I do not, however, for my part, feel that there can be much scope for any legitimate doubt on the point, particularly with the information placed at our disposal by the inscriptions Nos. IX. and X. in the sequel. But the poet makes amends for this defect by the mention of an important ancestor of Âditya Râma. Âditya Râma is said to have been "the bearer of the umbrella of Kôda Mârtânda, the lord of Kôlamba," which cannot but mean that he inherited from the latter his umbrella, or crown as we would now say, since one described as the 'honoured soul of the earth' could not have been the personal servant of another individual.

Who then was this Kôda Mârtânda, "the Îśa or god of Kôlamba?" Kôlamba is usually taken as the Sanskrit name for the Malabar era, otherwise called the Kollam year. It is sometimes assumed<sup>61</sup> to have been the ancient name of the seemingly modern

<sup>59</sup> In old classical times, the bow was the emblem of the Chêras, as the fish was of the Pândyas, and the tiger of the Chôlas.

<sup>60</sup> This is certainly the interpretation according to current astrology, but it scarcely seems to me to be correct. Jupiter was in the sign of Cancer in 848 according to our inscription No. 6, and, his period of revolution being roughly taken as 12 years, it is impossible that he should be again in the same sign in 365. It is possible that astrology has changed, or that the expression 'at its height' has no special astrological meaning in this connection. On the other hand, since inscription No. 8A (post, page 288) assigns Jupiter to Virgo in 868, he must have been somewhere about Cancer in 365. But inscriptions Nos. 9 and 10 again locate Jupiter in Cancer in 371 and 384, and all the subsequent notices agree with them. All the references to astronomical acts in these early records require verification. I give them in these pages as I find them.

<sup>61</sup> For instance, vide page 168, Part III., *Travancore Government Almanac* for 1894.

seaport of Quilon, about 40 miles to the north of Trivandram. Whether the identification of Kōḷamba with Quilon in Travancore be correct or incorrect, it means in the couplet before us only the era, and not any particular place, unless, of course, a play upon the word is intended. I am inclined, therefore, to interpret 'god of Kōḷamba' to mean 'one who instituted or took part in the institution of the era of Kōḷamba,' or the Kollam year, in which case there would be also an obvious justification for the mention of this ancestor in particular, famous as he must have been in those early days. The traditional account of the origin of the Kollam Era, as given in Mr. Shungoonny Menon's *History*, lends full support to this interpretation, which, in simple fairness, I must say, struck me as the one most natural, altogether independently of that account. "In the Kali year 3926 (825 A. D.) when Udaiyamārtāṇḍavarman was residing in Kollam<sup>62</sup> (Quilon), he convened a council of all the learned men of Kēraḷa with the object of introducing a new era, and after making some astronomical researches and calculating the solar movements throughout the twelve signs of the Zodiac and counting scientifically the number of days occupied in this revolution in every month, it was resolved to adopt the new era from the first of Chingam of that year, the 15th August 825, as Kollam year one, and to call it the solar year."<sup>63</sup> Whatever might be thought of this explanation of the origin of the era, there can be no doubt that tradition reckons on Udaiyamārtāṇḍavarman having taken part in its institution. The change from Kōḍai Mārtāṇḍa of the inscription to Udaiyamārtāṇḍa of the tradition is easy and natural, the latter being a more frequent, as well as a more significant, adjunct of Mārtāṇḍa, in the more favoured Sanskrit language, than the Malayāḷam word 'Kōḍa.'

In justice to Mr. Shungoonny Menon, I must note also that I find in his pages a mention of Āḍityavarman as the sovereign of Travancore about the date of our record. "In like manner," writes this author, "the present Poonjat Rajah, who was a close relation of the Pandyan dynasty, emigrated to Travancore, and the hill territories of Poonjar were assigned as the residence of his family during the reign of king Aditya Varma of Travancore in 364 M. E. (1189 A. D.)."<sup>64</sup> We have only to expand Āḍityavarman into Āḍitya Rāmavarman to make the name accord with our inscriptions. It would be extremely interesting indeed to prove, with the help of Mr. Shungoonny Menon's "records," *could we but get hold of them*, that Āḍitya Rāmavarman, just a year previous to the date of his dedication of the drum to the temple of Gōśālā at Trivandram, was in a position to assign to a fugitive foreign royal family a territory so far in the north as Poonjar.<sup>65</sup> However that be, we have, I believe, sufficient evidence to maintain, in the meantime, that Āḍitya Rāmavarman ruled over Vēṇāḍ in the Malabar month of Dhanus 365 M. E., and that his ancestor, Kōḍa Mārtāṇḍavarman, was the ruler of the same kingdom in the Kollam year one, i. e., about August 824.

#### VIII.

I will now discuss two small fragments, unworthy of attention, but for the important quarter from which they come. Next to Trivandram itself, the place now most closely associated with the ruling family is Āṙṙiṅgal, about 22 miles to the north of Trivandram, and situated on the northern bank of the Vāmanapuram river, about four miles from its mouth in the Anjengo backwaters. The female members of the royal house are now known as the Rāṇis of Āṙṙiṅgal and the village and the country thereabouts are still regarded as their private property. Each Travancore sovereign has at the present day to visit the place soon after his coronation to complete the ceremonies in connection therewith, and he

<sup>62</sup> According to this tradition then, the era has nothing to do with the foundation or 're-foundation' of the town of Quilon, as stated in the *Travancore Government Almanac*, page 162, Part III. Our inscriptions, however, allude to the 'appearance' of Kollam, which I take to mean the 'institution' of the era, and not the foundation of any town. No town is known to have been founded in Malabar of such magnitude as to give rise to an era.

<sup>63</sup> Shungoonny Menon's *History of Travancore*, page 88.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.* page 92.

<sup>65</sup> Poonjar, or Pōñjāru, is on the borders of the Madura district further to the north of Peermade. There is every likelihood of the old chieftain of this place having had some relation or other with Madura. His family deity to this day is the goddess Mīnākshī of Madura.



is expected further to renew the visit every year of his reign. It is difficult to believe that such attentions and honours are allowed to the spot, simply because of an accident of a palace having been constructed there, to accommodate two adopted Rāṇis, as stated by Mr. Shungoonny Menon. "During the 5th century M. E., and in the reign of king Aditya Varma, the Travancore royal family was under the necessity of adopting two females from the Kolathnad royal family, and a royal residence was constructed at Attingal, for the residence of the two Rāṇis, and they were installed as Attingal Mootha Thampuran and Elia Thampuran, i. e., Senior and Junior Rāṇis of Attingal. The country around Attingal was assigned to them, and the revenue derived therefrom was placed at their disposal."<sup>66</sup> Until we know for certain the nature of the authority on which this statement is based, we may scruple to accept the account, as a sufficient explanation of the anomalous relation of Āṙṙiṅgal to the royal household. Even assuming that a particular king of Vēṇāḍ in the 5th century M.E. went so far out of his way as to look to Kōlatnāḍ for heirs to his own dominions, it is still, I am afraid, not very likely that the fair members so introduced into his own family would be located, in those troubled days, altogether away from South Travancore, the acknowledged seat of his own power. Antecedent probability is in favour of Āṙṙiṅgal having been at one time an independent principality, the first of those merged later on into Vēṇāḍ. The early aggressive vigour of the kingdom of Vēṇāḍ, meeting with insuperable difficulties in the more exposed and troublesome eastern border, over which it had once extended itself, as proved by the inscriptions said to exist in Shermadevi and other villages of South Tinnevely,<sup>67</sup> must have next turned itself to the north, where evidently it found freer scope for exercise. The first state then to be absorbed would naturally be Āṙṙiṅgal, supposing it was then independent. And to account for the facts, we have next only to assume that, to conciliate the newly added province, an alliance through marriage or adoption was effected with the house of Āṙṙiṅgal, the name "Rāṇis of Āṙṙiṅgal" being continued, with the same object, and in the same manner as in the familiar case of the "Prince of Wales." A strong presumption is raised in favour of such an hypothesis by the fact of Kīḷppērūr being found annexed as the house-name or the Vēṇāḍ princes in later inscriptions. Kīḷppērūr is an old and ruined village, unapproachable by cart or boat, about 8 miles to the north-east of Āṙṙiṅgal. The country about Āṙṙiṅgal seems to have been known in early times as Kūpadēśam,<sup>68</sup> — a province altogether distinct from Vēṇāḍ. An inscription of Rājārāja Chōḷa, dated in the 30th year of his reign claims for him a decisive victory over the king of the Kūpakas. The Tamil poem, *Kalīṅgattu Parani*, of the days of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa, enumerates the Kūpakas among the subject races that paid tribute to that emperor.<sup>69</sup> The identification of Āṙṙiṅgal with Kūpadēśam is rendered almost certain by an inscription in the Āpanēśvara temple, about 2 miles from Āṙṙiṅgal, dated as late as 751 of the Malabar Era, which speaks of the princess who repaired that shrine, as the queen of the Kūpakas. If Kūpa-rāja and Vēṇāḍ were thus at one time two co-ordinate provinces of Malabar, and if, in later times, we find the princes of the latter appropriating to themselves, as their "house-name," the name of a locality situated in the former, it cannot be a violent assumption to suppose that the two were originally independent principalities, and that their amalgamation took place under such circumstances as led to a compromise, the weaker party submitting to the stronger on the condition of the stronger appropriating, not only the kingdom, but also the family name of the weaker. In short, it looks not in the least unlikely that, when the power of Vēṇāḍ prevailed over Āṙṙiṅgal, some matrimonial or other alliance was concluded, which naturally led the blood of Āṙṙiṅgal to prevail, in its turn, in the veins of the Vēṇāḍ princes.

<sup>66</sup> Shungoonny Menon's *History of Travancore*, page 93.

<sup>67</sup> Plenty of valuable inscriptions are found in several old villages of this district, which, as far as I know, have not yet seen the light of day, both literally and metaphorically!

<sup>68</sup> Dr. Gundert thinks that Kūpa-rāja was probably identical with Kumbalam, but notes at the same time that 'other manuscripts exchange it for Mūshikam, the most southern quarter.' Kumbalam, as far as I am aware, is between Oochin and Alleppy. Āṙṙiṅgal would be the most southern quarter, excepting Vēṇāḍ.

<sup>69</sup> *Kalīṅgattu-Parani*, Canto xi. verse 8.

But of course all this is more or less pure speculation, and must remain as such only, until it can find support in inscriptions or other indubitable facts. Unfortunately, though Ârriṅgal has within a small area more than four fair temples, testifying to its once affluent circumstances, there is in none of them any inscription referring to early historical facts. The temple that would appear to be now most closely associated with the palace, is the one called Puttankāvu or 'new grove,' dedicated to Bhagavatī. It is Bhagavatī again that is worshipped in the old local palace, under the name of Palli-arai Bhagavatī, or 'the bed-chamber Bhagavatī.' It is rather difficult to determine whether 'the Bhagavatī of the bed-chamber' is really a goddess, or only a deified ancestor, say, the last of the independent queens of Ârriṅgal. To the west of the palace, and in close contiguity with the principal Vaishṇava temple of the station, stands a small neat shrine, dedicated to Peru-Uḍaiyār,<sup>70</sup> apparently the same deity as is worshipped in the Rājārājēśvara temple at Tanjore, but sadly unlike that model in having no inscriptions whatever. About two miles to the east of Ârriṅgal, and not far to the west of the populous Brāhmaṇa village, called Âvanamohēri,<sup>71</sup> lies a petty hamlet with the historical name of Virakēraḷam, now corrupted into Virāṇam. An old neglected temple in this village owns the earliest inscriptions I can find in this locality. There are two of them in this temple, but both of them are extremely disappointing fragments. The first is inscribed on the north-eastern corner of the shrine itself, while the second is engraved on the altar outside the square enclosure now in ruins. How incomplete they are will be seen from the renderings below:—

No. 8A. Vaṭṭeḷuttu  
83. Tamiḷ. Virāṇam Inscription of (?) Vira-Kēraḷavarman II., No. 1.

"Hail! Prosperity! In the Kollam year 368, with Jupiter in Virgo, and the sun two days old in Taurus, Kiḷp" \* \*

No. 8B. Vaṭṭeḷuttu  
83. Tamiḷ. Virāṇam Inscription of (?) Vira-Kēraḷavarman II., No. 2.

"Sri-Dēvadāram<sup>72</sup> Kēraḷavarma-Tiruvaḍi graciously consecrated [this shrine]."

It is of course impossible to say now whether these two broken inscriptions form parts of the same record, or even whether they relate to the same subject. But should we venture to connect them together, which of course is by no means safe, though not an unprecedented procedure in epigraphy, we should have evidence of some sort for the date of another sovereign, presumably of Vēṇāḍ. I say *presumably* only, because it is quite possible that Kēraḷavarman, who founded this temple, belonged to an independent principality, say, to Ârriṅgal itself. The word Kiḷppērūr, with the first syllable of which the first fragment breaks off, is intended to refer no doubt to Kiḷppērūr-illam or house, by which the ruling family is designated in later inscriptions; but since earlier documents in my possession do not mention any such house-name, it is by itself no guarantee that the reference is to the Vēṇāḍ dynasty, at least before its fusion with the Ârriṅgal or some other more northern royal house, as observed above. Only after these possible sources of error are duly provided for, can we conclude, even supposing the two fragments to relate to the same subject matter, that there reigned over Vēṇāḍ one Kēraḷavarma-Tiruvaḍi about the beginning of Iḍavam 368 M. E., or about the latter half of May 1193. Still, as the balance of evidence is in favour of such a presumption, we will

<sup>70</sup> Peru-Uḍaiyār does not mean, as both people and *paṇḍits* now generally suppose, the 'god of copious clothing,' but the "great lord or master." Uḍaiyār was further the family name of Rājārāja and other Chōlas of his dynasty.

<sup>71</sup> It is curious how false learning interferes with etymology. Fastidious scholars now pronounce this name Avānavānehēri, and suppose it to signify 'every one's own village,' and not 'the village with a market' as it may be so naturally and so easily taken to mean.

<sup>72</sup> The word is not Dēvadām, but clearly Dēvadāram, though I cannot make out what it means.

provisionally call him Vira-Kêraḷavarman II., — the prefix Vira, which occurs invariably in all the known old names of the dynasty, being preserved to us in the names of the village where the record is found. We shall, of course, await the result of further researches to convert the presumption into a fact.

## IX.

But no such scruples need be entertained in pronouncing that on the 25th of Mēdam 371, the ancient throne of Vēṇāḍ was occupied by Sri-Vira-Rāmavarman-Tiruvāḍi. My authority for this statement is a long Vattejuttu record in nine lines, inscribed on the southern wall of a small temple, in a village now called Kuṇaṅgarai, to the south-east of the Vellāṇi fresh-water lake, about eight miles to the south of Trivandram. It would read thus in translation :—

No. 9. Vattejuttu  
60. Old Malayālam. Kuṇaṅgarai Inscription of Vira-Rāmavarman.

“Hail ! Prosperity ! In the Kollam year 371, with Jupiter in Cancer, and the sun 24 days old in Aries, is made the following grant :— The loyal chieftains of Sri-Vira-Rāmavarman-Tiruvāḍi, graciously ruling over Vēṇāḍ, make over in writing, as a solemn gift ratified with water, the (locality of) *Sērikhal*, in Cheṅkōṭṭāṇu, belonging to the said chieftains, to Vāna Mādhava Nārāyaṇa Viṇṇagar Ājvān of Tirukkūṇagarai, to provide for all his daily expenses, and one sacred perpetual lamp. From this time forwards, the manager of the temple of Tirukkūṇagarai shall, under the supervision of the Six Hundred of Vēṇāḍ and of the district officers and agents, take sole possession of all things whatsoever in this *Sērikhal*, with the exception of the paddy land, granted already under command by the said chieftains to meet the expenses of the Bhaṭṭāraka of Nēliyūr, and the manager shall duly supply, according to the regulated measurement, four *nālī* of rice of proper quality for holy offerings, and also one sacred perpetual lamp. The paddy per year required to provide the daily offerings of four *nālī* of rice, exclusive of pounding charges, amounting to 10 *kāl* (?) and 24 *kalam*, and the *ghā* and thread, required every day for the sacred perpetual lamp, should be supplied without failure. The expenses shall be met out of the proceeds of the ‘*ūrdī*’ lands on both the sides, the lower and the higher, of Cheṅkōṭṭāṇu, and also the higher fields and Koḍuṅkarai compound, both falling under the *kārdāmai* tenure, as well as from the (labour of the) predial slaves thereunto attached, all of which shall be now forthwith taken possession of (by the said manager). If the supply fails once, double the default shall be paid. If twice, twice the default and fine. If thrice, the Six Hundred, the officers, and the *Valaṅṇiyars* of the 18 districts shall institute inquiries, and see to the carrying out of this arrangement without failure, as long as the moon and the stars endure. Pillars<sup>73</sup> having been raised so as to mark and include the four limits thereof, this *śēri* (or portion of a village) is granted, under the *tiruvīḍaiyāṭṭam* tenure, according to royal command; all of which facts (the following) do know (and can attest), *vis.*, Kaṇḍan Kaṇḍan of Tākka Kokka compound, Kêraḷan Īvaran of Tānamaṅkoṭṭam, Ādi Tiruvikraman Parnan, and Gōvīndan Kumāran of Paṭṭāḷi. This is in my hand, Kaṇḍan Udaiyanan of Kaitavāy (signature).”<sup>74</sup>

Thus then, beyond all doubt, there reigned over Vēṇāḍ on the 25th Mēdam 371 M. E. or about the beginning of May 1196, Sri-Vira-Rāmavarman-Tiruvāḍi. This date is but 23 years and a month later than that of Sri-Vira-Udaiyamārtāṇḍavarman at Tiruvattār (inscription No. VI.) — the last firm ground we have. The interval cannot surely be considered too large for one reign, supposing we are constrained by further researches to reject, as foreign to the dynasty, both Āditya Rāma of the Gōsālā inscription, and Kêraḷavarman II. of the Āṅṅingal fragments. But the latter contingency, at any rate, as far as Āditya Rāma is concerned, is so far improbable, that it may be well set aside, except in the way of satisfying

<sup>73</sup> *Tōranam* is the word used, which means, according to Dr. Gundert, ‘post with an inscription or device.’

<sup>74</sup> The rest of the persons here named do not sign the deed; each says only ‘he knows.’

the conscience of the ultra-sceptical. If we admit then either of these two names, we abridge the interval respectively to six or three years — periods too short to disturb in the least our belief in the uninterrupted succession of the sovereigns the records have served to bring to light.

Before quitting this inscription, I would call attention to two or three striking features in the social economy of the times. Besides the village associations already noticed, Vêṇāḍ, it would appear, had for the whole state an important public body under the name of “the Six Hundred,” to supervise, for one thing, the working of temples and charities connected therewith. What other powers and privileges this remarkable corporation of “the Six Hundred” was in possession of, future investigation can alone determine. But a number so large, nearly as large as the British House of Commons, could not have been meant, in so small a state as Vêṇāḍ was in the 12th century, for the single function of temple supervision. There is an allusion again in this record to the “*vaḷaṇḷiyars* of the eighteen districts.” “The eighteen districts” were, no doubt, eighteen administrative divisions of Vêṇāḍ. Some of the names of these districts we may come across some day. But who the “*vaḷaṇḷiyars* of the districts” were is a more puzzling question. So far as I can make out, the word reads only as *vaḷaṇḷiyar*; but neither in Tamil nor in Malayalam am I aware of any current term of that description. It is an obvious derivative from the Tamil word *vaḷam*, and the leading meaning of that term is ‘greatness, dignity or honour.’ If I am right in my reading, we may reasonably presume that the eighteen *vaḷaṇḷiyars* were eighteen local magnates, or feudal barons of the realm. They were, as far as I can see, not men in the royal service, who are always described as those who carry out *paṇi*, meaning ‘work,’ or *kūryam*, meaning ‘business.’ Both these latter descriptions occur in this document. But whatever was the difference in rank, emolument, and position, between those who carried out the ‘work’ of the state, and those who attended to its ‘business,’ the *vaḷaṇḷiyars* of the land would appear to have been above them both. It looks probable that the “loyal chieftains,” whom we have now met so frequently transacting business in the name of the king and forming as it were his government or cabinet ministry, came from this class of *vaḷaṇḷiyars* or feudal barons. That there were slaves attached to the land, and that there were two important kinds of land tenure, *ūrāl* or *ūrāṇmai*, subject to the village associations, and *kārāṇmai* or freeholds, directly under the state, are other interesting items of information we may glean from this record, though they may not be equally novel.

(To be continued.)

## THE ORIGIN OF THE KHAROSHTHI ALPHABET.<sup>1</sup>

BY GEORGE BÜHLER, PH.D., LL.D., C.I.E.

THOUGH the origin of the Kharōshthī Alphabet is much easier to explain than the derivation of the Brāhmī and though the general lines for the enquiry have already been settled by others, yet a somewhat fuller review of the whole question, than the narrow compass of my *Grundriss der indischen Palæographie* permits, will perhaps not be superfluous. The very considerable progress, which has been achieved, is chiefly due to the discussions of the Kharōshthī by Mr. E. Thomas in his edition of *Prinsep's Essays*, Vol. II. p. 147ff., by Dr. Isaac Taylor in *The Alphabet*, Vol. II. p. 256ff., and by Sir A. Cunningham, who has also settled the value of many of its signs, in his book on *The Coins of Ancient India*, p. 31ff.

Sir A. Cunningham's remarks refer to the first point which requires consideration in all questions of this kind, *viz.*, the true character of the script, the origin of which is to be determined. He has emphatically recalled to the memory of the palæographers that the Kharōshthī is an Indian alphabet, and by an ingenious utilisation of his finds of ancient coins in the ruins

<sup>1</sup> Reprinted from the *Vienna Oriental Journal*, Vol. IX.

of Taxila he has shewn that the Kharôshthî held always, during the whole period for which epigraphic evidence is available, only a secondary position by the side of the Brâhma Alphabet even in North-Western India. It is rather curious that the reminder regarding the essentially Indian character of the alphabet should have been necessary, as even a superficial consideration of its letters teaches that lesson. Its full system of palatals and linguals cannot be designed for any other language than Saṁskṛit or an ancient Prākṛit, the only forms of speech which possess five sounds of each of the two classes mentioned. If this has been sometimes forgotten and even Bactria has been considered as the cradle of the Kharôshthî, the cause is no doubt the loose way in which it used to be called the "Bactrian, Bactro-Pali or Indo-Bactrian" Alphabet, which appellations are due to its occurrence on the coins of Greek kings, who, originally ruling over Bactria, conquered portions of North-Western India. Sir A. Cunningham very properly points out, *op. cit.* p. 35, that not a single Kharôshthî inscription has been found north of the Hindu Kush, and that in Bactria a different alphabet seems to have been used. He further proposes to substitute for "Indo-Bactrian" the Indian term "Gandharian," which would have been suitable in every way, if in the meantime the old native name had not been found. The districts, in which the largest number of Kharôshthî inscriptions have been found, are situated roughly speaking between 69° - 73°, 30' E. L. and 33° - 35° N. L., while single inscriptions have turned up south-west near Multân, south at Mathurâ and east at Kângrâ, and single letters or single words even at Bharahut, in Ujjain and in Maisûr. This tract, to which the Kharôshthî inscriptions of the third century B. C. are exclusively confined, corresponds to the Gandhâra country of ancient India, the chief towns of which were Pushkalâvatî-Hashtnagar to the west of the Indus and Taxila-Shâh Dêrî to the east of the river. And it is here, of course, that the Kharôshthî Alphabet must have originated.

In addition, Sir A. Cunningham has shewn that the Kharôshthî held always a secondary position and was used even in the earliest times side by side with the Brâhmî. This is proved by the evidence of his coins from Taxila, several of which bear only Brâhma inscriptions, or Kharôshthî and Brâhma inscriptions, with letters of the type of Aśoka's Edicts. The analysis of the legends, which I have given in my *Indian Studies*, No. III. p. 46ff., shews that those of four types have been issued by traders' guilds, and that one is probably a tribal coin, belonging to a subdivision of the Aśvakas or Assakenoi, who occupied portions of the western bank of the Indus at the time of Alexander's invasion. This result considerably strengthens Sir A. Cunningham's position, as it indicates a popular use of the Brâhma Alphabet in the very home of the Kharôshthî.

The next step, which is required, is to find the class of alphabets, to which the prototypes of the Kharôshthî belonged. This problem is settled, as Mr. Thomas has first pointed out, by the close resemblance of the signs for *da*, *na*, *ba*, *va* and *ra* to, or identity with, the *Daleth*, *Nun*, *Beth*, *Waw* and *Resh* of the transitional Aramaic Alphabet, and requires no further discussion.

Then comes the question, how the Hindus of North-Western India can have become acquainted with the Aramaic characters and which circumstances may have induced them to utilise these signs for the formation of a new alphabet. Dr. Taylor, *The Alphabet*, Vol. II. p. 261f., answers this by the suggestion that the Akhæmenian conquest of North-Western India, which occurred about 500 B. C. and led to a prolonged occupation, probably carried the Aramaic or, as he calls it, the Iranian, Persian or Bactrian, Alphabet into the Pañjâb and caused its naturalisation in that province. Though it seems to me, just as to Sir A. Cunningham, impossible to accept Dr. Taylor's reasoning in all its details, I believe with Sir A. Cunningham that he has found the true solution of this part of the problem.

One argument in his favour is the occurrence of the Old Persian word *dipi* "writing, edict" in the North-Western versions of the Edicts, and of its derivatives *dipati* "he writes" and *dipapati* "he causes to write," which are not found in any other Indian language. *Dipi*

is undoubtedly, as Dr. Taylor himself has stated, an Old Persian loan-word, and all the three words mentioned point to a Persian influence, dating from the Akhæmenian period. And the Sâṁskṛit and Pāli *lipi* or *libi* "writing, document," which does not occur in the Vedic and Epic literature, nor in the ancient works of the Buddhist Canon of Ceylon, but appears first in *Sūtras* of Pāṇini, a native of Gandhāra (traditional date 350 B. C.), furnishes the same indication, since in all probability, as Dr. Burnell conjectured, it is a corruption of *dipi*, favoured by a fancied connexion with the verb *lip*, *limpati* "he smears." Equally valuable is a second point, the fact that the territory of the Kharōshthī corresponds very closely with the extent of the country presumably held by the Persians. Dr. Taylor and Sir A. Cunningham very justly lay stress on the statement of Herodotus (L. III. 94, 96), who asserts that the Persian satrapy of India paid a tribute of 360 talents of gold dust. They naturally infer that the Indian possessions of the Akhæmenians must have been of considerable extent, as well as that it must have included the greater portion of the Pañjāb.

But there remain still two gaps which must needs be filled up. The Akhæmenian theory requires it to be shewn that the ancient Persians actually used the Aramaic letters and that peculiar circumstances existed which compelled the Hindus to use these letters. The second point is at present particularly important, because the literary evidence regarding the use of writing in India<sup>2</sup> (with which the epigraphic evidence fully agrees) proves that the Hindus were by no means unlettered in the fifth and sixth centuries B. C., but possessed and extensively used an alphabet, which probably was a form of the Brāhmī *lipi*. As long as it was possible to maintain that the Hindus became acquainted with the art of writing not earlier than 400 B. C., it was, of course, easy to understand, that the use of the Aramaic letters by the conquerors of North-Western India should have acted as a natural incentive for their Hindu subjects to form out of these characters an alphabet suited for their own language. But the case becomes different, if it must be admitted that the Hindus possessed already a script of their own before the Persian conquest. With this admission it becomes necessary to shew that there were special circumstances which forced them to use the alphabet of their conquerors.

Both the points just discussed are explained, it seems to me, by certain discoveries, made of late years in Semitic palæography. M. Clermont-Ganneau's important articles in the *Revue Archéologique* of 1878 and 1879 have shewn that the Aramaic language and writing, which, already in the times of the Assyrian empire, occur in contracts and on the official standard weights, were frequently employed for official correspondence, accounts and other official purposes during the rule of the Akhæmenian kings in many different provinces of their empire. Egypt has furnished Aramaic inscriptions on stones and potsherds, as well as Aramaic Papyri addressed to Persian governors; in western Asia and in Arabia both inscriptions and numerous Satrap coins with Aramaic legends have been found; and even Persia has yielded an Aramaic inscription (of which unfortunately no trustworthy facsimile exists) at Senq-Qaleh, midway between Tabriz and Teherān.<sup>3</sup> And, I may add, there is also a scrap of literary evidence to the same effect. A statement in the Book of Ezra, iv. 7, points to the conclusion that the Aramaic language and writing was well-known in the Imperial *chancellerie* at Susa. For it is said that a letter, addressed by the Samaritans to Artaxerxes, "was written," as the Revised Version of the Bible has it, "in the Syrian (*character*) and in the Syrian tongue." The Samaritans would hardly have adopted the "Arāmīt" in addressing their liege lord, if it had not been commonly used in official correspondence, sent out from, or in to the Imperial Secretariat.<sup>4</sup> The custom itself, no doubt, has to be explained by a strong infusion of Aramæans, or of men trained in the

<sup>2</sup> *Indian Studies*, No. III, p. 5ff.

<sup>3</sup> See Ph. Berger, *Histoire de l'Écriture dans l'Antiquité*, p. 218ff., where M. Berger pertinently remarks with respect to the last inscription, that it puts us on the road to India.

<sup>4</sup> As Prof. Euting kindly points out to me, a similar inference has already been drawn from the above passage by the authors of the *Kurzgef. Commentar z. d. heil. Schriften d. N. u. A. Test.*, hg. v. H. Strack und O. Zöckler; *Alt. Test.*, Abth. 8, p. 159.

learning of the Aramæans, in the lower grades of the Persian Civil Service, among the scribes, accountants, treasurers and mintmasters, and this is no more than might be expected, when a race like the Persian suddenly comes into the possession of a very large empire and becomes the heir of an older civilisation.

Under these circumstances it appears natural to assume that the Persian Satraps carried with them also into India their staff of subordinates, who were accustomed to the use of the Aramæan letters and language. And this would fully explain how the Hindus of the Indo-Persian provinces were driven to utilise the characters, commonly employed by the scribes and accountants of their conquerors, though they already possessed a script of their own. The Kharôshthî Alphabet would appear to be the result of the intercourse between the offices of the Satraps and of the native authorities, the Indian chiefs and the heads of towns and villages, whom, as the accounts of the state of the Pañjâb at the time of Alexander's invasion shew, the Persians left in possession in consideration of the payment of their tribute. The Hindus probably used at first the pure Aramaic characters, just as in much later times they adopted the Arabic writing for a number of their dialects, and they introduced in the course of time the modifications observable in the Kharôshthî Alphabet, for which process the additions to the Arabic Alphabet, employed for writing Hindî, furnish an analogy, perhaps not perfect, but nevertheless worthy of notice.

In support of these conjectural combinations three further points may be adduced. First, the Kharôshthî Alphabet is not a *panḍit's*, but a clerk's, alphabet. This appears to me evident from the cursive appearance of the signs, which has been frequently noticed by others; from its (according to Indian views) imperfect vowel-system, which includes no long vowels; from the employment of the *anusvâra* for the notation of all nasals before consonants; and from the almost constant substitution of single consonants for double ones. The expression of the long vowels by separate signs, which occurs in no other ancient alphabet but the Brâhmî Lipi, was no doubt natural and desirable for the phoneticists or grammarians, who developed that alphabet.<sup>5</sup> But it is a useless encumbrance for men of business, whose aim is rather the expeditious despatch of work than philological or phonetic accuracy. Hence, even the Indian clerks and men of business using the Brâhmî have never paid much attention to their correct use, though they were instructed by Brâhman in the principles of their peculiar alphabet.<sup>6</sup> If, therefore, these signs, which have only a value for schoolmen, do not occur in the Kharôshthî, the natural inference is that this alphabet was framed by persons who paid regard only to the requirements of ordinary life. The other two peculiarities mentioned, — the substitution of the *anusvâra* for all nasals, standing before consonants, and the substitution of *ka* for *kka*, of *ta* for *tta* and so forth, and of *kha* for *kkha*, of *dha* for *ddha* and so forth, — are clearly the devices of clerks, who wished to get quickly through their work. If thus the Kharôshthî appears to be an alphabet, framed with particular regard to the wants of clerks, that agrees with and confirms the assumption, put forward above, according to which it arose out of the official intercourse between the scribes of the Satraps and those of the native chiefs or other authorities.

More important, however, is the second point, which is intimately connected with the details of the derivation of the Kharôshthî. The originals of the Kharôshthî letters are, it seems to me, to be found in the Aramaic inscriptions, incised during the rule of the earlier Akhæmenian kings. The whole *ductus* of the Kharôshthî with its long verticals or slanting down-strokes is that of the Saqqârah inscription of 482 B. C. and the probably contemporaneous larger Teima inscription, which Prof. Euting assigns to *circa* 500 B. C. It is also in these inscriptions that most of the forms occur, which apparently have served as models for the corresponding letters of the Kharôshthî. One or perhaps two seem to rest on forms found in the somewhat later Lesser Teima, Serapeum and Stele Vaticana inscriptions, while three are connected with older letters on the Assyrian weights and the seals and gems from Babylon.

<sup>5</sup> *Indian Studies*, No. III. p. 82.

<sup>6</sup> *Indian Studies*, No. III. p. 41f., note 3.





Comparative Table of the Perso-Aramaic and the Kkarøshthi.

Kharøshthī				
	Inscrip- tions	Papyri	Borrowed Letters	Derivatives
	I	II	III	IV
1	𐎧 x	x	𐎧	𐎧 𐎧 𐎧 𐎧
2	𐎡𐎡	𐎡𐎡	𐎡	𐎡 𐎡
3	𐎠	𐎠	𐎠	𐎠
4	𐎧 𐎡	𐎧𐎡	𐎧 𐎡	𐎧 𐎡 𐎧
5	𐎠 𐎠	𐎠𐎠	𐎠 𐎠	
6	𐎧	𐎧𐎧	𐎧	
7	𐎡 𐎡	𐎡𐎡	𐎡 𐎡	𐎡
8	𐎠𐎠𐎠	𐎠𐎠𐎠	𐎠	
9	𐎡 𐎡𐎡	𐎡𐎡𐎡	𐎡	
10	𐎧 𐎧	𐎧𐎧𐎧	𐎧	
11	𐎡𐎡𐎡	𐎡𐎡𐎡	𐎡	
12	𐎧𐎧𐎧	𐎧𐎧𐎧	𐎧 𐎧 𐎧	𐎧
13	𐎧𐎧	𐎧𐎧	𐎧 𐎧	𐎧 𐎧 𐎧
14	𐎧	𐎧𐎧𐎧	𐎧	
15	𐎧	𐎧𐎧𐎧	𐎧 𐎧	𐎧
16	𐎧𐎧𐎧	𐎧𐎧	𐎧	𐎧
17	𐎧𐎧	𐎧𐎧𐎧	𐎧	
18	𐎧𐎧	𐎧𐎧𐎧	𐎧	
19	𐎧	𐎧𐎧	𐎧	
20	𐎧 𐎧	𐎧𐎧	𐎧	𐎧 𐎧 𐎧 𐎧

The accompanying Comparative Table<sup>7</sup> illustrates the details of the derivation, as I understand it. Cols. I. and II. have been reproduced by photozincography from Prof. Euting's *Tabula Scripturæ Aramaicæ*, Argentorati, 1892, and give the twenty Aramaic signs, which, as I believe, have been utilised by the Hindus, *Theth* and *Āin* being rejected by them.<sup>8</sup> In Col. I. the fat signs belong to the Teima inscription (Euting, Col. 9) with the exception of No. 1, I. b and No. 9, I. b-c, which come from the Stele Vaticana (Euting, Col. 12). The thin signs which have been taken from the Saqqārah inscription (Euting, Col. 11) with the exception of No. 4, I. a; No. 9, I. a; No. 10, I. b, and No. 20, I. a, which are from the Assyrian Weights and the Babylonian Seals and Gems (Euting, Cols. 6, 8), as well as of No. 17, I. a-b, which are from the Serapeum inscription (Euting, Col. 12) and of No. 10, I. a, which Prof. Euting has kindly added on once more looking over the Babylonian Aramaic inscriptions.<sup>9</sup>

The signs of Col. II. have all been taken from Prof. Euting's Cols. 14-17, and represent the chief types on the Aramaic Papyri, which M. J. Halévy<sup>10</sup> and others believe to be the prototypes of the Kharōshthī. They have been given in my Table chiefly in order to shew that they are not suited for the derivation. Column III. gives the oldest forms of the borrowed Kharōshthī letters according to Table I. of my *Grundriss der Indischen Paläographie*, and Col. IV. with the signs, which I consider to be derivatives invented by the Hindus, comes from the same source.

Before I proceed to give my remarks on the details of the derivation, I will re-state the general principles which have to be kept in mind for this and all other similar researches.

(1) The oldest actually occurring signs of the alphabet to be derived (in this case the Kharōshthī) have to be compared with the supposed prototypes (in this case actually occurring Aramaic signs) of the same period (in this case of *circ.* 500-400 B. C.).

(2) Only such irregular equations of signs are admissible as can be supported by analogies from other cases, where nations are known to have borrowed foreign alphabets. Thus it is not permissible to identify the Kharōshthī sign for *ja* with the Aramaic *ga* on account of a rather remote resemblance between what the modern researches have shewn to be a secondary form of the Kharōshthī palatal media and the guttural media of the Aramæans.

(3) The comparison must shew that there are fixed principles of derivation.

The latter are given chiefly by the unmistakable tendencies underlying the formation of the Kharōshthī signs :—

(1) A very decided predilection for forms, consisting of long vertical or slanting lines with appendages added to the upper portion;

(2) An antipathy against such with appendages at the foot of the verticals, which in no case allows a letter to consist of a vertical with an appendage at the foot alone;

(3) An aversion against heads of letters, consisting of more than two lines rising upwards though otherwise a great latitude is allowed, as the ends of verticals, horizontal strokes and curves may appear at the top.

These tendencies required two Aramaic letters, *Lamed* (No. 11, I. and III.) and *Shin* (No. 19, I. and III.) to be turned topsy-turvy, and caused in the Shin the development of

<sup>7</sup> Arranged by Dr. W. Cartellieri and etched by Messrs. Angerer and Göschl of Vienna.

<sup>8</sup> According to Dr. Taylor these two characters are also reflected in the Kharōshthī. But the sign opposite *Theth* in his Table, *The Alphabet*, Vol. II. p. 233, is a late *vra*, and *Āin*, cannot be *O*, as he doubtfully suggests. M. Halévy identifies *Theth* with the letter, which used to be read *ihu*, but is in reality *pha* and a derivative from *ra*, see below.

<sup>9</sup> In this as well as in other respects I have to acknowledge Prof. Euting's kind assistance, who sacrificed a good deal of time in order to verify the Semitic signs, which I had selected for comparison, in the Plates of the *Corp. Inscr. Sem.* and carefully went with me through my Table during a personal interview in Strassburg.

<sup>10</sup> *Journ. Asiatique*, 1883, p. 251ff.

long vertical out of the short central stroke, as well as mutilations of some other signs. And it would seem that the aversion against appendages at the foot is probably due to the desire to keep the lower ends of the *mātrikās* free for the addition of the medial *u*, the *anusvāra* and the *ra*-strokes, which are ordinarily added here; while the aversion against pendants from the top-lines and heads with many lines rising upwards was caused by the connexion of the medial vowels *i*, *e* and *o* with the tops of the consonants. Some other changes, such as turnings from the right to the left, have been made in order to avoid collisions with other signs, while again other modifications are purely cursive or due to considerations of convenience in writing.

As regards the details, I have to offer the following remarks regarding the **Borrowed Signs**.

No. 1. — The identity of *A* with *Aleph* is evident enough (Thomas, Taylor, Halévy). The long stretched shape of the Kharôshthî letter, which leans to the right, makes it in my opinion more probable that it is a simplification of a sign like that from the Saqqârah inscription in Col. I. a, than that it should be connected with the diminutive letters in Col. I. b and in Col. II., which are inclined the other way.

No. 2. — *Ba* is, of course, a slightly modified form of the *Beth* in Col. I. a-b (compare Thomas, Taylor and Halévy). The upward bulge next to the vertical has been introduced in order to make the letter with one stroke of the pen, and the bent line at the foot is represented by a prolongation of the vertical in accordance with the principle stated above. The *Beth* of the Papyri (when cursive forms are used as in Col. II. b-c and in Prof. Euting's Col. 15 b-c, 16 b-d) is more advanced than the Kharôshthî *ba*.

No. 3. — The identity of *ga* (Col. III.) with *Gimel* (Cols. I. and II.) has been recognised by Dr. Taylor alone. The loop on the right has been caused by the desire to make the letter with one stroke of the pen. It may be pointed out, as an analogy, that in the late Kharôshthî of the first and second centuries A. D. cursive loops are common in ligatures with *ra* and *ya* and that there is a looped *ja*, exactly resembling a *ga*, on the Bimâran vase in the word *Munjavata*. The Aramaic prototype may possibly have been set up straighter than the forms given in Cols. I. and II., and it may be noted that such forms occur already on the Mesa stone and in other old inscriptions, see Euting, Cols. 1 and 3.

No. 4. — *Da* (Col. III.) comes, as has been asserted by all my predecessors, from a *Daleth* like that in Col. I. a, which is found, as Prof. Euting informs me, already on an Assyrian Weight of *circa* 600 B. C. The cursive simplification of this letter was therefore ancient in Mesopotamia. It re-occurs in the Papyri, with a slight modification, compare especially Euting, Col. 14 b. The hook at the foot of the *da* Col. III. b, which occurs twice in the Aśôka Edicts and survives in the later inscriptions seems to have been added in order to distinguish the letter from *na* (No. 13, III. a).

No. 5. — The identity of *ha* (Col. III.) with *He* has not been recognised hitherto. But it seems to me derived from a round *He*, like the Teima form in Col. I. a, with the cursive transposition of the central vertical to the lower right end of the curve, which is particularly clear in the letter, given in Col. III. b, a not uncommon form in the Aśôka Edicts. Similar transpositions of inconvenient pendants, which would have been in the way of the signs for the vowels *i*, *e* and *o*, are not unusual: compare, e. g., below the remarks on Nos. 12 and 17. The *He* of the Papyri, though not rarely round at the top, shews nearly always a continuation of the central bar on the outside of the top-line, and hence is less suitable for comparison.

No. 6. — *Va* has preserved, as all previous writers have acknowledged, exactly the form of the *Waw* in the Teima inscription, which re-occurs on various later documents as the Ostraka from Elephantine and the Cilician Satrap coins, and which is foreshadowed by the letter of the ancient Assyrian Weights, Euting, Col. 6. The Papyri again offer a more advanced round form, which is common in the Kharôshthî inscriptions, incised during the first and second centuries of our era.

No. 7. — Dr. Taylor alone derives *ja* (Col. III. a-b) from *Zain*, apparently relying on the similar Pehlevi letter. The form in Col. III. a, which is found repeatedly<sup>11</sup> in the Mansehra version and survives in the legends of the Indo-Grecian and Saka coins, is, however, without doubt the oldest, and derived from a *Zain*, like those of the Teima inscription (Col. I. a-b), in which the upper bar has been turned into a bent stroke with a hook rising upwards at the left end. In the second *ja* (Col. III. b) the lower bar has been dropped in order to keep the foot of the sign free. The Pehlevi letter is no doubt an analogous development. The *Zain* of the Papyri (Col. II.) is again much more advanced and unfit to be considered the original of the Kharôshthî sign.

No. 8. — With respect to the representative of the *Cheth* I differ from all my predecessors. The Aramaic letter, such as it is found in the Saqqârah inscription (Col. I. a-c), in Teima and various other documents<sup>12</sup> is exactly the same as the Kharôshthî palatal sibilant *śa*. The pronunciation of the Indian *śa* comes very close to the German *ch* in *ich*, *lich*, etc.,<sup>13</sup> and hence the utilisation of the otherwise redundant *Cheth* for the expression of *śa* appears to me perfectly regular and normal.

No. 9. — The derivation of *ya* (Col. III.) from the Aramaic *Yod* has been generally assumed, and it has been noticed that the Kharôshthî sign is identical with the late Palmyrenian and Pehlevi forms (Euting, Cols. 21-25, 30-32, 35-39, 58), which of course are independent analogous developments, as well as that it resembles the *Yod* of the Papyri (Col. II. c, and Euting, Cols. 14-17), where, however, the centre of the letter is mostly filled in with ink. Still closer comes the first sign (Col. II. b) from the Stele Vaticana, and it may be that a form like the latter is the real prototype. But I think the possibility is not precluded, that the Kharôshthî *ya* may be an Indian modification of a form like the more ancient Assyrian Aramaic sign in Col. I. a, which differs only by the retention of the second bar at the right lower end. The rejection of this bar was necessary in accordance with the principles of the Kharôshthî, stated above, and may therefore be put down as an Indian modification. The height of the Kharôshthî *ya* seems to indicate that its prototype had not yet been reduced to the diminutive size, which it usually has in the Papyri, but which is not yet observable in the otherwise differing letters of the Teima and Saqqârah inscriptions.

No. 10. — The connexion of *ka* (Col. III.) with the Aramaic *Kaph* is asserted by M. J. Halévy, but he compares the sign of the Papyri (Col. II.), which is very dissimilar. I think, there can be no doubt that the Kharôshthî letter is a modification of the Babylonian *Kaph* in Col. I. b, which was turned round in order to avoid a collision with *la* and further received the little bar at the top for the sake of clearer distinction from *pa*. The sign in Col. I. a, which likewise comes from Babylon, has been added in order to shew the development of Col. I. b. from the oldest form.

No. 11. — *Lamed*, consisting of a vertical with an appendage at the foot, had, as stated above, to be turned topsy-turvy in order to yield the Kharôshthî *la*, with which Dr. Taylor and M. Halévy have identified it. Moreover, the curve, which then stood at the top, was converted into a broken line<sup>14</sup> and attached a little below the top of the vertical, in order to avoid a collision with *A*. The signs of the Papyri, Col. II., are mostly far advanced and cursive, so that they cannot be considered the prototypes of the Kharôshthî *la*.

No. 12. — The Kharôshthî *ma* (Col. III. a-c) is, as has been generally recognised, not much more than the head of the Aramaic *Mem*, Col. I. The first two forms, which are common in Aśôka's Edicts and the second of which occurs also on the Indo-Grecian coins, still shew rem-

<sup>11</sup> Edict III. 9 in *raja*, IV. 16 in *raja*, V. 19 in *raja*, V. 24 in *praja*, VIII. 35 in *raja*, XII. 1 in *raja*.



<sup>12</sup> It occurs even in the Papyri, though these offer mostly more advanced, rounded forms.

<sup>13</sup> Professor A. Kuhn long ago expressed his belief that etymologically *śa* is derived from *ka* through *χa*.

<sup>14</sup> The *la* of the Edicts invariably shews the broken line in the left-hand limb. The later inscriptions offer instead a curve open below.

nants of the side-stroke and of the central vertical or slanting stroke. But they have been placed on the left, instead of on the right. The mutilation of the letter is no doubt due, as has been suggested by others, to the introduction of the vowel signs, which would have given awkward forms, and the fact of the mutilation is indicated by its size, which is always much smaller than that of the other Kharôshthî signs. The curved head appears in the Saqqârah *Mem*, which I have chosen for comparison, as well as on Babylonian Seals and Gems (Euting, Col. 8 e) and in the Carpentras inscription (Euting, Col. 13 c), and the later forms from Palmyra prove that it must have been common. The *Mem* of the Papyri are again much more cursive and unsuited for comparison.

No. 13. — Regarding *na* (Col. III. a), which is clearly the *Nun* of the Saqqârah (Col. I. a-b) Teima, Assyrian and Babylonian inscriptions, it need be only pointed out that the forms of the Papyri are also in this case further advanced than those of the Kharôshthî. The *na*, given in Col. III. b, is a peculiar Indian development, not rare in the Aśoka Edicts.

No. 14. — The identity of *sa* with the Aramaic *Samech* (Col. I.) has hitherto not been recognised. Nevertheless, the not uncommon form of *sa* with the polygonal or angular head, given in Col. III., permits us to assert that also in this case the Gandharians used for the notation of their dental sibilant the sign which one would expect to be employed for the purpose. The top stroke and the upper portion of the right side of the Kharôshthî *sa* correspond very closely to the upper hook of the *Samech* of Teima, being only made a little broader. The little slanting bar in the centre of the *Samech* may be identified with the downward stroke, attached to the left of the top line of *sa*, and the lower left side of *sa* appears to be the corresponding portion of the *Samech*, turned round towards the left in order to effect a connexion with the downward stroke. These remarks will become most easily intelligible, if the component parts of the two letters are separated. Then we have for *Samech*  and for *sa* . The forms, in which the right portion of the head of *sa* is rounded, are of course cursive. The Teima form of the *Samech* with the little horn at the left end of the top stroke is unique in the older inscriptions. But the Palmyrenian letters (Euting, Cols. 24-29, 32-33, 37, 39-40), though otherwise considerably modified, prove that the *Samech* with an upward twist must have been common. Finally, the corresponding Nabatæan characters (Euting, Cols. 46-47), are almost exactly the same as the Kharôshthî *sa* and shew that the changes, assumed above, are easy and have actually been made again in much later times. The signs of the Papyri are again far advanced and unsuited for comparison.

(To be continued.)

## NOTES ON THE SPIRIT BASIS OF BELIEF AND CUSTOM.

[BY J. M. CAMPBELL, C.I.E., I.C.S.]

(Continued from p. 267.)

**Kiss.** — The sense of the religious or ceremonial kiss seems to be that in a kiss a spirit passes. The cases of kissing detailed below come under the four following main heads: — (a) In the kiss the kisser draws to himself and so imprisons the sickness or ill-luck that haunts the kissed; (b) the kisser passes to the kissed the kisser's virtue or lucky influence which scares from the kissed the spirit of evil; (c) the kisser with a kiss sucks into himself the healing influence of the holy kissed; (d) the same spirit passes between the kisser and the kissed.

In an English Court of Law the order to the witness to kiss the Book or Bible which he holds in his hand means that in the oath the swearer has called God to witness that he speaks the truth. By the kiss the spirit of truth passes from the Book, whose word is truth, into the swearer, and, if the witness lies, this outraged indwelling spirit of truth will rend him to destruction. That in certain cases the object of kissing is to suck the virtue or good influence of the person kissed, is shewn in eighteenth-century England by the eagerness of pregnant

women to kiss the hand of the king.<sup>80</sup> Similarly, Egyptians kiss the threshold of a sacred tomb, Arabs kiss the Ka'aba or black stone of Makka, and Tibetan Buddhists kiss the cushions on which the Tashi Lama has been seated.<sup>80a</sup> In the new synagogue at Prague (1885) a Jew guide, who had by accident touched a sacred scroll, kissed the hand that touched the scroll, the object apparently being to take into himself in a proper reverential manner any share of the scroll influence, which through contact had in an irregular way passed into his hand. So to suck virtue out of the box the Beni-Isrâ'il of Kôlaba, in entering or leaving his house, as he passes the box which holds the sacred text, touches the box with his first two right fingers and then kisses them.<sup>81</sup> The kissing of a king, of a child, or of other object of worship, is not only that the guardian spirit of the kissed should pass into the kisser. The object in many cases is that the kisser should by kissing take ill-luck from the kissed. So the Druses of Mount Lebanon kiss the hands, face and beard of the dead chief.<sup>82</sup> A variety of this idea appears in the practice which is as old as Job, of kissing the hand to the New Moon, or, with Sir Thomas Browne, to Fortune;<sup>83</sup> in the Peru habit of kissing the air in adoration of the collective divinities;<sup>84</sup> in the practice of the priests of Aesculapius in Italy (A. D. 140) saluting the god by raising and kissing the circle of the thumb and first right finger tip.<sup>85</sup>

In Bombay, when Sayyids come out of a mosque after evening prayer, a group of boys may be seen near the mosque gate. Each boy holds in his arms a sick child of one or two years, and in his hand a copper-pot filled with water. Each Sayyid, when he comes out of the mosque, turns to the boys, and, repeating holy verses from the *Kurân*, lays his right hand on the sick child's head, and then gives the back of his right hand to the sick child to kiss. At the same time from his mouth, purified by the holy words of the *Kurân*, he breathes on the water in the boy's copper-pot. The kissing of the Sayyid's sacred hand scares the evil spirit which is making the child sick, and the drinking of the water, purified by the inbreathed spirit of the *Kurân* prevents the return of the evil spirit.<sup>86</sup> That in certain cases the object of the kiss is to suck out evil spirits is illustrated by the practice among the Brâhmanas of Southern India of the chief mourner kissing the mouth, nose and other openings of the corpse before the pyre is lighted.<sup>87</sup> Also by the Tibetan exorcist drawing out disease-demons by sucking a hollow arrow set on the suffering part.<sup>87a</sup>

Worshippers at Jêjurî, in the Bombay Dekhan, before entering the temple, kiss Khandobâ's horse, whose virtue scares from them all hovering evils, before they draw near the god.<sup>88</sup> The Beni-Isrâ'il mother, on the fifth day after child-birth, holds her ears and kisses a lamp three to five times, the spirit of light in the lamp driving out the spirits of darkness which have lodged in her during her time of peril and uncleanness.<sup>89</sup> In Makka, the virtue-taking inferior kisses the hand of the superior, and the virtue-giving superior kisses the inferior's brow. Equals, sharing in one spirit, kiss hands.<sup>90</sup> At the enthroning of a Persian king all present kiss his feet.<sup>91</sup> The Jews kissed the feet and the knees of their crowned king.<sup>92</sup> Compare the kiss-worn bronze toe of St. Peter in Rome which men and women kiss, laying their brow on the toe and curtsying.<sup>93</sup> The Jews kissed the calves they worshipped.<sup>94</sup> The great toe of the statue of Jagannâth Śankarâcêta in Bombay, is white with kissing. Compare Leo the Isaurian (A. D. 726) ordering images to be set higher, that no one might kiss them.<sup>95</sup> At a great fire at Antioch the Bishop gave the cross to the people to kiss that it might be their *viaticum* to the next world.<sup>96</sup> On Good Friday, the Pontiff adores and kisses the cross. The clergy and the people follow.<sup>97</sup> In the Early Greek Church, on Christmas Day, the Emperor kisses the picture of the Nativity.<sup>98</sup> The early Christians kissed the doors, threshold and pillars of the church.<sup>99</sup> A boy was cured

<sup>80</sup> *Notes and Queries*, Vol. II. p. 438. <sup>80a</sup> Waddell's *Buddhism in Tibet*, p. 822. <sup>81</sup> *Kolaba Gazetteer*, p. 86.

<sup>82</sup> *Ency. Brit.* Article "Druses." <sup>83</sup> *Religio Medici*, Sect 17 (1648). <sup>84</sup> Clodd's *Myths and Dreams*, p. 48.

<sup>85</sup> Pater's *Marius the Epicurean*, Vol. I. p. 40.

<sup>86</sup> Information from Mr. Sayad Daud.

<sup>87</sup> Dubois, Vol. II. p. 207. <sup>87a</sup> Waddell's *Buddhism in Tibet*, p. 483. <sup>88</sup> *Jour. E. A. Soc.* Vol. VII. p. 107.

<sup>89</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XVIII. Part I. p. 527. <sup>90</sup> Burkhart's *Arabia*, Vol. I. p. 369. <sup>91</sup> Jones' *Crowns*, p. 430.

<sup>92</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 328; Josephus' *Antiquities*, Vol. VI. p. 4. <sup>93</sup> From MS. note.

<sup>94</sup> *Hosea*, Chap. xiii., v. 2.

<sup>95</sup> Smith's *Christian Antiquities*, p. 818.

<sup>96</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 500.

<sup>97</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 739.

<sup>98</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 809.

<sup>99</sup> *Op. cit.* pp. 365, 906.

of disease by kissing the threshold of St. Mark's Basilica.<sup>100</sup> Before taking the Sacrament the early Christian kissed the left horn of the altar.<sup>1</sup> When the novice was admitted into a monastery he kissed the monks' hands and begged their prayers.<sup>2</sup> Among the early Christians the priest first and then the other friends kissed the corpse at the grave.<sup>3</sup> Lucilla of Carthage, in the time of Diocletian (A. D. 300) tasted, that is, kissed the mouth of a dead martyr before eating and drinking the elements.<sup>4</sup> Besides the kiss of peace and the kiss of reverence the early Christians practised ceremonial kissing after prayer, after Communion, after Baptism, after Ordination, at espousals, to the dying, and to the dead.<sup>5</sup> Among the early Jews a kiss was a ceremonial marriage salutation.<sup>6</sup>

The liability to injury from the accidental intrusion of outside substances must have been one of the chief risks of the early life. This experience explains why the seven deadly spirits of the Babylonians lived among the thorns of the mountains.<sup>7</sup> It also explains why the first part of Hindu *Salya*, or Surgery, is the removal of external substances accidentally introduced into the body, as grass, wood, stones, iron, earth, bones, hair, and nails.<sup>8</sup> Finally it explains why, among many wild peoples, the presence of some foreign substance is considered the cause of all disease. From this early experience and belief it followed that the sovereign cure of sickness is either direct or indirect sucking with the object of removing the foreign cause of sickness. Among the Zaparo Indians of South America, among the Papuans, among the Banks' Islanders, and among the Tasmanians, the sorcerer cures wounds by sucking out steel splinters, bones and worms.<sup>9</sup> So also the Amana Indians and the Australians suck the sick and draw out evil spirits.<sup>10</sup> When a child is hurt the English mother kisses the place to make it well. Compare ants with their mouths staunching the wounds of some of their number whose feelers were cut off.<sup>11</sup> In 1864, when he agreed to be Emperor of Mexico, Maximilian kissed the representative of the Mexican nation.<sup>12</sup> A kiss, probably the kiss of peace or oneness of spirit, is the salutation among European sovereigns. In Venice, in 1608, the traveller Coryate<sup>13</sup> noticed that, when the nobles or *clarissimos* met in the street, they gave at parting a mutual kiss to one another's manly cheek. A custom, he adds, I never saw before, nor heard of, nor read of. Elderly Australian women salute a stranger by kissing him on both cheeks.<sup>14</sup> When a Greek left his home he kissed the soil. When he landed in a foreign country he kissed the soil. He kissed his native soil again on his return.<sup>15</sup> The Romans kissed the back of their right hand when they passed a temple.<sup>16</sup> A Greek suppliant kissed the temple threshold.<sup>17</sup> The suppliant Priam kissed the knees of Achilles and the storm-stayed Odysseus the knees of the Egyptian king.<sup>18</sup> The Greeks and Romans saluted guests by kissing their lips, hands, knees and feet. When a solemn kiss was given, especially to a child, it was the custom to hold the person kissed by the ears, apparently to prevent the escape of the spirit which passed in the kiss. This was called the pot kiss.<sup>19</sup> The same holding of ears is practised among the Russians when the bridegroom first kisses the bride after marriage.<sup>20</sup> The Russian husband and wife, after the wedding ceremony, kiss each other three times.<sup>21</sup> To prevent misfortune in Banff in Scotland (1800), if a newly married couple

<sup>100</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 2047.

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 414.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 1407.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 253.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 1131.

<sup>5</sup> *Op. cit.* pp. 903, 905, 903. A good article on kissing will be found in Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible* "Kissing."

<sup>6</sup> *Genesis*, xxix. 17.

<sup>7</sup> *Bridge's Babylonian Life and History*, p. 138.

<sup>8</sup> *West's Hindu Medicine*, p. 2.

<sup>9</sup> *Jour. Anthropol. Inst.* Vol. VII. p. 506. Compare for Eskimos Clodd's *Myths and Dreams*, p. 170. *Revue Des Religions des Peuples Non Civilisés*, Vol. II. p. 54; Featherman's *Social History*, Vol. II. p. 108; Codrington's *Melanesian Folk-Lore*, p. 198.

<sup>10</sup> *Spencer's Principles of Sociology*, Vol. I. p. 259.

<sup>11</sup> *Jones' Crowns*, p. 420.

<sup>12</sup> *Featherman's Social History*, Vol. II. pp. 54, 140.

<sup>13</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 285.

<sup>17</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 282.

<sup>19</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 870.

<sup>11</sup> *Ency. Brit.* Article "Ants."

<sup>13</sup> *Coryate's Crudities*, Vol. II. p. 35.

<sup>15</sup> *Potter's Antiquities*, Vol. II. pp. 417, 418.

<sup>16</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 182.

<sup>20</sup> *Brand's Popular Antiquities*, Vol. II. p. 141.

<sup>21</sup> *Mrs. Romanoff's Rites and Customs of the Greco-Russian Church*, p. 212.

chance to meet on the road, they salute each other by kissing.<sup>22</sup> Before Easter Sunday the Russians kiss every one in the family in token of good will.<sup>23</sup> On Easter day, the Czar kisses a soldier in each regiment.<sup>24</sup> The Russians and the Druses kiss the dead.<sup>25</sup> The Russian bishop kisses the sacred pictures, and the people kiss the bishop's hands.<sup>26</sup> In Russia, the priest's canonicals are kissed and signed with the cross before they are put on.<sup>27</sup> Among the Danes, when a girl hears the cuckoo, she kisses her hand, and asks the cuckoo when she will be married.<sup>28</sup> In German and Russian nursery tales, great powers are ascribed to a kiss. The maiden spell-bound in the form of a snake, dragon, toad, or frog, is freed from the spell by being thrice kissed.<sup>29</sup> A kiss blots out of memory everything bad or unpleasant. Again, a kiss brings back remembrance, and the unbinding of a spell is said to hang on a kiss.<sup>30</sup> The sense being that the kisser's influence passing in the kiss drives from the person kissed evil memories or the evil spell-spirit. Of a kiss counteracting a spell Sharpe<sup>31</sup> gives the following example: — "In England, in 1603, a man thought his cow was bewitched; he would not go up to her till he had raised the tail and kissed under it." The Pope, on being installed, has his right foot and hand kissed by the Cardinals, his foot and right knee by the Bishops, and his foot by others.<sup>32</sup> Roman Catholic Bishops and priests kiss the vessel that holds the sacred oil.<sup>33</sup> In England, before the Reformation, when the service was ended, the congregation used to kiss the pax, a board with an image of Christ on the Cross, the kiss being the kiss of peace, the spirit of peace passing from the image into the kisser, and so making the whole congregation of one spirit.<sup>34</sup> In the words of St. Cyril (died A. D. 444) the sacramental or eucharistic kiss is the sign that our souls are mingled together.<sup>35</sup> Similarly, in the Greek Church, the bride and bridegroom thrice kiss the cross.<sup>36</sup> So also in the early Christian Church the taking of the Sacrament was preceded by the kiss of peace.<sup>37</sup> Similarly, in England (A. D. 600-1000), drinkers kissed after pledging each other in wine. Compare the Peruvians who, before drinking, kissed the air two or three times in token of adoration.<sup>38</sup> At the end of a Beni-Israel feast, the minister kisses a portion of bread and salt, and sends it round to the guests, each of whom kisses the bread and tastes the salt.<sup>39</sup> When (A. D. 1547) Edward VI. of England was crowned, the people kissed first his right foot and then his cheek.<sup>40</sup> At York and Newcastle (1825), in halls and in kitchens, kissing-bushes of mistletoe, greens, ribbons and oranges were hung, under which the men might kiss the girls, probably to draw into the kisser the hovering influences which haunt the evil dying year and might otherwise have harmed the kissed.<sup>41</sup> According to an old Scottish custom the man who first enters a house after twelve o'clock on New Year's morning has a right to demand a kiss.<sup>42</sup> In the kiss passes the spirit of the guardian New Year which the man brings with him. Compare for the new moon: — "In England (1825), whoever is first to see the new moon may kiss one of the opposite sex and claim a pair of gloves."<sup>43</sup> In Yorkshire and in Scotland, the clergyman used to kiss the bride after the wedding service, and in Ireland, the kiss of the bride and bridegroom was part of the ceremony.<sup>44</sup> In England and in Russia, at the end and at the beginning of a dance, it was the practice to kiss.<sup>45</sup> Another old English rule is that, if a woman kisses a man who is asleep

<sup>22</sup> Guthrie's *Old Scotch Customs*, p. 125.

<sup>23</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 240; *Ency. Brit. Art.* "Druses."

<sup>24</sup> Dyer's *Folk-Lore*, p. 60.

<sup>25</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. III. p. 1101; Ralston's *Russian Songs*, p. 174; Conway's *Demonology and Devil-Lore*, Vol. II. p. 377.

<sup>26</sup> Sharpe's *Witchcraft in Scotland*, p. 211.

<sup>27</sup> Jones' *Crowns*, p. 404.

<sup>28</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 412. <sup>29</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 229. Compare Parker's *Architectural Glossary*, Vol. I. p. 275.

<sup>30</sup> Smith's *Christian Antiquities*, p. 903.

<sup>31</sup> Cumming's *In the Hebrews*, p. 214.

<sup>32</sup> *Ency. Brit.* Article "Eucharist."

<sup>33</sup> *Descriptive Sociology*, pp. 2, 25, 33.

<sup>34</sup> *Poona Gazetteer*, Vol. I. p. 510.

<sup>35</sup> Jones' *Crowns*, p. 223.

<sup>36</sup> Compare *The Denham Tracts*, Vol. II. p. 67.

<sup>37</sup> Chambers's *Book of Days*, p. 27.

<sup>38</sup> Hone's *Everyday Book*, Vol. I. p. 1509.

<sup>39</sup> Henderson's *Folk-Lore*, p. 40; Napier's *Folk-Lore*, p. 48. The kiss of peace was enjoined both in the York Missal and in the Sarum Manual. *Gentleman's Magazine Library*, "Manners and Customs," p. 30; Gregor's *An Echo of Olden Time*, p. 117.

<sup>40</sup> Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, Vol. II. p. 140; *St. James's Budget*, January 8th, 1887, p. 16.



without waking him, she wins a pair of gloves.<sup>46</sup> Perhaps, the sense of this glove-winning is that the kiss sucks out the soul of the sleeper, the soul in sleep being apt to leave the sleeper's body, and that the owner redeems his soul by the gift of gloves. In England, to kiss a black cat is lucky. The proverb says:—"Kiss the black cat, 'twill make ye fat. Kiss the white one, 'twill make you lean."<sup>47</sup> In this case the black cat seems to be a scape into which passes any evil spirit of leanness by which the kisser may have been haunted.

**Leather.**—Fainting or hysterical patients are restored to consciousness either by being beaten with a shoe or a leather thong, or by inhaling the fumes of burnt leather. Therefore spirits fear leather. So, in the Dekhan, a person troubled with nightmare sleeps with a shoe under his pillow, and an exorcist frightens a spirit by threatening to make it drink water from the tanner's well. Poona Kunbīs believe that to drink water from a cobbler's hands destroys a witch's power.<sup>48</sup> Similarly, a Gujarāt witch's power is taken away by shaving her head, beating her with a twig of the *arkā* or giant swallow-wort and pouring down her throat water out of a tanner's jar.<sup>49</sup> Among the Kunbīs of the Dekhan, if a man feels he has been struck by an incantation he at once takes hold of an upturned shoe. The Tirmalīs, a Telugu caste of beggars in Poona, on the fifth day after birth, lay a leather shoe or sandal under a child's pillow to scare evil spirits.<sup>50</sup> The Shōlāpūr Kōmtīs set an old shoe under the babe's pillow to keep off evil spirits.<sup>51</sup> The Mōchīs of Ahmadnagar, who are of southern origin, on the fifth night after a birth, worship Satvāī, and lay a shoe under the child's pillow to keep away evil spirits.<sup>52</sup> Among the Ahmadnagar Bhīls, those who have been put out of caste are let back by paying a fine, and when too poor to pay they stand before the caste with their shoes on their heads.<sup>53</sup> In Thānā, people fasten old shoes to fruit-trees, in order that they may not be blighted by the Evil Eye, and may bear good fruit.<sup>54</sup> The Bījāpūr Dhār bride stands in a basket filled with rice and leather.<sup>55</sup> If a Dhārwar Pātravadaru, or dancing girl, is struck with a shoe, she is out of caste, has to pay a fine, and go through penances.<sup>56</sup> In Dhārwar, a Brāhman woman never wears shoes, except when she is lying in.<sup>57</sup> At a Liṅgāyat wedding, in Dhārwar, the bridegroom's mother sits on a bullock's saddle, taking the bridegroom on her right knee and the bride on her left knee.<sup>58</sup> In South India, Hindus lift their shoes and swear at the whirlwind, which in Tamil districts is known as *pishācha*, or devil.<sup>59</sup> To take off your shoes if you meet a great man and never to enter a house with shoes on, are two main rules of conduct in South India.<sup>60</sup> Dr. Buchanan tells how when his butler saw the ghost of a cook who had lately died, he put his shoes on the right side of the door, and so drove off the ghost.<sup>61</sup> To strike with a slipper is a great offence in Southern India. Any man who is so struck is put out of caste.<sup>62</sup> In Bengal, in a Brāhman wedding ceremony, at the evening or spirit-time, the bride and bridegroom sit on a red bull's hide.<sup>63</sup> When the Brāhman bride first enters the bridegroom's house she is seated on a red bull's hide.<sup>64</sup> In the Godāvarī districts, when a woman is pregnant, to keep off demons, women burn a heap of rice husk, and tie a shoe to one door-post and a bunch of *tulsi* to the other post.<sup>65</sup> To scare a demon out of a person, the Shānārs apply a slipper or a broom to the shoulder of the possessed.<sup>66</sup> In Lancashire, Cornwall and London, if on going to bed you leave your shoes sole up, crossed, or, peeping out from beneath the coverlet, you need not fear cramp.<sup>67</sup> The Circassians hang a goat-hide on a pole to keep off lightning.<sup>68</sup> The

<sup>46</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 126.<sup>47</sup> Dyer's *Folk-Lore*, p. 108.<sup>48</sup> *Trans. By. Lit. Soc.* Vol. III. p. 218.<sup>49</sup> Information from Mr. Vaikunthram.<sup>49</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XVIII. p. 463.<sup>51</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XX. p. 55. <sup>52</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XVII. p. 122.<sup>53</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XVII. p. 193.<sup>54</sup> Information from Mr. F. B. Joshi.<sup>55</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XXIII. p. 264.<sup>56</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XXII. p. 191.<sup>57</sup> Information from Mr. Tirmalrāo.<sup>58</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XXII. p. 113.<sup>59</sup> *Jour. Ethno. Soc.* Vol. I. p. 125.<sup>60</sup> Dubois, Vol. I. p. 467. <sup>61</sup> Buchanan's *Mysore*, Vol. III. p. 358.<sup>62</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 466.<sup>63</sup> Colebrooke's *Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. I. p. 221.<sup>64</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 223.<sup>65</sup> *Ind. Ant.* July, 1875, p. 197.<sup>66</sup> Caldwell in Balfour's *Encyclopædia*.<sup>67</sup> Black's *Folk Medicine*, p. 182; *Notes and Queries*, Vol. VIII. p. 505; Dyer's *Folk-Lore*, p. 164; Henderson's *Folk-Lore*, p. 155.<sup>68</sup> Grimm's *Teutonic Mythology*, Vol. I. p. 185.

Persians had a leather standard.<sup>69</sup> The Jewish tabernacle and sacred vessels were covered with skins.<sup>70</sup> The Jews had a custom of handing over a shoe to confirm a contract.<sup>71</sup> German Jews, at the last gasp or before execution, have knotted leather thongs bound round their arms and head.<sup>72</sup> Roman Jews wear little rolls of parchment written with words in peculiar ink enclosed in black calf's skin and tied to the arm or brow to keep off evil influences, especially nightly terrors.<sup>73</sup> Among the Felops of the Gambia Coast, West Africa, if a father is killed in a brawl his son wears his father's sandals once a year.<sup>74</sup> In Bornon, in North Africa, married women are careful to cover their beds with skins when their husbands visit them.<sup>75</sup> The lamb-skin or white leather apron is the badge of the freemason.<sup>76</sup> The Alaska Esquimaux Indians (North America) clothe the dead in a frock of skin.<sup>77</sup> Among the Oregon Indians, at their funeral pyres, the doctor tries to restore life, and if he fails, he throws a slip of leather on the dead.<sup>78</sup> Some Indian tribes wrap the dead in buffalo hide.<sup>79</sup> Hugh Lupus, the great Earl of Chester (A. D. 1120), was wrapped in leather and laid in a stone coffin.<sup>80</sup> According to Bancroft, Vol. III. p. 519, the Americans put sandals on the dead. At the Lupercalia, the object of the Roman youths, in striking people with a thong of leather, was probably at first to drive away spirits. Barren women tried to receive a cut of the thong hoping the stroke would make them conceive, that is, hoping that the spirit that made them barren might be driven out of them. Compare at the Indian Muharram some of the sporters striking men and women on the head with leather rolled in the form of a club.<sup>81</sup> The original object of the Roman and Skandinavian practice of fastening shoes on the feet of the dead may have been either to prevent the spirit coming back, or to prevent evil spirits entering the body.<sup>82</sup> To bring luck to the family American negroes keep all old shoes and old leather in some place in the house.<sup>83</sup> The Gypsies consider that ill-luck is bound and loosed by a shoe-string.<sup>84</sup> In Germany, throwing shoes over one's head and seeing which way the points look, reveals the place where one is destined to stay longest.<sup>85</sup> In Ireland, persons were elected by throwing a shoe over them,<sup>86</sup> and as late as 1689 tattered brogues were thrown into the grave of the Irish piper.<sup>87</sup> In England, shoes are thrown for luck after the bride and bridegroom, and after the youth who is leaving his family and friends.<sup>88</sup> Rustics mark their shoes' outlines on the tops of the steeples of churches.<sup>89</sup> In the West Highlands of Scotland, on New Year's Eve, at the laird's house, a man dressed in a cow's hide used to run round and be beaten with sticks,<sup>90</sup> and in Lincolnshire, on Palm Sunday, there was a custom of cracking a leather-thonged whip.<sup>91</sup> In Durham, on Easter Tuesday, wives beat their husbands, and on the next day husbands beat their wives with shoes.<sup>92</sup> In Gujarât, beating with a shoe is a common device for driving out an evil spirit in a possession case. This suggestion of possession is perhaps an element in the Musalmân horror of placing a slipper on the head. The Urdu proverb says:—"Give me bread and lay your slipper on my head."<sup>93</sup> An English folk-guard against the ill-luck of hearing a dog howl (or rather against Death the vision of whom makes the dog howl) is to take off your left shoe, place it sole up, spit on the sole, and set your foot on the spittle.<sup>94</sup> Spitting on the shoe as a precaution against the Evil Eye was approved by Pliny and is still practised in Italy.<sup>95</sup> In 1647, freshmen at Oxford

<sup>69</sup> Jones' *Crowns*, p. 431.

<sup>71</sup> *Ruth*, iv. 7, 8; Greenlaw's *Masonic Lectures*, p. 101.

<sup>73</sup> *Story's Castle of St. Angelo*, p. 214.

<sup>75</sup> Deuham and Clapperton's *Africa*, Vol. II. p. 174.

<sup>77</sup> *First Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, Washington, p. 154.

<sup>79</sup> *Op. cit.* pp. 152, 153.

<sup>80</sup> *The Denham Tracts*, Vol. II. p. 256.

<sup>76</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 145.

<sup>81</sup> Herklot's *Quamuni Islâm*, p. 200.

<sup>82</sup> A body of a pregnant woman was found in a Roman-British tomb shod with sandals and brass nails (Wright's *Celt, Roman and Saxon*, p. 305). The Norseman's hell or death shoon was afterwards explained by his having to cross winny moor (Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II. p. 496).

<sup>83</sup> *St. James's Budget*, 7th April 1893, p. 19.

<sup>85</sup> Grimm's *Teutonic Mythology*, Vol. III. p. 1118.

<sup>87</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 285.

<sup>89</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 324.

<sup>92</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 180.

<sup>94</sup> *Notes and Queries*, Vol. VII. p. 91.

<sup>70</sup> *Numbers*, vi. 5.

<sup>72</sup> King's *Gnostics*, p. 118.

<sup>74</sup> Park's *Travels*, Vol. I. p. 16.

<sup>76</sup> Mackay's *Freemasonry*, p. 22.

<sup>84</sup> Leland's *Gypsies*, p. 159.

<sup>86</sup> Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, Vol. III. p. 169.

<sup>88</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 167; *The Denham Tracts*, Vol. II. p. 33.

<sup>90</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 8.

<sup>91</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 131.

<sup>93</sup> Elliot's *Musalmân History of India*, Vol. I. p. 492.

<sup>95</sup> Elworthy's *The Evil Eye*, p. 419.

had on Shrove Tuesday to take an oath on an old shoe.<sup>96</sup> In the north of England (1825), to dream of their true love, girls laid their shoes soles up under their pillows.<sup>97</sup> Similarly, Dorsetshire girls put their shoes by their bedside in the form of a T or cross, saying :—

“Hoping this night my true love to see,  
I place my shoes in the form of a T.”<sup>98</sup>

In China and the Malay Peninsula, no iron tools, leather, or umbrellas, may be brought into a mine for fear of annoying the earth spirits.<sup>99</sup> The Brâhman worships sitting on the skin of the black antelope. The Hindu ascetic dresses in a deer or tiger skin. The skin of the victim ram was drawn over the statue of Jupiter Ammon. The oracle-seeker at Delphi slept in the victim's skin. The ancient Scot cooked his meat in the victim's skin. To the early man the hide was a great guardian. It formed his clothes, his armour, and his means for carrying food, drink and coin.

Apart from its usefulness, the source of the holiness or evils-caring power of leather is that the spirit of the animal to which it belonged lives on in the skin. So, in Tibet, the greatest of oaths is for the swearer to lay a Scripture on his head, and, sitting on the reeking hide of an ox, to eat part of the ox's heart.<sup>100</sup>

(To be continued.)

### FOLKLORE IN SOUTHERN INDIA.

BY PANDIT S. M. NATESA SASTRI, B.A., M.F.I.S.

No. 39. — *Devoted Vatsalâ.*

IN a certain village there lived a Brâhman named Patanibhâgya. He had an affectionate wife named Vatsalâ. She was a very good woman, and was equally kind to all the members of her household, and especially to her mother-in-law, the mother of Patanibhâgya. She was so sincerely attached to her that Vatsalâ's attachment to her mother-in-law became proverbial throughout the village. Some people regarded it as madness, and began to doubt as to how she would survive her mother-in-law, as, in all probability, the old woman would die first. But the more considerate thought Vatsalâ to be merely a little wanting in common sense, and that was the real truth. She considered her mother-in-law as a goddess, and, apart from her sincere devotion to her, she was under the strong belief that no daughters-in-law could live in the world without mothers-in-law to guide and rule them. Every morning, as she rose up from her bed, she first worshipped her mother-in-law, consulted her taste in cooking the household meal, prepared only those dishes which she ordered, served her meal first, and then attended to the table of others. Thus it was with Vatsalâ; and her mother-in-law, on her part, as, of course, was natural, was deeply attached to her. Thus passed several happy years. But time must work its changes, and the old people must die giving place to new, and the end of the mother-in-law approached, and she passed away in the arms of her daughter-in-law. The funeral rites followed and after a time the house revived from the mourning. It was a natural death in good old age. There was not much sorrow felt in the family. But to Vatsalâ the world became a nonentity. She had nothing now to care for in the world. Her monitor was no more. Who would receive henceforth her devotions? Who would direct her in her household duties? These became great riddles to her. Patanibhâgya advised her to cheer up, but to no effect. His sound arguments were of no avail to soothe the sorrows of Vatsalâ, for she had not that quota of common sense, — the general property of all : what she wanted was some tangible and material object to be respected as her mother-in-law.

“I must have a mother-in-law. Give me a mother-in-law, my dear husband,” mourned Vatsalâ.

<sup>96</sup> Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 85.

<sup>98</sup> Dyer's *Folk-Lore*, p. 185.

<sup>100</sup> Waddell's *Buddhism in Tibet*, p. 569.

<sup>97</sup> *The Denham Tracts*, Vol. II. p. 279.

<sup>99</sup> *Journal Straits Branch R. A. Soc.* p. 82.

Finding all reasoning to be vain, and, pitying his poor wife, who was so good and kind to him in everything, he went a little out of the ordinary way and promised to supply Vatsalâ with a mother-in-law. He went to a carpenter and brought a wooden image, and, presenting it to his wife, addressed her thus:—

“My dear Vatsalâ, you are dying for want of a mother-in-law. I have consulted several doctors and learned men. They gave me a wooden mother-in-law for you. You can now be happy. You can worship this as your old mother-in-law. Consult this wooden image in household duties, and be thus in every way happy.”

Vatsalâ's pleasure at the receipt of a substitute for her mother-in-law can be better imagined than described. She placed it in a prominent part of the verandah of the upperstorey of her house. To her it was everything. She consulted it. She fed it twice a day with a sumptuous meal, and spent every minute that she could save from household duties to the care of the image. But how could the wood speak? How could the wood eat? These were plain questions with plain answers to Vatsalâ. For she devised the answers after putting the questions to the image, and imagined that the answers came from the mother-in-law herself. She would stand before the image and ask:—

“My mother, what shall I prepare you for your dinner to-night? You have not been well to-day.”

After putting this question, she would herself answer:—

“Yes, I understand you. Your order is that I should prepare pepper-water without *dāl*. I shall do so.”

Her simplicity was a source of general amusement. She would spread a large leaf before the image and serve on it the meal meant for her mother-in-law. Some mischievous relation would wait for an opportunity and take away all the meal, leaving the leaf clean. But Vatsalâ thought that her mother-in-law had swallowed it all. Thus passed some days.

Patanîbhâgya had to go out on a mercantile tour with a neighbour for a few months. He supplied the house with grain and articles of food to last for six months, and started on his journey. His neighbour did the same, and followed him. Other relations of Patanîbhâgya, too, had to go away, and thus Vatsalâ was left alone in the house with her wooden mother-in-law. She was very glad of this. Her only living friend was the wife of the neighbour who had accompanied Patanîbhâgya on his tour. That their husbands were friends on tour was the great cause of this friendship, though they were of opposite natures. Vatsalâ was an idiot and a fool, but the other woman was the very type of intelligence and cunning. Finding Vatsalâ was a great fool, and it did not take much time to discover this, she wanted to profit by it. Whatever ill-health Vatsalâ imagined in her wooden mother-in-law she would aggravate. She recommended sumptuous meals for the mother-in-law as the only cure for weakness, and Vatsalâ spent all her leisure in preparing rice of several kinds, puddings, muffins, etc., etc., to feed her, and all these were served twice and even thrice a day. Her friend took them all away secretly, and thus saved herself the trouble of kindling a fire at her own home, growing fat at the expense of Vatsalâ. She saved all the articles stored up by her own husband. Vatsalâ did not care for the expense. If her mother-in-law was well it was all in all to her: and was she improving? Yes; undoubtedly, at least to Vatsalâ she was, and her friend told her so every day. Thus things went on for some months.

Their husbands returned from their tour. Patanîbhâgya examined his house, and discovered that he must supply his house again with food. He asked his wife how it was that everything was exhausted so soon, while she was the only soul at home to eat.

“My dear husband, how is it that you have forgotten your mother, my mother-in-law? Ever since you left us, she was always falling into weak health, and I had to feed her every

day sumptuously. Must not two souls eat? And must not my mother-in-law be fed?" replied she.

The patience of the husband was exhausted. However much he might have excused her for her foolishness, the waste of all the food touched him to the quick.

"May you and your mother-in-law go to hell!" roared he, and, **kicking the wooden image first, he dealt the same punishment to his wife.** The wife did not feel herself insulted in any way, but she felt acutely the sufferings of her mother-in-law.

"You have kicked her down. May the gods curse you! You have kicked your own mother. How will the gods excuse you? O my mother-in-law, my dear mother-in-law. In your old age to be thus kicked! What a great shock you must have received by your fall?" wept Vatsalâ, and, disregarding her husband's blows, she flew to the fallen image, took it up in her hands, and protected it from further injury from Patanîbhâgya.

The husband could contain himself no more. He drove his wife with her precious mother-in-law out of the house. Not that she cared: for she had still her mother-in-law, and could go with her where she pleased and live comfortably. For is not a mother-in-law a goddess to daughters-in-law? Thus arguing with herself, Vatsalâ left the village that very evening, carrying on her shoulders her poor mangled mother-in-law, and walked through a forest. The sun had just set. Darkness covered the world. Vatsalâ, notwithstanding the charm of a goddess on her shoulders, was a little afraid to pursue her way through the forest all alone. She wanted to rest somewhere for the night; and where else could she rest but on a tree? So she climbed up a tree and with her mother-in-law in her hands sat there for the night.

The tree on which Vatsalâ sat was in the middle of a thick forest, and was a large and broad one; and it was the tree under which the robbers of the forest used to assemble to divide among themselves the plunders of the night. Just at the last watch of the night nearly a dozen robbers came, and were engaged in separating their plunder into several groups as the share for each. Vatsalâ had no sleep the whole night and now she heard the horrible conversation of the robbers. The counting of coins jingled on her ears. Her whole frame trembled, and down fell the wooden mother-in-law as the first effect of her fears, just as the robbers were proceeding to take possession of their respective shares. They knew that the Râjâ's men had been watching them for a long time, and so in the twinkling of an eye most of them ran away. After her mother-in-law down came Vatsalâ with a horrible crash, and those that remained imagined her to be the very Râjâ himself. So away they ran, and the wood was cleared of the robbers. Vatsalâ fell down senseless, but after a time she recovered her senses. The morning had now dawned and she perceived the heaps of coin with her wooden mother-in-law in their midst. She fell down before her goddess and worshipped her.

"What will your son — that son who kicked you last evening — say now, when I return to him with these hoards of money? O my goddess! O my holy mother-in-law!"

So saying, Vatsalâ collected everything in haste and returned home. Meanwhile, Patanîbhâgya, after the excitement of the moment, was very sorry for his cruelty to his poor wife, for it was a settled fact that she was an idiot. So he waited for the morning to go out in search of her; and great was his joy when she herself returned to him with so much money! In her own fashion, she told the story about the money, and how her mother-in-law had given it to replace the exhausted store at home, and preached to her husband that he must be more kind to such a kind mother! The sight of the money consoled him much, though at heart he laughed at his wife's theory, and was not blind to the true cause of the acquisition. And what is lost in humouring an idiotic and stupid, but for all that, a good wife? So Patanîbhâgya stored up all the money, and told his wife that all the good fortune was due to her devotion to her mother-in-law.

"It is my goddess, my mother-in-law, my dear husband, that gave us all this wealth," repeated Vatsalâ even before her husband finished his speech.

"Yes, true it is, true it is. From to-day worship her all the more for it," repeated the husband.

That noon her cunning friend visited Vatsalâ, who, in her own plain way, related the great boon that her mother-in-law that day conferred upon her family by the gift of unexpected wealth. The neighbour heard it with great pleasure, for her avarice had already devised for her a plan of her making herself rich in the same way. Outwardly she promised to worship her own mother-in-law in that way, and made a copy of Vatsalâ's image, but her secret intention was to go to the tree in which Vatsalâ had hidden herself the previous night, and try to see whether fortune would favour her also. For this purpose she carefully noted the exact position of the tree.

As soon as night approached, without the knowledge of the husband, she ran to the forest to the very tree and concealed herself in it with, of course, the wooden mother-in-law, to surprise the robbers. Even as she expected, the robbers came that night also, and became engaged in dividing their booty. She threw down first the wooden stump, and the robbers were a little afraid at first; but their money, hard won in their own way of thieving, was not to be thus easily given up every night. So they made a careful search, and caught hold of the woman.

"You wretched hag: you are caught at last," roared they. "You frightened us last night, and we were fools and ran away. But now instead of killing you we will make a lesson of you to others who would thus dare to heard us in our own den."

All the shrieks and cries of the woman, and her pleadings that the woman of the previous night was a different one were of no avail. Her hair was cut. Her nose was cut. And thus mutilated she was driven out of the forest and reached home with her body disfigured for her pains.

Her husband, who had missed her the previous night, received her with great anger, and on hearing the cause of her disfigurement spoke to her in very severe terms. He plainly told her that it was her avarice that brought her that just punishment. But what was to be done next? He applied soothing medicines to her broken nose and advised her never to relate her story to any one, and thus ends the story.

## MISCELLANEA.

### SOME REMARKS ON THE KALYANI INSCRIPTIONS.

(Continued from Vol. XXIII. p. 259.)

#### (13) Malayadîpa.

Malayadîpa may be identified with the Malay Archipelago. Its native appellation is Malâyu. The capital of the region may be fixed as Malacca, which has now been deserted for Penang and Singapore. The Malâyu betel-nut is still famous in Burma, and it must have been introduced when there was frequent intercourse between the Burmese and Malay ports.

Râhulathêra went to Malayadîpa in 543, Sakkarâj, or 1181 A. D. He was well received by the king, who was evidently a Buddhist, as he was

desirous of learning the *Vinaya Pitaka*. The Kalyânî Inscriptions add:—"The king was pleased with the *thêra*, and presented him with an alms-bowl filled with many kinds of gems." As attested by the following passage cited in Yule's *Hobson-Jobson*, p. 416, the wealth of the country during the period in question appears to be an undoubted fact:—

"c. 1150. 'The Isle of Malai is very great . . . The people devote themselves to very profitable trade; and there are found here elephants, rhinoceroses, and various aromatics and spices, such as clove, cinnamon, lard . . . and nutmeg.' In the mountains are mines of gold, of excellent quality . . . the people have also windmills."—*Edrisi*, by *Jaubert*, i. 945."

## (14) Dhammavilāsathēra.

It is a most lamentable fact that the study of biography as well as of history is not held in esteem by Burmans: hence the meagreness of details in biographical notices of native writers.

Dhammavilāsa was the title given to Sāriputtathēra by King Narapatiśipu (1174-1228 A. D.) for his ability and eminence in learning. The *thēra* was a Talaing by birth and was a native of Padippajēyya village in the province of Dala. He was educated at Pagan under Ānandathēra of the Sinhalese fraternity. The king desired to appoint Sāriputta to be one of his Preceptors, but unfortunately he was debarred from carrying out his object by the rigour of a custom prevailing at all Oriental Courts that all recipients of royal favour shall not labour under any physical defect. One of the big toes of the *thēra* was shorter than its natural length, and he was accordingly disqualified for any high post under the Government. To compensate for the boon missed by him the king bestowed upon him the title of Dhammavilāsa, and commissioned him to propagate the Buddhist Religion in the maritime provinces. What has rendered his name illustrious in Burma is the authorship of the Dhammavilāsa-dhammabāt, which is not now extant. There is, however, a commentary on it, which was compiled in the 17th Century. This latter work comprises 86 palm-leaves, eight lines to the page. The chapter on "Inheritance and Partition" has been translated and published under the editorship of the late Dr. E. Forchhammer, and forms No. VII. of the series of *Notes on Buddhist Law* issued by Mr. Justice Jardine, now of the Bombay High Court.

The dates of birth and death of Dhammavilāsa, as well as of the completion of his *Dhammabāt* are unknown. Even the *Sāsandānāḍra*, compiled as late as 1832 A. D. by the learned ex-monk Maungdaungsadd, the Archbishop of King Bôdḍ'payā at Amarapura, is silent on these points.

## (15) Lakkhiyapura.

This place may be identified with the modern Letkaik, a small insignificant village on the Dalā side of the Rangoon river, but the Bakāsa river cannot now be identified.

<sup>1</sup> "And here again, in regard to the doctrine left behind by each, a vast distinction is to be noted. For the doctrine delivered by Christ to His disciples is to spread by degrees everywhere until it prevails eternally. Whereas the doctrine left by Buddha, though it advanced rapidly

## (16) Kambôja.

This is the classical appellation of Cambodia, the ancient empire of the Khmers, whose influence in the valleys of the Salween and Irrawaddy ceased with the foundation of the kingdom of Siam, with Ayuthia as its capital, in 1350 A. D. (see note 9, *ante*, Vol. XXIII. p. 256f.).

In Burmese official writings the Shan States to the East of the Irrawaddy River are collectively called Kambôja. In this connection it may be interesting to note that the appellation, "Shan," applied by the Burmans to the whole Tai race, is a corrupted form of "Cham." Kambôja was also known as Champā, and its people were called "Cham." *Vide s. v.* "Champa," "Shan" and "Siam" in Yule's *Hobson-Jobson*.

## (17) Dalapura.

Dalapura is the modern Dalā opposite Rangoon. Tradition says that it was founded by a princess from Thaton, whose king had just beaten off a Cambodian army. In after times Dalā formed a dependency of Syriam, and in view of its origin, was always an appanage of a princess or a lady of rank. Owing to its contiguity to Cape Negrais, which was the base of operations of Arakanese raiders and invaders, it was deemed to be of some strategic importance.

## (18) Visuṅgāma.

The validity of the ordination of a Buddhist monk and his consequent status in the Order depend mainly on the validity of the consecration of the *simā* where the ordination was performed. A *simā* is, again, valid or otherwise according as its site is *visuṅgāma* or not. Thus the whole fabric of the Buddhist Church rests, to some extent, on the solution of the vexed question of *visuṅgāma*. The frequent squabbles and controversies regarding the validity or otherwise of ordination are due to this fact. These controversies have now been happily set at rest in Burma by the Local Government, which issues grants of *visuṅgāma* land for the construction of *simās* under the seal and hand of the Chief Commissioner.

## (19) The Religion of Buddha will last 5,000 years.

As Sir Monier Monier-Williams has endorsed this idle tradition and published it to the world in his great work on Buddhism<sup>1</sup> it is essential to

by leaps and bounds, is, according to his own admission, to fade away by degrees, till at the end of 5,000 years it has disappeared altogether from the earth, and another Buddha must descend to restore it. Monier-Williams' *Buddhism*, pp. 556, 567.

ascertain the basis on which the statement is founded. The Buddhists do not question the truth of the statements in the Pāli texts of the *Tripitaka*, but they are at liberty to criticise the commentaries, such as the *aṭṭhakathās*, *tīkās*, etc. In the present case, the limit of the continuance of Buddhism is fixed by the *aṭṭhakathās*, and not by the Buddha himself.

The *Dighanikāya*, the *Mahāvagga* of the *Sutta-piṭaka*, and the *Mahāparinibbānasutta* do not contain any allusion to the question, but distinctly say, on the other hand, that the succession of monks will never be interrupted so long as there is peace and concord among them: "*Sace, Subhadda, ime bhikkhū samdvihdreyyū, asuñño loke arahantehi assa.*"

In the *Chūlavagga*, however, it is said that Gautama Buddha was averse to the admission of nuns into the Church, as he foresaw the risk accruing to the Order of Monks, and declared that his Religion would last 1,000 years if no nuns were admitted, but only 500 years if they were. This is, of course, only a hypothetical statement, and an euphemistic avowal of unwillingness to recognize the Order of Nuns which was subsequently formed. But the commentators took a serious view of the matter and, being constrained to put a literal interpretation on the declaration, prolonged the period of 1,000 years to 5,000, which they had no authority to do. In the *Chūlavagga*-

*ṭhakathā* a period of 1,000 years is assigned to each of the following classes of saints:—

- (a) *Paṭisambhīdāpatta*;
- (b) *Sukkhavipassaka*;
- (c) *Anāgāmi*;
- (d) *Sakadāgāmi*;
- (e) *Sōtapanni*.

In the *Anguttaraṭṭhakathā* a similar assignation is made, and the following are the classes:—

- (a) *Paṭisambhīdāpatta*;
- (b) *Ohhalābhīṇṇa*;
- (c) *Tevijjaka*;
- (d) *Sukkhavipassaka*;
- (e) The observers of the *Pātimōkka*.

Personally, I am inclined to think with Froude<sup>2</sup> that Truth is writ large on the tablets of eternity, and that it is idle to set bounds to the limits of eternity.

#### (20) Mahāvihāra.

When Mahinda, the son of Aśoka, was sent to Ceylon after the 3rd Buddhist Council, Devānampiyatissa, king of that Island, after the manner of Bimbisāra, king of Rājagṛha, who presented the Buddha with the Vēluvana Monastery, presented the Missionary Prince with the Mahāmēghavana villa, which came to be known as the Mahāvihāra. The vicissitudes of the Mahāvihāra sect are briefly detailed in the Kalyāṇī Inscriptions.

TAW SEIN-KO.

(To be continued.)

## NOTES AND QUERIES.

### A CEREMONIAL MUTILATION.

IN (Buchanan) Hamilton's *East India Gazetteer* (1815), page 337, the following curious passage occurs:—"Near Deonella or Deonhully, a town in Mysore, is a sect or sub-division of the Murresoo Wocul caste, every woman of which, previous to piercing the ears of her eldest daughter, preparatory to her being betrothed in marriage, must undergo the amputation of the first joints of the third and fourth fingers of her right hand. The amputation is performed by the blacksmith of the village who, having placed the finger in a block, performs the operation with a chisel. If the girl to be betrothed be motherless, and the mother of the boy have not before been subjected to the amputation, it is incumbent on her to suffer the operation. In these districts this caste occupy about 2,000 houses, and for the original

cause of this strange ceremony, they relate a long legend. (F. Buchanan) (Hamilton's) *Travels in Mysore in Asiatic Researches*."

DENZIL IBBETSON in *P. N. and Q.* 1883.

### A HINDU HOUSE-WARMING.

WHEN the house is finished Brāhmins and the friends of the family are feasted. The *mistrī* (master-builder) attends the dinner, and receives from the owner complimentary gifts, such as shawls, turban, clothes, and money, as his merits and the generosity of his employer dictates. During the building a lamp is often kept burning all night. This is to prevent bhūts (ghosts), and *churēls* (female ghosts), and the like, from taking up a lodging in the new abode.<sup>1</sup>

J. L. KIPLING in *P. N. and Q.* 1883.

<sup>2</sup> "First, it (history) is a voice for ever sounding across the centuries the laws of right and wrong. Opinions alter, manners change, creeds rise and fall, but the moral law is written on the tablets of eternity. For every false word or unrighteous deed, for cruelty and oppression, for lust or vanity, the price has to be paid at last: not always by

the chief offenders, but paid by some one. *Justice and truth alone endure and live.* Injustice and falsehood may be long-lived, but doomsday comes at last to them, in French revolutions and other terrible ways." — Froude's *Short Studies on Great Subjects*, Vol. I. p. 27.

<sup>1</sup> [See *Journal, Society of Arts*, 1883, p. 739. — ED.]



## BOOK-NOTICES.

## SOME NEW CATALOGUES OF SANSKRIT MSS.

WE have received Dr. Peterson's excellent *Catalogue of the MSS. in the Ulwar Library*.<sup>1</sup> It consists of a nominal list, with, in many cases, full descriptions of nearly two thousand five hundred works, to which is appended an unusually large collection of extracts, in which no less than six hundred and seventy-eight MSS. are illustrated. A third of the whole collection is devoted to Vedic works and works on Philosophy. Rhetoric, *Dharma*, and Astronomy are well represented, and there is a small collection of Prākṛit books, some of which appear to be of value, although this portion of the catalogue gives merely the titles, with few further particulars. The book is absolutely devoid of diacritical marks of any kind. Even long vowels are not noted, but in other respects, it is throughout edited with the scholarly accuracy which distinguishes all Dr. Peterson's labours.

The Government of Bengal is issuing in *fasciculi*, a *Catalogue of the MSS. in the Library of the Calcutta Sanskrit College*.<sup>2</sup> The first *fasciculus* has been printed at the Secretariat Press, and a wise discretion has been exercised in transferring the second and third to the Press of the Baptist Mission. Experience has shewn that Government printing departments are not adapted for the correct production of carefully edited Sanskrit books. The present work is as yet incomplete, and till the necessary indexes have been received it is difficult to analyze its contents. The style is the same as that of the well-known Sanskrit catalogues of Rajendra Lala Mitra, with which it may well be compared. When completed, it will, no doubt, be as useful as its fore-runner.

Let us hope that the Bengal Government, at whose expense it is issued, will make the book easily available to purchasers in Europe and not bury the copies (without advertisement) in the cellars of Writers' Buildings, to be sold as waste paper, after being given a decent number of years to ripen for the paper mills.

**ORIENTAL MUSIC, a Monthly Periodical**, Edited by A. M. CHINNASWAMI MUDALIYAR, M. A., Ave Maria Press, Pudupet, Madras, 1893.

THIS periodical appears to have been started with the following objects :— to familiarise the

European ear with the peculiarities of Oriental Music, to help the people of the country to understand European Notation, and to appreciate the beauties of Harmony; and to record the music of India which is fast fading into decay.

It is a somewhat comprehensive programme, of which the third part would appear to be the most worthy of support.

A complete and trustworthy record of the musical productions of India, with descriptions of the instruments used, and the manner in which they are manufactured and played, and accounts of the principal masters of Indian music, will be of great value to Orientalists, as, with the exception of Captain Day's work, no such record exists.

The European ear, with its previous training by the European scales and divisions of the octave, is not likely to appreciate the Oriental scales and divisions; and on our keyed instruments, as at present tuned, it is not possible to render Oriental Music correctly or to describe it in European Notation. On instruments of the Violin family this music can be played, but in the pages before us no indications are given in the notation by which this should be done.

With a specially devised notation Oriental music could be rendered on such an instrument as Mr. Bosanquet's Enharmonic Organ, but, as we have said, Europeans are not likely to seriously adopt Oriental Music.

To attempt to teach Harmony to the Indians from the starting point of their own music would be "ploughing the sands," and it would be far easier for them to approach the subject as a separate science, and to study the European textbooks.

"Oriental Music" is evidently the work of an enthusiast, and the record being made is a valuable addition to the literature of a little known subject. It is only by the investigation of Eastern music that we shall be able to understand the music of the ancient European nations, and Mr. Chinnaswami Mudaliyar will do good work for science in continuing what he has so carefully commenced. We would draw his attention to *Notes and Queries on Anthropology*, Chapter XLI., which he will find to be an excellent guide to the requirements of science in the matter.

<sup>1</sup> *Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Library of His Highness the Maharaja of Ulwar*, by Peter Peterson, M.A., D.Sc., Bombay: 1892.

<sup>2</sup> *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit MSS. in the Library of the Calcutta Sanskrit College*. Part I.

(1892) by Hrishikēśa Śāstrī; printed at the Bengal Secretariat Press, Part II. (1894) by the same, and Śiva Chandra Guī, M.A., B.L., printed at the Baptist Mission Press; Part III. (1895), same author and printer.

## SOME EARLY SOVEREIGNS OF TRAVANCORE.

BY P. SUNDARAM PILLAI, M.A.

*(Continued from p. 235.)*

## X.

**T**HIRTEEN years later we meet with another king of Vēṇāḍ, **Sri-Vira-Rāma Kēraḷavarma Tiruvaḍi**. I base this statement on a Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscription in the temple of **Sri-Padmanābhasvāmin** in the capital itself. Unfortunately, however, it is a mutilated one, nearly one half of it being missing. All the greater pity, since the fine bold Vaṭṭeḷuttu characters, in which it is inscribed, would have otherwise made it, both palæographically and historically, one of the very best samples yet to hand. The locality in which this mutilated document is now found, can scarcely have been its original abode. Indeed it cannot be said to be fairly above ground! And any one wishing to pay it a visit must be prepared for an uncomfortable attitude! Passing by the flagstaff and going in at the main eastern gate of the temple, let him walk straight on till he crosses the gateway of the second enclosure. There, -if he will stoop low enough, he will descry in the gloom in the nethermost row of stones forming the low passage wall to his left, the object he is in quest of, neat and remarkably well dressed for the situation. With the help of other inscriptions in my collection, I have in a measure succeeded in conjecturing what this stone when complete would have told us; and with the omissions so supplied, the translation of the document would read thus:—

No. 10 Vaṭṭeḷuttu  
61. Old Malayālam. Padmanābhasvāmin Temple Inscription of Vira-Rāma-Kēraḷavarman.

“Hail! Prosperity! In the Kollam year 384, with Jupiter in Cancer, [and the sun \* days old in Gemini],<sup>75</sup> in the presence of the **Tiruvānandapuram** assembly and its sabhañjita, assembled in the southern [hall] of **Mitrānandapuram**, [under the solemn] presidency of [the Bhaṭṭāraka], \* \* tiṅga<sup>76</sup> **Pallavarayan**, [the loyal chieftain of] **Sri-Vira-Irāman [Kēraḷavarma Tiruvaḍi]** of holy Vēṇāḍ, [made a free grant of certain lands] belonging to the said \* tiṅga **Pallavarayan**, in **Ocheyyaṇ** and **Kaḷattūr**, [to be taken charge of by such and such, under such and such arrangements,] with the object of providing daily four *nālī* of rice and condiments, [partly] to be used as offering to the **Perumāḷ** of **Tiruvānandapuram**, and [partly] to feed one **Brāhmaṇa**, besides providing every year on the **Uttiram** star in (the month of) **Paṅguni**,<sup>77</sup> [a special feast or lustration]. [The daily offering to the **Perumāḷ** shall be made] when a man's shadow in the sun measures 12 ft.<sup>78</sup> [and the rice so offered shall be made over to such and such, who in return therefor] shall supply [each day] one garland to adorn the **Perumāḷ**. If the supply (of this stated quantity) of paddy fails once, [double the default shall be paid. If twice, twice the default and fine. If thrice] in succession, the property shall be confiscated, and the amount of paddy recovered and measured out. [If any dispute arises thereon,] the case shall be taken to **Sri-Pādam** and the question then finally decided. To which effect [witness below our hands, \* \* of **Kaitaviḷāgam**. The first half-yearly [payments will be due] in the month of **Vṛiśchikam** in Kollam 385.”

Such in substance would be the document, if the portions lost are supplied, as far as it is now practicable to do, with the help of the context and of similar records in my possession. Happily for us, however, so far as important historical facts are concerned, there is little or no room for any legitimate doubt. For instance, comparing this inscription with the one to be given next, there can be no reasonable doubt that the full name of the king who ruled Vēṇāḍ on

<sup>75</sup> The parts within square brackets are those supplied.

<sup>76</sup> Looks like a corruption of Chiṅga or Simha.

<sup>77</sup> The principal festival of the temple still takes place about this time. **Uttiram** or **Utram** is a star about the tail of Leo Major.

<sup>78</sup> Technically called *paṇḍitrālī* or ‘the 12th feet offering.’

the date of this document, was Śrī-Vīra-Irāman Kēraḷavarman. The last letter in the part of the name actually found is *ṇ*, which can combine with no other letter in the alphabet than a *k*; and the next inscription, which is but five years later, completes the name exactly as we should expect. Fortunately for us, again, the last word with which the opening line breaks off, is "Kollam 384,"—the year of the document; and this date is confirmed, if need be, by the closing line, fixing the time for the payment of the first half-yearly dues in Vṛiśchika 385. This mention of the month, with which the first half-year ends, enables us further to fix the month of the grant itself as Mithuna preceding. Supposing a full half-year was to expire in Vṛiśchika for the payment to be due, we have only to shift the date of the grant a month earlier, *i. e.*, Iḍavam 384. Thus, then, we may be perfectly sure that, about May or June 1209, Vēṇāḍ was ruled by Śrī-Vīra-Rāma-Kēraḷavarma Tiruvaḍi.

Certain other inferences, equally unquestionable, may be also made from the record in hand. For instance, it is impossible to doubt that in 384, Trivandram, like so many other villages, had a *sabhd* or assembly, with a *sabhañjita*, chairman or secretary, of its own, and that it used to meet on occasions of importance in the old temple at Mitrānandapuram, about a couple of furlongs to the west of the present shrine of Śrī-Padmanābha. The south-western corner of the courtyard of this temple is still pointed out as the sacred spot where *sabhd*s used to meet of old, and the word '*tek*' or south, in our inscription, serves as no dubious guide to that spot. The raised floor of this hall still remains, but the roof, which must have resounded with the voice of many a wise council, is now no more. Fragments of apparently very old inscriptions in the Mitrānandapuram temple speak also of memorable meetings of the *sabhd* in the same "southern hall." These meetings are recorded to have taken place in the "solemn presence" of the Baḍāra or Bhaṭṭāraka Tiruvaḍi of the locality, enabling us thus to infer that the solemn presence, with which the meeting here recorded is said to have been honoured, must have been also of the same mysterious personality. It would appear further from an inscription at Suchindram, dated 408 M. E., that there was at that time a senior Baḍāra Tiruvaḍi at Trivandram, in superior charge of the temple management. From this latter document, I am led also to suspect that by "Śrī-Pādam," to whom, according to the record in hand, the final appeal was to lie, in case of dispute in the administration of the land in question, is meant also the same religious functionary. This expression has now somehow or other come to be used to designate the palace, where the queen-mother resides with the junior members of her family. But the context in the Suchindram record, above referred to, militates against that modern application of the term.

I would draw attention to the curious way in which the name Trivandram is here spelt. Twice the word occurs in the portion of the inscription preserved to us, and on both occasions it is clearly spelt Tiruvānandapuram with a long *ā*, meaning 'the holy city of blessedness,' and not, as it is now universally understood, the city of Ananta, the serpent. The deity, too, of the place is named Perumāḷ, 'the great one,' and not Padmanābha, 'the Lotus-navelled.' Is it possible that the City of Blessedness passed into the City of Ananta, the serpent, with the transformation of the infinite and indefinite 'great one' into the definite Padmanābha, whose mattress Ananta is? The analogy of Mitrānandapuram, the oldest temple of this town, lends support to the orthography of the inscription. But on the other hand, the Suchindram inscription, already referred to, spells the name in the usual modern fashion. So also does the hymn in the *Tiruvāymolē*,<sup>79</sup> dedicated to the local deity, though, in this case, it is not as decisive as with Tiruvāṭṭār, since neither rhyme nor metre will be wholly spoiled by the substitution of one of the names for the other; and as far as I can remember, the town is mentioned nowhere else in Tamil literature.

The Sanskrit name Syānandūra for Trivandram only adds to our doubts and difficulties. Underivable proper names are by no means common in any Indian language, and in Sanskrit,

<sup>79</sup> Vide the 2nd *pattu* in the *pattāmpattu*.

there are but very few names of any class whose etymology cannot be traced to well-known roots. But *Syānandūra*, though used familiarly by Sanskrit scholars both in inscriptions and in standard Malayāḷam works,<sup>30</sup> is analysable according to no known rules of grammar. It looks in the highest degree incredible that the Aryans of Upper India could ever have been under the necessity of inventing such an arbitrary and unanalysable name for so petty a village in the Dravidian country. In all probability then, it must be a Sanskritized corruption of a Dravidian name now altogether lost to us. The last syllable in *Syānandūra* sounds like *ūr*, the Tamil term for village or town, but what the preceding two syllables stand for, it is difficult to conjecture. If the word were *Sryānandūra*, we could have taken the body of it as made up of *śrī* or *tīru* in Tamil, and *ānanda*, as preserved to us in the inscription before us as well as in the name *Mitrānandapuram*. But in that case there would have been no necessity for any corruption at all. My impression, therefore, is that the original native denomination of the town must have been a Dravidian word ending in *ūr*. The form *Syānandūrapura* occasionally met with tends to shew that *ūra* was a part of the original name and no corruption of *pura*, since *pura* is itself added to it. At any rate, the name could not have been either *Ānandapuram*, as in our inscription, or *Anantapuram*, as in current use, since both of them are good Sanskrit words, needing no corruption to suit the genius of that language.

### XI.

We have seen already that in *Iḍavam* or *Mithuna* 384, i. e., 1209 A. D., the government of the country was in the hands of *Śrī-Vīra-Irāman Kēraḷavarman*. This same sovereign was in power on Thursday, the 18th *Minam* 389 M. E. If any one wishes to assure himself of the fact, it would cost him nothing more than a pleasant trip to *Kaḍinaṅkuḷam*, just 12 miles north of *Trivandram*, on the backwater route to *Quilon*. On the north-western wall of the temple of *Mahādēva* in this village, he would find a *Vaṭṭeḷuttu* inscription in four lines to the following effect : —

No. 11. *Vaṭṭeḷuttu* *Kaḍinaṅkuḷam* Inscription of *Vīra-Rāma-Kēraḷavarman*.  
20. Tamil.

“Hail ! Prosperity ! In the year opposite the *Kollam* year 389, with *Jupiter* in *Aquarius*, and the sun 18 days old in *Pisces*. Thursday, *Pushya* star,<sup>31</sup> the 10th lunar day, *Aries* (being the rising sign), and *Śrī-Vīra-Irāman Kēraḷavarma Tiruvaḍi* of *Kiḷppēṭṭūr* being the gracious ruler of *Vēṇāḍ*, *Śrī-Vīra-Irāman Umaiymammai Villavar* (?) *Tiruvaḍi* graciously caused the consecration (of the idol inside).”

This neat inscription, giving full details of its date even to the hour, would have been altogether unexceptionable, but for a difficult word which I am not quite sure of, between *Umaiymammai* and *Tiruvaḍi*. We need not be particularly sorry for this, if we could be but sure that it was a part of the proper name of the founder of the temple. But as it stands, the proper name would appear to be completed with *Umaiymammai*, and the intractable word after it would seem to describe her status or position, in which case, indeed, it must be of supreme historical importance for us to know exactly what it was. The title *Tiruvaḍi* is found throughout our records reserved to royalty. It occurs even here just a line above in connection with *Śrī-Vīra-Irāman Kēraḷavarman*. Who then could this additional *Tiruvaḍi* be ? The name given, *Śrī-Vīra-Irāman Umaiymammai*, is a curious compound, *Śrī-Vīra-Irāman* being a masculine name, the first part in fact of the name of the then ruling king, and *Umaiymammai*, an appellation as distinctly feminine. In a compound name like this, usage as well as grammar would determine the sex of the person so named by the ultimate particle of the name, and we have, therefore, practically no doubt that the founder of the temple was a female, entitled, however, to royal rank. The interesting question then is, did she belong to the same royal house as

<sup>30</sup> Vide, for example, the *Vairāgiya-Chandrōdaiyam*.

<sup>31</sup> *Pūyam* or *Pushyam* is a star about the head of *Hydra*.

the then ruling sovereign, and if so, what was the particular relation in which she stood to that ruler? The full importance of the question will be perceived, only when the following facts are borne in mind. In the first place, this is the earliest record I have yet found of any female member of a royal family, in a country where succession is believed to have been always in the female line. In the second place, it is also the first occasion, excepting the Ârriṅgal fragments, where we have the family designation of Kīlppêrūr. And lastly, it must also be noticed that the temple at Kaḍinañkuḷam, the institution of which this inscription records, is exactly equidistant between Trivandram and Ârriṅgal, — and, therefore, a convenient stage in a journey from one to the other. Both tradition and local inquiry would prove that the village of Kaḍinañkuḷam itself came into prominence, if not also into existence, only in consequence of its having been a suitable halting place, and that it continued to retain its importance, so long as it was used as such, *i. e.*, before the Shānāṅkarai Canal connected the present capital with the backwater system of the north. Is it fanciful or farfetched then to suppose that the temple, of which our inscription records the foundation, was the direct fruit of extended political relations in the North, say, such as would arise from the annexation of Ârriṅgal to Vēṇāḍ and the amalgamation of their respective royal houses, assuming, as we have already done, the original independence of Ârriṅgal or Kūpadēśa? If the hypothesis is allowable, we might take both the Princess Umaiṃammai and the present family name of Kīlppêrūr as, coming from Ârriṅgal, and accruing to the Vēṇāḍ sovereign by right of adoption, marriage, or other alliance. It is a pity, therefore, that the word after Umaiṃammai, which might have helped to solve some of these difficulties, happens to be so unyielding. As far as I can make out, it looks only like *Villavar*, which carries no meaning to my mind.<sup>82</sup> Until, therefore, further researches throw more light on the question, we should be content to accept the indistinct word to be a special title of Princess Umaiṃammai in the Vēṇāḍ royal house itself.

But whoever Princess Umaiṃammai may have been, the document proves beyond all doubt that on the morning of Thursday, about 8 p. m., the 18th Mīnam 389 M. E., *i. e.*, 1214 A. D., the throne of Vēṇāḍ was occupied by **Sri-Vira-Irāman Kēraḷavarman Tiruvaḍi**. We know he was on the throne in 384. But when he ascended it, and when exactly it passed to his successor, are points yet to be determined. We meet with another sovereign of Vēṇāḍ only in 410 M. E., and we may, therefore, provisionally take his reign to have extended to the close of the 4th Malabar century.

## XII.

With the opening of the fifth century of the Kollam Era we meet with another king of Vēṇāḍ, by name **Sri-Vira-Ravi-Kēraḷavarman**. That the 28th Mēḍam 410 M. E. fell within his reign, is proved by a Vaṭṭeluttu inscription at **Maṇalikkarai**, a pretty village near Padmanābhapuram in South Travancore. The document is found inscribed on all the four sides of a tablet specially put up in front of the Âlvār temple in this village. The face of the tablet contains 23 lines, its obverse 32, and the two sides 37 and 17, respectively. Why the document was entered on a special tablet, and not on the walls of the temple as was the custom, it is impossible now to ascertain. Possibly its singular importance demanded this singular treatment. For, if my reading of it is correct, it is nothing short of **one of the great characters of Travancore**. Its substance, as far as I can make out, would run thus in English:—

No.  $\frac{12}{91}$ . Vaṭṭeluttu **Maṇalikkarai Inscription of Vira-Ravi-Kēraḷavarman.**  
Old Malayālam.

“Hail! Prosperity! In the year opposite the Kollam year 410, with Jupiter in Scorpio, and the Sun 27 days old in Aries (*i. e.*, the 28th Mēḍam), is issued the following proclamation,

<sup>82</sup> It is possible that *villavar* is a mistake for *ilaiyavar*, meaning ‘the younger.’ There are one or two other dated Vaṭṭeluttu inscriptions in the place, but unfortunately, as the stones bearing them have been repeatedly white-washed, plastered over and painted, only portions of the lines are now open to view. I went to the spot a second time on the 16th June 1894 to try whether the broken lines could not help us over the difficulty, but returned no wiser than I went.

after a consultation having been duly held among the loyal chieftains of **Sri-Vira-Iravi-Kēraḷa-varma Tiruvaḍi**, graciously ruling **Vēṇāḍ**, the members of the *sabhā* (or assembly) of **Kōḍainallūr**, and the people of that village, as well as **Kaṇḍan Tiruvikraman** of **Marugatachchēri**, entrusted with the right of realizing the government dues. Agreeably to the understanding arrived at in this consultation, we command and direct that the tax due from government lands be taken as amounting in paddy to \* \* \* \* and 24, in *arakkal*<sup>83</sup> crop, and 725 \* and 24, in *chāral* crop, and making up per year a total of \* \* \* \*; and the same, due from tax-paying village<sup>84</sup> lands, be taken as amounting in paddy to \* \* \* \* and 24, in *arakkal* crop; and 728 \* and 24, in *chāral* crop, and making up per year, a total of \* \* 709  $\frac{9}{10}$ ; and that when the due quantity is measured out, a receipt be granted, discharging the liability, the fact being duly marked also in the rent roll; and we command moreover that the order of permanent lease (now in force) be surrendered into the hands of the clerks who write or issue such deeds \* \* \* \*.<sup>85</sup> From the **Tuvāmi** (or **Svāmi**), too, no more shall any lease be taken. When part of the tax is paid, and part is still due, a list shall be prepared shewing the arrears for the whole year; and an *añchālī*<sup>86</sup> (or authorization) taken in writing to realize the same from the *sabhā* and the inhabitants; and the arrears then recovered accordingly. In seasons of drought and consequent failure of crops, the members of the *sabhā* and the people of the village shall inspect the lands, and ascertain which have failed and which have not. The lands that have failed, shall be assessed at one fifth of the normal dues, but this one fifth shall be levied as an additional charge on the remaining lands bearing a crop. If all the taxable lands appear to have equally failed, the *sabhā* and the villagers shall report the matter to the **Tuvāmi**, and after the **Tuvāmi** has inspected the lands and ascertained the fact, one fifth (of the entire dues) shall be levied. This one-fifth shall be taken to include *paṭṭa-vṛitti* and *ōṇa-chelavu*, amounting in paddy to \* \*. If the members of the *sabhā* and the inhabitants agree among themselves, and pray in common for a postponement of the payment, as the only course open to a majority among them, this demand (one fifth drought rate) shall be apportioned over all the lands paying tax to government (to be levied in the subsequent harvest), but without interest and *paṭṭāri*, the rent roll of the current year being scored out. Should anything whatever be done contrary to these rules, the deviation shall be visited with fine, \* \* \* and the strict procedure again adopted. This our regulation shall continue in force as long as the moon and the stars endure. This is a true stone-inscribed copy of the royal writ."

Such is the substance of this remarkable document, as far as I can make it out. Containing, as it does, several obsolete revenue terms, I cannot vouch for the literal accuracy of every word in my rendering. One or two expressions still remain obstinate and obscure. Nevertheless, I feel sure I cannot be far wrong with the bulk of my interpretations. Nor can there be any doubt as to the unique importance of the record. Unlike the inscriptions hitherto noticed, this one grants, not a perpetual lamp or 'a mountain-like' drum to the gods above, but peace and protection to toiling humanity here below. One of the most momentous questions in all human communities has been, and will always be, the price each individual in it has to pay for the advantages of organized social life. In proportion to the fixity and definiteness characterizing this price, in all its aspects, is the government of the community said to be civilized, stable, and constitutional. An important item in the price to be thus paid is the pecuniary contribution given by each individual for the maintenance of the state. In all agricultural countries, the bulk of the contribution must assume the form of land tax. In Travancore, then, which is little else than agricultural, where in fact there is no individual but has his *taravāḍ*, his plot of land,—the plot in which he is born, in which he lives

<sup>83</sup> *Arakkal* and *chāral* seem to have been the crops of those days; now they are called *kanni* and *kumbham*.

<sup>84</sup> Obviously then there were lands that paid no tax to government.

<sup>85</sup> There are about 5 or 6 words here which carry no meaning to my mind. So also after the word 'fine' about the end of the deed.

<sup>86</sup> I take this word conjecturally to mean some kind of authorization.

and works, and in which he dies and is cremated too, so that his very ashes stick to it even after his soul departs this world, — in a country so entirely agricultural, there can be no question of more vital interest, or of more universal concern, than the nature and amount of land tax, the manner and time of paying it, and the machinery through which it is realized for the state. It appears to have been the practice with several governments in bygone days to farm out the land revenue to the highest bidders, with a view to save themselves the trouble and expense of collecting it in dribblets. The iniquity of the system may be better imagined than described. It seems, nevertheless, to have been current in the neighbouring districts of 'Pinnevelly and Madura, to the very days of the East India Company. But in Travancore, thanks to the village associations and the magnanimity and political sagacity that seem to have uniformly characterized the Vēṇāḍ sovereigns, the system, if it was ever largely introduced, was nipped in the bud, and the disasters of the fable of the goose with the golden eggs were early averted. For, observe how the royal writ before us deals that system a death-blow. It quietly takes away, in the first place, its sting by fixing the government dues exactly and unalterably per year and per harvest. The lease again is not to be a '*tira taravu*,' an enduring one, but to be renewed from time to time, so that the government farmer would have no chance of abusing his power on the strength of the hold he might otherwise have on the people. The writ provides, further, for the reduction of the government demand to one fifth in times of drought and failure. Why, when some lands alone fail in a village, this one fifth should be given up on those lands, but levied as an additional charge upon the remaining might demand a word of explanation. In seasons of partial failure, and in tracts of land not fully opened out by easy lines of communication, the price of corn easily becomes high; and the Kōdainallūr Council seems to have thought it just, or at all events conducive to fellow-feeling, that those that are benefited by such an adventitious rise of prices, should forego a portion of their profits for the sake of their suffering fellow-villagers. At any rate, the measure must have acted as a check upon false complaints of failure, since the duty of determining what lands had failed, and what not, was left to the villagers themselves under the supervision of the *saḍḥā*. It would be interesting to know who the *tuvāmi* or *svāmi* was, to whom the edict assigns the duty of ascertaining and certifying the fact, in case the whole village fails. He was, no doubt, some high ecclesiastical functionary, with a considerable portion of the land revenue of the village probably assigned to him for his own support and the support of the temples he was in charge of. The prohibition to take out leases from the *tuvāmi* would then mean a prohibition to farm out to the highest bidder the land revenue so assigned to him. Anyhow, when the *svāmi* certifies a complete failure of crops in the whole village, the government reduces its total demand to one fifth, and foregoes, in addition, its right to levy two minor charges, under the names of *paṭṭa-vṛitti* and *ḍaṇa-chelavu*,<sup>87</sup> a special contribution to keep up the annual national festival of that name. Deviation from the rules is forbidden under some severe penalties, the extent and nature of which, however, I am not able to discover; and the rates of assessment as well as the rules are declared unalterable as long as the moon and the stars endure. Could a permanent revenue settlement go further? Or could a more deadly blow be imagined on the farming system, which seems to have been allowed to do so much mischief, and for so long a time, in the neighbouring Tamil districts? The preamble to this remarkable proclamation adds but a charm and a dignity of its own to the whole. It is said that the edict is issued in terms of the understanding come to in a council composed of the loyal chieftains or ministers of the king, the assembly of Kōdainallūr, the people of the village, and Kaṇḍan Tiruvikraman, the local revenue farmer or collector. I call him the *collector*; for, however oppressive a lessee or farmer he might have been before the date of this document, he and his successors in office could have been nothing

<sup>87</sup> *Ṭam* or *Bravaṇam* is a star in Aquila. The national festival is called by this name, because it falls on the day the moon reaches this mansion in September. It is probably connected with the harvest, Paraśurāma's yearly visit being a later fiction. Tenants do present to this day to their landlords certain agricultural products under the name of *Ṭa-kāṭcha*.

more than simple collectors of revenue, after the exact definition of the government dues given in the edict itself. No doubt, he must have been a terrible man in his day, with an appointed function in the evolution of history, not unlike, perhaps, the one played by those who went forth to demand 'ship money' in the days of Hampden. The good people of Kôdainallûr seem to have been also equal to the occasion. Here is proof, if need be, of the independent nature and constitution of the old village assemblies of Travancore. The *sabhās* being mentioned side by side with the people, it is impossible to take them as mere occasional assemblies of the inhabitants, summoned together, for the time being, by those in charge of the administration. Here they appear as permanent and well-constituted public bodies that acted as a buffer between the people and the government. The village or common lands, so clearly distinguished from those directly under government, in this record, were in all probability everywhere under their management. What exactly was the service the good *sabhd* of Kôdainallûr was able to render on this occasion, or what exactly were the circumstances that brought about this memorable council itself, we have as yet no means of knowing; but whatever they were, the whole procedure reflects the greatest credit on all the parties concerned, their conjoint action resulting in so precious a charter to the people, and so unmistakable a monument of the sovereign's unbounded love of his subjects. Though the wording of the document makes the enactment applicable primarily only to the village of Kôdainallûr, I have no doubt it was sooner or later extended to the whole of Vêṇāḍ. A just principle needs but once to be recognized to be applied on all hands. I hesitate not, therefore, to call this **Maṇalikkarai proclamation one of the great charters of Travancore**. Entered as it is on a detached stone, and containing as it does several expressions yet dark and obscure, it would be well to remove the original document itself and to preserve it in the public museum at the capital, where, I have no doubt, it would now receive better treatment than was accorded to a similar tablet from Varkkalai, which, having discharged well and long the duty of a grindstone, is now so far defaced as to reveal nothing more than its ancient age and its iniquitous sufferings!<sup>88</sup>

But the immediate purpose for which the Maṇalikkarai charter is here introduced, is to prove the rule of **Śrī-Vīra-Ravi-Kēraḷavarman** on the 28th Mēḍam 410 M. E., or about **April 1235**. Having met Śrī-Vīra-Rāma-Kēraḷavarman only 21 years prior, we may take the two reigns as having been conterminous with one another.

(To be continued.)

## THE ORIGIN OF THE KHAROSHTHI ALPHABET.

BY GEORGE BUHLER, Ph.D., LL.D., C.I.E.

(Concluded from p. 292.)

No. 15. — The identity of *pa* with *Phe* is plain enough (Thomas, Taylor, Halévy). The Semitic letter (Col. I.) has been turned round in order to avoid mistaking it with *A*. The form with a hook, attached to the right top of the vertical (Col. III. a) occurs still a few times in the Mansehra version of the Edicts. Usually the hook or curve is placed lower, as in Col. III. b, and it may be noted that in the Mansehra *pa* it is attached nearly always very high up, in the Shāhbāzgarhī letter not rarely lower.

No. 16. — On phonetic grounds it may, of course, be expected that *Tsade* should have been used for the Indian *cha*. But the recognition of the real Kharôshthī representative has been

<sup>88</sup> This is a remarkable old specimen of a Vatteluttu inscription. It seems to be dated 79 M. E. I believe it comes from Varkkalai. It opens with a string of Sanskrit words written in old Malayālam characters in praise of the then ruling king. The body of the document is in Vatteluttu. But in spite of all my repeated endeavours, oil *abhiśēkams* and *paḍās* without number, I have not succeeded as yet in coaxing it to reveal even a line in full, the middle of it being so completely defaced by the use to which it was put by the Marāmut coolies. A hundred times the cost of the mortar ground on it would not have been ill spent, if it had been spent in the preservation of this unique ancient monument. It appears to me to record an important treaty between certain parties, of whom Uyyakkonḍāa was surely one.



impeded by the circumstance that the earlier tables of the alphabet neglect to give the form of *cha*, which comes closest to the Semitic letter, *viz.*, that with the angular head (Col. III.). The tables give only the *cha* with the semicircular top, though the other form is by no means rare in the Edicts and is used also in the *cha* (Col. IV.) of the same documents and even survives in the late Kharôshthî inscriptions of the first and second centuries of our era. If the angular *cha* is chosen for comparison, it is not difficult to explain how the Kharôshthî sign was developed. The Hindus made the top of the *Tsade* (Col. I. a-b) by itself, separating it from the remainder of the vertical, and omitted in accordance with the principles of their writing, which do not admit more than two strokes at the tops of letters (see above), the small hook on the right of the angle. Next, they placed the lower part of the vertical under the point of the angle and in doing so added a small flourish to the top of this line, which in course of time became an important element of their sign. The *Tsades* of the Papyri (Col. II.) come very close to the Kharôshthî and the second even shews the small projection on the left, just below the top. Nevertheless, they are only independent analogous developments. For in both, the long line on the left has been made continuous with one stroke of the pen and the hook or curve on the right has been added afterwards. Moreover, in the sign Col. II. b, it is very plain that the small projection on the left of the main line, which makes the letter so very like the Kharôshthî *cha*, has been caused by a careless continuation of the right hand hook across the vertical.

No. 17. — The utilisation of the ancient *Qoph* for the expression of *kha* in the Brâhma Alphabet suggests the conjecture that the curious Kharôshthî sign for *kha* may be derived from the corresponding Aramaic character. And in the Serapeum inscription the *Qoph* (Col. I.) has a form which comes very close to the Kharôshthî *kha*. Only the upward stroke on the left is shorter and there is still a small remnant of the original central line of the ancient North-Semitic character. The smaller Teima inscription<sup>15</sup> (Euting, Col. 10) has a *Qoph*, in which the central pendant has been attached to the lower end of the curve (compare above the case of the Kharôshthî *ha*). These two forms, it seems to me, furnish sufficient grounds for the assumption, that in the earlier Aramaic writing the component parts of the looped *Qoph* (Col. II. c) were disconnected and arranged in a manner, which might lead to the still simpler Kharôshthî sign, where the central pendant seems to have been added to the upstroke on the left in order to gain room for the vowel-signs. To this conclusion points also the first corresponding sign of the Saqqârah inscription (Euting, Col. 11 a) though the top has been less fully developed and the ancient central pendant has been preserved much better.<sup>16</sup>

No. 18. — *Ra* (Col. III.) has been recognised as the representative of *Resh* by all previous writers. But it deserves to be noted that the sign, which comes nearest to the Kharôshthî letter is the character from Saqqârah, given in Col. I. b.<sup>17</sup> The Papyri offer mostly more advanced forms with top lines sloping downwards towards the right.

No. 19. — Regarding *Shin* (Col. I.) and its Kharôshthî counterpart, the sign for the lingual sibilant *śa* (Col. III.), see above. I may add that round forms of *Shin* appear already on the Babylonian Seals and Gems (Euting, Col. 8).





No. 20. — The oldest representatives of the Semitic *Taw* appear in the dental *tha* (Col. IV. a), which consists of the old Assyrian Aramaic *Taw* (Col. I. a) of the 8th century B. C.,<sup>18</sup> or of a slight modification of the very similar Saqqârah letter (Col. III. 1 b) (turned round from the right to the left) *plus* the bar of aspiration on the right, about which more will be said below, and in the lingual *ta* (Col. IV. b-c), where the second stroke on the right in *b* and on the left in *c* denotes the organic difference or, as the Hindus would say, the difference in the *varga*. In the second form of *ta* (Col. IV. c) the bar, which originally stood at the side, has been added at the top, and out of such a form the dental *ta* (Col. III.) appears to have been

<sup>15</sup> Compare the end of l. 1 of the facsimile in M. Ph. Berger's *Histoire de l'Écriture*, p. 217.

<sup>16</sup> Compare also the sign from the Lion of Abydos, Euting, Col. 7.

<sup>17</sup> Compare also Euting, Col. 7 b.

<sup>18</sup> See *Indian Studies*, No. III. p. 69.

developed. Its top line has been lengthened considerably and the downstroke has been shortened and bent in order to avoid a collision with *va* and *ra*. The steps, which led to its formation, are therefore (1)  or , (2) , (3) .

With respect to the **Derivative Signs**, my views are as follows :—

(1) The aspiration is expressed by a curve, by a hook or by a straight stroke, which latter, as the case of *bha* shews, is a cursive substitute for the curve. At the same time the original form of the unaspirated letters is sometimes slightly modified. The curve appears on the right of the *ga* in *gha* (No. 3, Col. IV.) at the top of *da* in *dha* (No. 4, Col. IV. a) without any change in the original forms. In *bha* (No. 2, Col. IV. a) it is attached to the right of *ba*, the wavy top of which is converted into a simple straight stroke, from the middle of which the vertical line hangs down. The same sign shews also frequently in the Aśōka Edicts a hook for the curve and as frequently a cursive straight stroke (No. 2, Col. IV. b), slanting downwards towards the right. The hook alone is found in *pha* (No. 20, Col. IV. d),<sup>19</sup> which has been derived from the preceding form of *ta* (No. 20, Col. IV. c) by the addition of a hook opening upwards. The straight stroke alone is found, on the left of the original letter and slanting downwards, in *jha* (No. 7, Col. IV.), and likewise on the left but rising upwards,<sup>20</sup> in *pha* (No. 15, Col. IV.). In *tha* (No. 20, Col. IV. a) the stroke of aspiration appears on the right. It has the same position in *chha* (No. 16, Col. IV.) and in *dha* (No. 4, Col. IV. c). But in the former sign the small slanting stroke at the top of the vertical on the left has been straightened and combined with the sign of aspiration into a bar across the vertical. In *dha* the whole head of the unaspirated letter (No. 4, Col. IV. b) has been flattened down and reduced to a single stroke, which together with the sign of aspiration forms the bar across the top of the vertical.

With respect to the origin of the mark of aspiration I can only agree with Dr. Taylor, who explains it as a cursive form of *ha*, *The Alphabet*, Vol. II. p. 260, note 1. The manner, in which it was attached in each particular case, seems to have been regulated merely by considerations of convenience and the desire to produce easily distinguishable signs. The way in which the hook or curve of aspiration has been used in the Brāhma Alphabet is analogous. It is added, too, very irregularly sometimes to the top, sometimes to the middle and more frequently to the foot of the letters, where properly it ought to stand.<sup>21</sup> If the Kharōshthi characters never shew in the last mentioned place, the cause is no doubt the desire to keep the lower ends of the signs free from encumbrances, as has been noticed above.

(2) The device for expressing the lingualisation in *ta* (No. 20, Col. IV. b-c) and *na* (No. 13, Col. IV. a) is very similar to that sometimes used in the Brāhma Alphabet, in order to indicate the change of the *varga* or class of the letter. A straight stroke, added originally on the right, serves this purpose in the Bhaṭṭiprōlu *la*, in the Brāhma *na*, *ña* and *ṇa*.<sup>22</sup> The case of the Kharōshthi *ta* has been stated above in the remarks on the representatives of *Taw*. With respect to *na* it is sufficient to point out that it has been developed from the *na* No. 13, Col. III. b, by a slight prolongation of the right hand stroke. The case of the lingual *da* (No. 4, Col. IV. b) is doubtful. Possibly it may be derived from an older dental *da*, like that in No. 4, Col. I. a, by the addition of a short vertical straight line on the right, which coalesced with the vertical of the *da* and thus formed the sign with the open square at the head. But it is also possible that the Aramaic alphabet, imported into India, possessed several variants for *Daleth*, and that the heavier one (No. 4, Col. I. b) was chosen by the Hindus to express the heavier lingual *da*, while the lighter or more cursive one was utilised for the dental *da*.

(3) The origin of the remaining two Kharōshthi consonantic signs, the palatal *ña* (No. 13, Col. IV. b, c) and of the *anusvāra* in *maṇ* (No. 12, Col. IV.) has been already settled by

<sup>19</sup> The sign in the table is really *tho*.

<sup>21</sup> See *Indian Studies*, No. III. p. 73 f.

<sup>20</sup> There are also examples, in which the stroke is made straight

<sup>22</sup> See *Indian Studies*, No. III. pp. 63, 73.

Mr. E. Thomas. He has recognised that the palatal *ñā* consists of two dental *na*, joined together, and it may be added that in the Aśoka Edicts sometimes the right half and sometimes the left half is only rudimentary, as shewn by the two specimens given in the Table. He has also asserted that the *anusvāra* is nothing but a subscript small *ma*, which proposition is perfectly evident in the form given in the table, less apparent, but not less true in other cases, for which I must refer to Plate I. of my *Grundriss der indischen Palæographie*.

(4) As regards, finally, the Kharōshthī vowel system and the compound consonants (not given in the accompanying table), I can only agree with Mr. E. Thomas, Prof. A. Weber and Sir A. Cunningham, that they have been elaborated with the help of the Brāhma Alphabet. Among the vowel signs the medial ones have been framed first and afterwards only the initial *I, U, E, O* (No. 1, Col. IV. a-d). They consist merely of straight strokes, which (1) in the case of *i* go across the left side of the upper or uppermost lines of the consonant, (2) in the case of *u* slant away from the left side of the foot, (3) in the case of *e* stand, slanting from the right to the left, on the top line of the consonant (mostly on the left side), and (4) in the case of *o* stand below the top line (compare *īho*, No. 20, Col. IV. d) or slant away from the upper half of the vertical as in *O*. The position of the four medial vowels thus closely agrees with that of the corresponding signs of the Brāhma Alphabet, where *i, e* and *o* stand at the top of the consonants and *u* at the foot. This circumstance alone is sufficient to raise the suspicion that there is a direct connexion between the two systems of vowel notation. And the suspicion becomes stronger, if some further facts are taken into consideration. In the Brāhma Alphabet of the Aśoka Edicts the medial *e* and *u* are mostly expressed by straight strokes. The medial *o*, too, consists in several cases, *e. g.*, in Delhi Sivalik Pillar Edict, VII. 2, l. 2 (*nigohāni*) of a straight bar across the top of the consonant, and has the same form frequently in the Bhaṭṭiprōlu inscriptions as well as in somewhat later documents. Again the medial *i* of the Gīrnār version is expressed by a shallow curve, which in many instances is not distinguishable from the straight line of the medial *ā*. Thus even the oldest Brāhma documents furnish instances, in which all the four vowels, expressed in the Kharōshthī by straight strokes, have exactly the same form, and it is very probable that in the ordinary writing of every day life these cursive forms were in the case of *o* and *i* much more frequent than the Edicts shew, as well as that they go back to earlier times than the third century B. C. If, finally, the fact is added, that the Kharōshthī, like the Brāhmī considers the short *a* to be inherent in all consonants and does not express it by any sign, it becomes difficult to avoid the inference, drawn already by Prof. Weber, that the Kharōshthī system of medial vowels has been borrowed from the older alphabet.

The marking of the initial *I, U, E, O* (No. 1, Col. IV., a-d) by *A plus* the corresponding medial vowel-sign is, of course, an independent invention of the framer or framers of the Kharōshthī, and probably due to a desire to simplify the more cumbersome system of the Brāhmī, which first developed the initial vowels, next used them in combination with the consonants and finally reduced their shapes in such combinations to simple strokes and curves.<sup>23</sup> Similar attempts have been repeatedly made on Indian ground. The modern Devanāgarī has its *ओ* and *औ* since the thirteenth or fourteenth century, the modern Gujarātī has its *e, ai, o* and *au*, and the Tibetan alphabet, framed out of the letters of the Vartu seventh century A. D., expresses even *I* and *U* by *A plus i* and *u*. These examples shew that the idea at all events came naturally to the Hindus and that it is unnecessary to look for a foreign source of its origin.

(5) The rules for the treatment of the compound consonants<sup>a</sup> again agree so fully with those of the Brāhmī, especially with those adopted in the Gīrnār version, that they can only be considered as copies of the latter.

(i) Double consonants like *kka, tta*, and groups of unaspirated consonants like *kkha, ttha*, etc., are expressed by the second element alone, except in the case of two nasals of the same

<sup>23</sup> See *Indian Studies*, No. III. p. 75ff.

class, where the first may be optionally expressed by the *anusvāra* as in *anñā* or *añā*. Three times, however, a double *ma* is used in the word *samma*<sup>2</sup> (*samyak-pratipatti*), Shāhbāzgarhī Ed. IX. 19, XI. 23, and XIII. 5.

(ii) Groups of dissimilar consonants are expressed by ligatures of the signs except if the first is a nasal, for which the *anusvāra* is used throughout.

(iii) In the ligatures the sign for the consonants, to be pronounced first, stands above and the next is interlaced with the lower end of the first, except in the case of groups with *ra*, where *ra* is almost invariably placed below.<sup>24</sup> The forms of the Kharōshthī ligatures are shaped exactly like those of the Brāhmī and, like these, illustrations of the grammatical term *samyuktālekhara* “a conjunct consonant.” The neglect of non-aspirates, preceding aspirates, and of the double consonants, with the exception of the nasals, which can be marked without trouble by the *anusvāra*, is, as already pointed out, a clerks’ trick and the same as that used in the Brāhmī Lipi. The treatment of *ra* in groups is closely analogous to that adopted in Gīrnār, where this letter or its cursive representative always occupies the same position, whether it must be pronounced before or after the consonant with which it is combined. There is, however, this difference that in the Gīrnār Brāhmī *ra* stands always at the top and in the Kharōshthī invariably at the foot. The one writes, e. g., *rla* for *rta* and *tra*, and the other *tra* both for *rta* and *tra*.

These remarks at all events suffice to shew that a rational derivation of the Kharōshthī from the Aramaic of the Akhæmenian Period, based on fixed principles, is perfectly possible, and the attempt has this advantage that it shews some letters, as *da*, *ka* and *ta*, to be closely connected with Mesopotamian forms, which *à priori* might be expected to have been used by the writers of the Satraps, ruling over the extreme east of the Persian empire. If the ruins of the eastern Persian provinces are ever scientifically explored and ancient Aramaic inscriptions are found there, forms much closer to the Kharōshthī will no doubt turn up.

The third and last point, the existence of which has been indicated above, furnishes perhaps the most convincing proof for Dr. Taylor’s theory. It is simply this, that Mr. E. J. Rapson has discovered of late on Persian silver sigloi, coming from the Pañjāb, both Kharōshthī and Brāhma letters. Mr. Rapson was good enough to shew me specimens, belonging to the British Museum, during my late visit to England, and I can vouch for the correctness of his observation. I think, I can do no better than quote his paragraph on the Persian coins in India from the MS. of his contribution to Mr. Trübner’s *Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie und Aterthumskunde*, which will appear in Vol. II. Section 3 :—

“(5) During the period of the Achæmenid rule (c. 510-331 B. C.) Persian coins circulated in the Pañjāb. Gold double *staters* were actually struck in India, probably in the latter half of the 4th century B. C. [Babelon, *Les Perses Achéménides*, pp. ix., xx., 16, Pl. II. 16-19; 27.] Many of the silver *sigloi*, moreover, bear countermarks so similar to the native punch marks<sup>25</sup> as to make it seem probable that the two classes of coins were in circulation together; and this probability is increased by the occurrence on *sigloi*, recently acquired by the British Museum, of Brāhma and Kharoshthī letters.”

This appears to me sufficient to establish the conclusion that the Kharōshthī did exist in India during the Akhæmenian times and did not originate after the fall of the empire. At the same time we learn that before 331 B. C. the Kharōshthī and the Brāhma letters were used together in the Pañjāb, just as was the case in the 3rd and 2nd centuries B. C. (see above).

In conclusion, I may offer a suggestion regarding the name of the script of Gandhāra. The Buddhist tradition derives the term Kharōshthī from the name of its inventor, who is said to have been called Kharōshthā or “Ass’-lip.” I am ready to accept this as true and historical,

<sup>24</sup> There is only one exception in the Mansehra version, Ed. V. 24, *karābhikare*.

<sup>25</sup> Babelon, *op. cit.* p. xi., attributes these countermarks to other provinces of Asia.

because the ancient Hindus have very curious names — apparently nicknames. Thus we find already in the *Vēdas* three men, called Sunahṣepa, Sunahpuccha and Sunolāṅgūla, i. e., “Dog’s-tail,” and Sunaka or “Little-Dog” is the progenitor of a very numerous race. Again a Kharījaṅgha or “She-Ass’-Leg” is, according to a Gaṇa in Pāṇini’s *Grammar*, likewise the father of a tribe or family.<sup>26</sup>

March 31st, 1895.

## NOTES ON THE SPIRIT BASIS OF BELIEF AND CUSTOM.

BY J. M. CAMPBELL, C.I.E., I.C.S.

(Continued from p. 298.)

**Lime.** — Spirits fear lime perhaps because lime is an early medicine. In Gujarāt, lime is valued as a medicine by native physicians, and is considered a cure for colic.<sup>1</sup> Amīr ‘Alī the Thag, allowed a woman to put quicklime on his temples to cure a headache.<sup>2</sup> The Ratnāgiri Marāṭhās, after bleeding, use lime and molasses to staunch the blood.<sup>3</sup> Hindus eat lime with betelnut and leaves to quicken digestion.<sup>4</sup> In Dhārwar, if much blood passes from flooding, some cement from an old building is finely ground and mixed in water. The mixture is kept in a pot for some hours, until the heavier parts are deposited at the bottom. The clear water on the top is then given to the woman to drink, and in two or three days the flood stops.<sup>5</sup> The Dakhan Chitpāvens, at their weddings, touch the grnd-stone with lime in five places.<sup>6</sup> In Gujarāt, a woman in child-bed is sometimes surrounded by a line of white-wash.<sup>7</sup> The Chino-Japanese spread on the coffin a layer of lime, sand and red-earth mixed with water or beer.<sup>8</sup> Compare, in a fatal case of cholera the coffin should be lined with chloride of lime.<sup>9</sup> The Vēlālīs, a class of Poona Vaiśyas, at their weddings, when they go to the boy’s house, wave round the girl a plate filled with water, turmeric, and lime.<sup>10</sup> Lime is used in preparing the sect mark of the Gōkalasthas, Saivas and Śāktas.<sup>11</sup> The Motus of new Guinea use lime in chewing betelnut,<sup>12</sup> and the Chibchas of Central America eat the cocoa-leaf with earth like lime.<sup>13</sup>

**Lifting.** — The object of lifting appears to be to lessen the risk of spirits entering the person lifted. So among the Pātānē Prabhus of Bombay, when the bridegroom is bathed, his maternal uncle, throwing a cotton sheet over him, lifts him shoulder high and sits with him on the threshold, where four married women hold a shawl over the bridegroom’s head and thrice drop rice into the shawl.<sup>14</sup> Among the Pāvraś of Khândēsh, as soon as the wedding is over, the married pair are raised on the shoulders of their friends, with dancing and music.<sup>15</sup> The Kāmāthīs of Thānā raise the bride and bridegroom on their shoulders and dance.<sup>16</sup> The Nakrī Kūnbis of Thānā lift the bride and bridegroom on their shoulders, and dance keeping time to music.<sup>17</sup> The Sāgar Gavandīs, a class of Shōlāpur masons, lift the boy and girl and dance.<sup>18</sup> As soon as the wedding is celebrated the Khonds dance, taking the bride and bridegroom on their shoulders.<sup>19</sup> The Oṛāous carry the bride and bridegroom and set them on a curry stone.<sup>20</sup> At the crowning

<sup>26</sup> [For a discussion on opprobrious names in modern India and the reasons for giving them to children, see my *Dissertation on the Proper Names of Panjābs*, 1883, p. 22 ff.; and on nicknames, p. 82 ff. Opprobrious names are nowadays given, roughly speaking, to scare away harmful spirits, and it appears to me to be likely that this custom, which we now find existing universally among the modern Indian peasants, has a history stretching back to Vedic times. — ED.]

<sup>1</sup> Information from Mr. Himatlāl.

<sup>4</sup> Information from Mr. P. B. Joshi.

<sup>6</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XVIII. p. 124.

<sup>8</sup> Titsingh’s *Japan*, p. 285.

<sup>10</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XVIII. p. 268.

<sup>12</sup> *Jour. Anthropol. Inst.* Vol. VII. p. 493.

<sup>14</sup> K. Raghunāth’s *Pātānē Prabhus*, p. 32.

<sup>16</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XIII. p. 121.

<sup>18</sup> Carmichael’s *Vizagapatnam*, p. 93.

<sup>2</sup> *Confessions of a Thug*, p. 119.

<sup>3</sup> Information from the peon Bābājī.

<sup>5</sup> Information from Mr. Tirmalrāo.

<sup>7</sup> Information from Mr. Vaikuntrām.

<sup>9</sup> Student’s *Encyclopædia*, Article “Small Pox.”

<sup>11</sup> Colebrooke’s *Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. I. p. 199.

<sup>13</sup> *Descriptive Sociology*, Vol. II. p. 85.

<sup>15</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XII. p. 98.

<sup>17</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XIII. p. 129.

<sup>19</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. XX. p. 99.

<sup>20</sup> Dalton’s *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, pp. 252, 253.

of Kuyuk Khân, Emperor of the Tártars in 1246, he and his wife were put in a chair and lifted.<sup>21</sup> The king and queen of Navarre, after being anointed, were lifted.<sup>22</sup> Among the Teutonic and Gothic tribes, the chief or king on whom the election fell was borne on a buckler by the leading men of the tribe.<sup>23</sup> Among the Natchez of the Mississippi, at the harvest or new-fire festival, in the evening, the unleavened bread was held up and presented to the setting sun.<sup>24</sup> Compare the elevation of the Host in Roman Catholic Churches: the Panagia or all holy, a monastic feast at which a triangle of blessed bread was elevated and shared by all in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary: the raising of the Sacramental bread by the Byzantine Christians.<sup>25</sup> Compare also in drinking a toast the raising of the glasses and the carrying shoulder high of the chief guest or champion. In Scotland, till 1820, it was usual to lift the bride over the threshold of her husband's house.<sup>26</sup> In Manchester, in 1784, the men used to lift the women on Easter Monday, and the women the men on Easter Tuesday. One or more took hold of each leg and one or more of each arm near the body, and thrice lifted the person in a horizontal position.<sup>27</sup> In 1825, lifting was still common in North England.<sup>28</sup>

**Liquor.** — Liquor is both a spirit-scarer and a spirit home. Liquor drives away weariness, cold and faintness. It heals wounds. It soothes inflammation. For these reasons liquor is a leading spirit-scarer. In East Africa, after his return from the haunted hill Kilimanjaro, Mr. New was sprinkled with a special ceremonial liquor that scared evil spirits.<sup>29</sup> The widespread practice of libation, that is, of the spilling of drops of liquor before drinking, has its root in the scaring power of liquor. Pársis sprinkle liquor to scare the Evil Eye and other baneful influences. The *Zend Avesta* says<sup>30</sup>:—"The least offering of Haoma, the least praise of Haoma, the least mouthful of Haoma is enough to slay a thousand demons. All evil done by demons vanishes at once from the house of the man who serves Haoma, who praises Haoma the Healer." Again<sup>31</sup>:—"I am not a thief, says Haoma, I am Haoma the holy who wards off death." So in the *Sāmavēda*,<sup>32</sup> Sôma is the chaser and slaughterer of enemies, the destroyer of the wicked, the helper against fiends, the demon-slayer. Though in the higher phases of the religions of Greece and Rome, the libation was believed to please rather than to scare, the earlier feeling remains in the case of thunder, when the Greek and the Roman poured cups of wine on the ground to avert the omen.<sup>33</sup>

Again, liquor inspirits. It causes gladness and laughter: as Horace<sup>34</sup> sings:—"Wine adds horns to the man of humble means." In wine there is Truth; in wine there is Wit. So the enthusiast Brâhmaṇ and Persian Sôma and Haoma worshippers held liquor a god, or, in the less extreme form, believed that in liquor dwelt a guardian or kindly ancestor. "If a man," says the *Zend Avesta*,<sup>35</sup> "handles Haoma tenderly like a little child, Haoma enters into his body for health. All other intoxications carry with them Aeshma or wrath of the murderous arm: the intoxication of Haoma goes with holiness and joy: the intoxication of Haoma is lightsome." Again he sings<sup>36</sup>:—"Haoma, give me thy drunkenness in exchange (for my praise). Let thy drunkenness enter into me and brighten me. Thy drunkenness is lightsome." So the Brâhmaṇ priest<sup>37</sup> drinking from the Sôma cup, says:—"This is good, this is a host of goods. Here is good, here is a host of goods. In me is the good, in me is a host of goods." Sôma was a god brought from heaven by Gâyatri.<sup>38</sup> According to the *Sāmavēda*,<sup>39</sup> Sôma was a god pressed out for gods. By Sôma Indra defeated the demons.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Jones' *Crowns*, p. 441; Howorth's *Mongols*, Part I. p. 168. <sup>22</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 415.

<sup>23</sup> Smith's *Christian Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 433.

<sup>24</sup> Frazer's *Golden Bough*, Vol. II. p. 393.

<sup>25</sup> Smith's *Christian Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 414; Vol. II. p. 1550.

<sup>26</sup> Scott's *Demonology and Witchcraft*, p. 95.

<sup>27</sup> Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 182.

<sup>28</sup> *The Denham Tracts*, Vol. II. p. 81.

<sup>29</sup> Frazer's *Golden Bough*, Vol. I. p. 151.

<sup>30</sup> *Yasna*, x. 6. <sup>31</sup> *Op. cit.* xi. 3.

<sup>32</sup> Griffith's Translation, pp. 102, 103, 141, 147, 162, 167, 175.

<sup>33</sup> Potter's *Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 384. To the Greeks the stroke of wine and the stroke of the thunderbolt seemed alike. Archilochus (B. C. 700) sings:—"My mind is struck with wine as with a thunderbolt." Brown's *Great Dionysiac Myth*, Vol. I. p. 87.

<sup>34</sup> *Odes Book, III.*, Ode 21.

<sup>35</sup> *Yasna*, x. 8.

<sup>36</sup> *Op. cit.* x. 19.

<sup>37</sup> *Ait. Br.* II. 27.

<sup>38</sup> *Op. cit.* III. 25; IV. 7.

<sup>39</sup> Griffith's Translation, p. 164.

<sup>40</sup> *Op. cit.* 1 p. 23, 100.

The drinking of Sôma<sup>41</sup> gives immortality. So in the *Zend Avesta*,<sup>42</sup> Haoma is a god, whose share of the sacrifice is the jaw, the tongue, and the left eye. "Cut quickly,"<sup>43</sup> the poet cries to the sacrificer, "his slice for the share of the mighty Haoma, lest he pen thee in the bowels of the earth." Similarly, the Aztecs of Mexico held drunkenness to be the working of the wine god.<sup>44</sup>

But liquor is dowered not alone with happiness : from drink come rage and madness, as well as kindness and joy. Hesiod (B. C. 800) says : — "Dionysos gave grapes to men, a source of joy, a source of sorrow. The wine god, the freer from care, is also the slayer of souls."<sup>45</sup> According to the *Āitariya Brāhmaṇa*,<sup>46</sup> the inebriating quality of Sôma arose from its being licked by the fiend Dīrghajihvā, Lady Long Tongue. It follows that, though mainly a guardian home, a bringer of joy and health, liquor, like other guardian homes, is apt to be invaded by houseless ill-minded spirits, whose evil influence, passing into the drinker, causes madness and grief. For this reason every care has to be taken in the making, keeping, drinking, and consecrating of wine. Among the early Romans, when the new wine or mustum was tasted, a libation was poured to Meditrina and Jupiter with the prayer that the wine might have health-giving power.<sup>47</sup> So the Bacchantes and maddened comrades of the wine spirit were, like their pine cone and their human organs, less inspired by the god, than the guardians of the god, taking into themselves as scapes the unhoused swarms that might otherwise make their way into the Wine Spirit, dear to thirsty demons. In Europe, as late as the seventh century, at some festivals, the people called on the name of Bacchus and simulated a Bacchic frenzy while treading the grapes.<sup>48</sup> Similarly, in a Somerset home, when the malt is steeped for a brew, on the mash are drawn two hearts with a criss-cross between them to keep the pixies or fairies from spoiling the drink.<sup>49</sup> In Scotland (1604), in the brewery at St. Andrew, a live coal was thrown into each of the vats to keep off the fairies.<sup>50</sup> In Hereford, Kent, and other parts of England, in 1690, a bar of cold iron was laid on ale barrels to keep the beer from being soured by thunder.<sup>50a</sup> So, in Naples, when the wine is ready, the barrel and the wine wagon and the tavern have all to be saved from the Evil Eye and other harmful influences by hanging them with horns. So, in churches, the crossing of the chalice with the thumb passed under the two front fingers, incense, lights, bells, and, perhaps, the lifting, all help to the guarding of the sacred wine.<sup>51</sup>

Though, in India, liquor has ceased to be sacramentally drunk to excess, and, except on special occasions, has ceased to be worshipped by orthodox Hindus, the worship and the excessive religious drinking of liquor remain the leading rites of the Vām or Left-hand sects. Liquor is the essential article in the worship of the followers of the left path, Kāols, Śāktas, Vāms and Aghôrs. The Śākta holy books tell how Liquor, in the form of a Virgin or Kumārī, rose from the churning of the ocean. The lady was smiling, red-eyed with wine, high-breasted, many-armed, covered with jewels. The gods and the heavenly host praised her. From drops which fell from her cupsprang hemp, spices, sweet-canes and palms, all plants and trees in whom lives the divine ferment of wine. Liquors are of two classes : *madya*, or the sweet, which bring pleasure and freedom from re-births, and *sura*, breath or spirit, that is, the distilled, which save from sin and give learning and power. Through the blessing of Śaṅkara, that is of Mahādēva, those who drink liquor, the giver of the greatest happiness, gain unending joy. Even by the gods, say the Vām books, liquor is enjoyed : it ever shines : it is an enduring delight. The sight of liquor frees from sin : its fumes have the merit of a hundred sacrifices. In the divine ferment of liquor the All-soul passes into the partaker, life is large, self bursts its bonds and

<sup>41</sup> *Op. cit.* pp. 170, 337.

<sup>42</sup> *Op. cit.* xi. 7.

<sup>43</sup> Brown's *Great Dionysiac Myth*, Vol. I. pp. 24, 40.

<sup>44</sup> Smith's *Greek and Roman Antiquities*, Vol. II. p. 155.

<sup>45</sup> Elwerty's *The Evil Eye*, p. 237.

<sup>50a</sup> Aubrey's *Miscellany*, p. 140.

<sup>42</sup> *Yasna*, xi. 4.

<sup>44</sup> *The Golden Bough*, Vol. I. p. 185.

<sup>46</sup> *At. Br.* II. 22.

<sup>48</sup> Smith's *Christian Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 812.

<sup>50</sup> Hone's *Year Book*, p. 1553.

<sup>51</sup> Smith's *Christian Antiquities*, Vol. II. p. 1896.

swells into deity. The devotee drinks the sixteen devotional cups, meditating on Mahâdêva the World-spirit, and repeating "I have in me the essence of Siva, the ferment of life. For life is Siva and Siva is life. This my largeness of life is Siva himself." So the men, who take part in the Vâm rites, are gods or Mahâdêvs, and the women goddesses or Maheśvartîs. The aim of the higher Hindu religion is to get rid of the bonds of self, of the dreaded chain of re-births. By two courses liquor leads to this desired end. The inspiration of liquor consumes the barriers of Self, and liquor freely drunk brings unconsciousness, when the goadings of desire are at rest, and Self is lost in the fullness of peace. In death-like drunkenness, says the Âgam, all gods, that is, all passions, appetites, and desires, are at rest. The unconsciousness of the heavy-laden drinker is *môksha*, absorption, the longed-for passing of Self into the All which knows not re-birth.<sup>52</sup>

The Buddhists of Tibet, in their half Hindu services, offer in a human skull to the Maharâni or Queen, that is to the goddess Durgâ or Kâlî, a sacramental cake made of black-goat's fat, blood, wine, dough and butter.<sup>53</sup> Probably, because of the strong Musalmân element in the brotherhood, the sacrament of the Thags, or Indian high-way stranglers, in honour of Durgâ or Kâlî, was sugar, not liquor. Still, in certain religious ceremonies, the Thags drank spirits with the formal invocation of Dâdâ Dhîrâ, a famous Thag leader, with the promise that, if their coming venture succeeded, they would drink or they would spill spirits in Dâdâ Dhîrâ's honour and memory.<sup>54</sup> Among Ratnâgiri Kunbîs, when a man dies without heirs, at the close of the funeral, the mourners retire from the pyre, send for liquor, and all sit and drink. Their object is to help and hearten the unhoused spirit. They do not know how this drinking is to help the dead. They have forgotten the earlier belief that the spirit goes into the liquor and through the liquor passes into and is housed in the partakers. The Pârsîs have remained stauncher to liquor worship than the higher class Hindus. Though liquor is not drunk in the fire temples, liquor drinking forms part of almost every Pârsî ceremony. On New Year's Day (September-October), liquor is consecrated with milk and fruit. The consecrated liquor should be drunk in memory of God. It makes the partaker delighted and light-hearted. It shews forth to the drinker his place in paradise.<sup>55</sup>

In Western India, in making the divine or guardian Liquor, the following rites are observed. In the Pâñch Mahâls in East Gujarât, stills are kept and worked by people of three classes, Bhîls, Kalâls, and Pârsîs. In making liquor for any special sacrifice, about a fortnight before the appointed day, the Bhîls fill great earthen pots with *mhawâ* (*Bassia latifolia*) flowers. They set on a brass platter rice, three pice, a silver coin, a cocoanut, ground turmeric, and an earthen lamp. The sacrificer five times dips his thumb tips in turmeric and marks the ground in front of the pots with small yellow circles, and, on the turmeric circles, drops a few grains of rice. He scatters rice on the ground, and lies on the ground worshipping Mother Earth. He throws rice, and prostrates to the sun and moon. He five times marks one of the pots with thumb marks of turmeric and scatters rice over the pot. He waves the brass platter five times round the pot and worships the platter. On the day chosen by the astrologer, after the *mhawâ* flowers have been steeping for a fortnight and are ready for distilling, a hole is dug and an oven built. When the first liquor, which is called earth-cleansing or *dhulpakhav*, is ready, a Medium, or Bharwâ, is called, and some rice and pulse cakes and five fowls are brought. The headman waves the brass platter round the pot, marks the pot with turmeric, and throws rice over it. The Medium, becoming possessed, shakes and tosses gasping :—"I am Ind Râja. You will prosper. I accept your sacrifice." The fowls are killed, and some of their blood is sprinkled on the fire in the oven. Fire is taken out of the oven and laid in front of the still. The people sit round and throw into this fire pulse and rice, pieces of cake, the hearts of the five fowls, and clarified butter. Each pours some of the new liquor into the fire. They drink the rest of the first jarful, roast the fowls and eat them with the cakes. Sometimes, for a special

<sup>52</sup> MS. *Translations of Śāktî Ritual*, by Mr. K. Raghunāthji.

<sup>54</sup> Sleeman's *Rāmōseedna*, p. 87.

<sup>55</sup> Waddell's *Buddhism in Tibet*, p. 365.

<sup>56</sup> MS. *Answers*, 1895.



offering to a god, the Bhîls make *kuvari*, that is, pure or virgin liquor. The rites are the same as those noted above, except that the distillers must bathe and wear newly washed clothes before they begin the work of distilling.

On every Dasahra day (September-October), and also when they first use a new still, the head Kalâl pours a little of the first liquor into the oven. He kills a goat, dips his open hands in the goat's blood, and marks each side of the oven with three bloody hands. He drops part of the goat's liver into the fire, and with red-lead, marks finger-tip circles on the bloody hands. He breaks and distributes a cocoanut with some of the new liquor. When Pârsîs first use a still, the owner plasters with cow-dung a space about two feet square in front of the still. He marks the oven with a trident, takes out some of the fire, lays it on the plastered ground, drops into the fire a little camphor, sandal-wood, benzoin, and frankincense. He sets close to the fire a lighted *ghî* lamp and an incense stick, and prays:—"Oh Dêvî, prosper my trade. May the liquor be good. I give you your sacrifice." He pours a little of the new liquor on the plastered ground and into the fire, and scatters a few drops in each of the four directions. A goat is brought and a cup of the new liquor is poured on its back from head to tail. "Dêvî," says the still-owner, "I bring your sacrifice. Be pleased to accept it." The goat shakes itself in sign that it is accepted. Its head is struck off, and at the same time a cocoanut is broken. Some of the goat's blood is caught in a cup, and poured into the oven and over the still, and a little of the liver and of the cocoa kernel are burned in the fire outside of the still. The flesh of the goat is distributed among the owner's servants and others.<sup>56</sup>

The chief devices practised by Bombay liquor-sellers to guard the guardian Liquor are as follow. Among Pârsîs, the nailing on the shop threshold of a horse-shoe, especially of a horse-shoe found on a Sunday or new-moon day, over which, in some cases, charms have been repeated. Failing a horse-shoe, cross nails are driven into the threshold. Morning and evening, the smoke of benzoin is fanned about the room, especially at the corners. And daily, especially on Sundays and new-moon days, a priest comes and sprinkles the shop with salt water, repeating texts for the scaring of evil spirits. At new moon a cocoanut is broken and the water sprinkled about the shop and entrance, and sugar is eaten by the shopkeeper. Powdered rice is put into hollow tin rolls bored with holes in the lucky figures of fish, flowers and new moons, and these figures are stencilled in the yard and at the threshold. In the spirit-haunted twilight, garlands of jessamines are hung to the shop lamp, round the tops and the taps of the casks, and over the bottles. The Hindu Bhandârî uses all these precautions, except the sea-water and the lime figures. Instead, he sprinkles liquor in the shop-corners, drops some into the fire, and throws the rest in front of the door to keep away or to please evil spirits. He also hangs a spirit-scaring lemon from the roof. Christian Bhandârîs have the horse-shoe on the threshold and the jessamine garlands. They also keep cocoa-palm leaves at the door. A man carrying toddy almost always has a piece of a palm leaf in the jar and some palm sprays in his hand.<sup>57</sup> In North Italy, and formerly in England, a branch of pine is the tavern sign to keep off souring and other evils. Good wine, in which the guardian influence is specially strong, alone needs no bush. In a Scottish house, after a death, unless an iron nail or needle is dipped into it the whisky turns white.<sup>58</sup>

In drinking, or after drinking, the risk is great that liquor-loving evil influences will pass into the drinker. The Hindu or Indian Musalmân, who is found bleeding or torn from a drunken fall explains:—"I had been drinking in the town but was sober. On my way home I was passing under a haunted tree. The evil spirit who lives in the tree smelt the liquor from my breath, entered into me, and, playing with me, threw me down, cut me, and left me senseless." So, the North Englishman, who, after a drink, loses his way, is pixey-led.<sup>59</sup> To save the drinker from the assaults of thirsty spirits, the classic Greek and Roman sprinkled wine, as he dropped crumbs of bread, for the evil spirits.<sup>60</sup> Over the guests he hung the evil-

<sup>56</sup> *MS. Accounts*, 1837-38.

<sup>57</sup> From *MJ. Accounts*, April 1395.

<sup>58</sup> Greger in *Golden Bough*, Vol. I. p. 176.

<sup>59</sup> *The Denham Tracts*, Vol. II. p. 87.

<sup>60</sup> Potter's *Antiquities*, Vol. II. p. 391.

scaring rose and let showers of rose leaves fall on his guests.<sup>61</sup> He crowned the drinkers with never-fading spirit-proof ivy, he protected their fingers with madness-scaring amethyst, he armed the cup with guardian gems and camoos.<sup>62</sup> The Greeks crowned the cup with garlands, the Catholic priest crosses the cup, the Jew blesses it, and the Roman of the early empire, with a similar spirit-scaring or housing object, graved its outside with pleasing adulteries.<sup>63</sup> Saint Chrysostom (A. D. 398) seems to recognise the principle when he says:— "Take holy oil, and thou wilt never suffer the shipwreck of drunkenness."<sup>64</sup> In the Eastern Church, the Sacramental cup contains a portion of the consecrated bread.<sup>65</sup> The early English custom of dropping into wine pieces of toast is the origin of the phrase the toasting of beauties and honoured guests.<sup>66</sup> This toasting of beauties, of honoured guests, of the king or earthly guardian, and of the deity or heavenly guardian, is based on the rule that all in honour, whether child, guest or guardian, want special protection, since they are particularly open to the intrusion of evil spirits.

**Health-drinking is a complicated rite.** The Middle-Age Skandinavian practice of drinking the health of Christ, the present South Slav or Balkan drinking to the ancestral guardian or Slawa, and the Pârsî drinking of the toast of Zoroaster, seem to have their origin less in the hope of housing the guardian than in the belief that the drinker becomes a scape, taking into himself evil influences, which, if not absorbed by him, might enter into the Name, and so annoy the being whose health is drunk. This view finds support in Firdûsî's (A. D. 1000) statement that, when the ancient Persians drank in memory of King Qâûs, they prostrated and kissed the earth.<sup>67</sup> The same worshipful feeling is the main element in the English practice of drinking the Health of the Queen, the bride, the newly christened babe, the hero of the birthday, absent friends, the dead. The silent toasting of the dead has passed through many phases. The drinking at funerals was originally to scare from the living the dreaded spirit of the dead and other evil spirits; then to scare evil spirits from the corpse; then to tempt the spirit of the beloved dead to house himself in some one of his relations, as the Roman son received in his pious mouth the last breath of his dying parent. This view of ceremonial drinking explains how, among many nations, at certain seasons and on certain occasions, drinking, that is, drinking to excess, is a duty and a self-sacrifice, the drinker taking into himself the evil influences, which, but for him and his comrade scapes, might cause general mischief. The spilling of wine in christening a ship has the early object of scaring the spirits of ill-luck, probably to empty the ship of the spirits that took shelter in her when she was building, and make the ship ready to receive the spirit of the guardian deity or saint in whose name and under whose charge she is to be launched. Like the new-built ship, the field is sprinkled to purge it of the demons of barrenness and blight, the sea to scare the storm-fiend, the river to drive away the devil of drought, military standards to put fear and panic to flight, and fishing boats on June 29th, the day of the great fisher St. Peter, to get rid of fish-scaring influences.<sup>68</sup> The experience, that Truth and Wit are in Wine, that Wine is the Opener, the Revealer, together with the belief that in wine ancestral spirits pass into the drinker, explain how, among Greeks, Persians, Carthaginians, Scythians, Thracians, Germans, Celts, and Iberians, important questions were settled over wine. What was fixed over wine was more inviolable than their sober resolutions.<sup>69</sup> Among the Babylonians, the drinking of Belshazar before his thousand lords when the writing appeared on the wall was ceremonial or religious, a loving cup to the

<sup>61</sup> Potter's *Antiquities*, Vol. II. p. 381.

<sup>62</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. II. pp. 380, 383; *Penny Encyclopædia*, Article "Cameo."

<sup>63</sup> Poona Stat. Act. Vol. I. pp. 512-513; Pliny's *Natural History*, Book vi. Chap. 22.

<sup>64</sup> Smith's *Christian Antiquities*, p. 1454.

<sup>65</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 414.

<sup>66</sup> Compare Shakespeare's *Merry Wives*, Act III. Scene 5. Also below, page 326, note 48.

<sup>67</sup> Modi's *Wine among Ancient Persians*, p. 15.

<sup>68</sup> Bassett's *Sea Legends*, p. 414.

<sup>69</sup> Potter's *Antiquities*, Vol. II. p. 404; Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, Vol. I. p. 274. For wine as the Heart-Opener the saying of Tacitus (*Germania*, XXII.) that in the freedom of festivity the Germans disclose the most secret emotions of the heart finds a parallel in the Urdu lines. "Let not the fumes of wine lay open the nature either of me or of thee." *Kahîn nashê mên khulên, na jawhar | Idhar hamârê udhar tumhârê.*

good Daimon.<sup>70</sup> In Mangaia, in the South Pacific, before the priest becomes possessed, he drinks an intoxicating liquor, and, in the frenzy that follows, his wild words are taken to be the voice of God.<sup>71</sup>

On the bright third of May, on the August full moon, and on the day sailing vessels put to sea, Gujarāt sea-farers throw into the sea milk, flowers, cocoanuts and liquor.<sup>72</sup> At a Mongol review, Bābar (1502) saw the Khān and those about him sprinkle spirit made from mare's milk towards the standards.<sup>73</sup> Among the Red Karens, of the highlands of East Burma, in a yearly festival, when the spirit's house is renewed, fermented liquor is drunk in excess by all, gongs and cymbals are sounded, drums boom, drinkers shriek, dogs howl, and matchlocks are fired.<sup>74</sup> In New Guinea, women who wish to be exorcised of the spirit of barrenness meet in the god-hut and are sprinkled with rum by the priest, while young men fire guns and brandish swords to scare the demon.<sup>75</sup> In the Peru initiation to manhood the relations scourged the lads and the lads presented the scourgers with liquor, apparently with the sense that the whipping drove out the boyish spirit of fear, and the spirit of fear, entering into the liquor, passed into and was prisoned in the whippers.<sup>76</sup> In the feast of the Lord Inca, young Peru girls carried vases of liquor and took them to the temple of the Sun.<sup>77</sup> The Spartans bathed new-born infants in wine.<sup>78</sup> A Greek in love sprinkled with wine the door of his mistress' house.<sup>79</sup> The merits of a night-cap or final glass of liquor were known to the Greeks and Romans, who, before breaking up a party, poured wine to Mercury, the sender of sleep and pleasing dreams.<sup>80</sup> The Greeks offered wine at the beginning and end of a voyage or journey, before going to sleep, when they entertained a stranger, and at almost every sacrifice.<sup>81</sup> The Greeks washed the dead with warm water and wine.<sup>82</sup>

The Hebrews poured wine over an upright stone or *el*, gathered the wine, and gave it to barren women to secure offspring, that is, to scare the haunting spirit of barrenness.<sup>83</sup> In seventeenth century England, a drink of herbs worked up off clear ale over which Masses were sang, and in which garlic and holy water were mixed, was used to cure the fiend-sick.<sup>84</sup> In eighteenth century England, the Sacramental Wine, and in Ireland and other Catholic countries, the rinsing of the chalice scared fits, whooping-cough and other childish spirit-seizures.<sup>84a</sup> On festival eves parishoners met in church-houses or church-yards and had drinking bouts.<sup>85</sup> According to the German legend, Dame Gauden's doggie was scared by making the fermenting beer pass through an egg-shell.<sup>86</sup> In eighteenth century England (1750), the bride and bridegroom, on going to bed, were given sack-posset, and again when they awoke.<sup>87</sup> In England, the wassail bowl used to be drunk at Christmas. This was probably a pre-Christian rite. The early Northmen liked nothing so much as carousing ale. The master used to fill a great bowl and pass it round, first drinking out of it himself.<sup>88</sup> The wassailing bowl was also an old Saxon institution. It resembled the Grace-cup of the Greeks and Romans.<sup>89</sup> The Norse god Odin is said to have taken no nourishment but wine.<sup>90</sup> The northern nations, in addressing their rural deities, on every invocation, emptied a cup in their honour.<sup>91</sup> Compare about the middle of the twelfth century, on the island of Rugen, in the South-West Baltic, the German and Slav god Suanto Wib or Holy Light, held in his right hand a horn.

<sup>70</sup> *Daniel*, Chap. V.; Brown's *Great Dionysiac Myth*, Vol. II. p. 109.

<sup>71</sup> *The Golden Bough*, Vol. I. p. 33.

<sup>72</sup> *Vaṅkuntarām's Gujarāt Hindu Religion, Element Worship*.

<sup>73</sup> *Bojer's Memoirs*, p. 103.

<sup>74</sup> *Government of India Records*, Vol. XXIV. p. 39.

<sup>75</sup> *Heoquard in The Golden Bough*, Vol. II. p. 162.

<sup>76</sup> *Emerson's Masks, Heads and Faces*, p. 107.

<sup>77</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 105.

<sup>78</sup> *Potter's Antiquities*, Vol. II. p. 319.

<sup>79</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 244.

<sup>80</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 408; *Smith's Greek and Roman Antiquities*, Vol. II. p. 581.

<sup>81</sup> *Potter's Antiquities*, Vol. I. pp. 249, 270; *Smith's Greek and Roman Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 392; Vol. II. p. 581.

<sup>82</sup> *Taylor's Danger of Premature Interment*, p. 3.

<sup>83</sup> *Inman's Ancient Fables*, Vol. I. p. 305.

<sup>84</sup> *Black's Folk-Lore Medicine*, p. 89.

<sup>84a</sup> *Choice Notes on Folk-Lore*, pp. 227, 228.

<sup>85</sup> *Aubrey's Remains of Gentilism*, p. 46.

<sup>86</sup> *Grimm's Teutonic Mythology*, Vol. III. p. 927.

<sup>87</sup> *Hone's Table Book*, Vol. I. p. 296.

<sup>88</sup> *Gentleman's Magazine Library*, "Popular Superstitions," p. 77.

<sup>89</sup> *Gentleman's Magazine Library*, "Manners and Customs," p. 24.

<sup>90</sup> *Hislop's Two Babylons*, p. 451.

<sup>91</sup> *Gentleman's Magazine Library*, "Manners and Customs," p. 22.

This horn the priest, at the end of the harvest, used to fill every year with new wine. He examined the horn when the next year's crop was harvested. If the liquor in the horn had sunk, the priest foretold a bad harvest; if the horn was still full, the harvest would be good. At the harvest festival the priest poured out the old wine at the foot of the image: filled the horn afresh, presented the horn to the god, and then himself drank it. After drinking, he addressed the crowd in the name of the god. The people kept orgy during the rest of the day to please the god.<sup>92</sup> On St. Peter's Day (June 29th), in Yorkshire, fishing boats are dressed with flags and streamers, their masts are painted, and their bows sprinkled with good liquor.<sup>93</sup> That to the Greek liquor was a guardian or fiend-scarer is shewn by the Tap-barrel Day in February-March, when the wine of the last vintage was tasted, being the day of the guardian or Good Daimon.<sup>94</sup> And, again, in the Bacchic Mysteries, when a consecrated cup, handed round after supper, was received with shouting as the cup of the Agathodaimon or Good Spirit.<sup>95</sup> That the object of drinking is to scare or to house spirits and so drive away disease is shewn by the offerer's speech at the Roman Meditrinalia or New-wine Festival:—"I, old, drink new wine; with new wine my old ailment I cure."<sup>96</sup> It is also shewn by the Saxon name "wassail," that is, wax-health, and also by the Romans calling a drink *salus* or health, as in Plautus "I drink a health to you with full jaws." In Dorsetshire, the Saxons had a god Hail or Health, to whom, in some parts, they drank out of a cup ritually composed, decked, and filled with country liquor.<sup>97</sup> At Horbury in Yorkshire (1874), on the second week in February, a gill of ale is served to any rate-payer who asks for it, the amount being charged to the town. These drinks are called Candlemas Gills.<sup>98</sup> That drinking was the leading festal rite is shewn by the early English use of the word "Ale" as festival, as in Bridal, that is, the bride's ale, or festival.<sup>99</sup> Of the English practice of pouring liquor on the sea to secure good weather, Spenser writes:—

"The mariner on catching sight of home,  
His cheerful whistle merrily doth sound,  
And Nereus crowns with cups his mates him pledge around."<sup>100</sup>

The first month after marriage is the honeymoon, because the people of north Europe used to drink honey liquor or mead for a month after their chief's marriage.<sup>1</sup> In Avondale, in Shropshire, during the eighteenth century, great drinking services were held at funerals. These religious funeral drinks continue in the practice of offering cake and wine to mourners at a funeral. The burial service in Scotland is an amplification of the blessing of the cake and wine, which, in former times, was the only religious rite the minister was allowed to perform at funerals.<sup>2</sup> In Devonshire (1791), on the Eve of the Epiphany (5th January), the farmer, attended by his workmen, with a large pitcher of cyder, goes to the orchard, and there encircling one of the best trees, thrice drinks this toast:—

"Here's to the old apple tree,  
Whence thou mayest bud and whence thou mayest blow,  
And whence thou mayest bear apples enow,  
Hats full,  
Caps full,  
Bushel Bushel sacks full, and my pockets full too, Hazza."

When they go back to the house, the men find the doors bolted by the women, who, whether in wet or dry, let no one in till he has guessed what is on the spit. When the right thing is guessed the doors are thrown open and the guesser gets the prize. If they neglect this custom, the trees bear no apples.<sup>3</sup> On the same day (January 6th), in Pauntley, in Gloucester,

<sup>92</sup> Elton and Powell's *Saxo-Grammaticus* (A. D. 1150-1200), pp. 393-395.

<sup>93</sup> Bassett's *Sea Legends*, p. 414.

<sup>94</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 233.

<sup>95</sup> See notes on Drayton's *Polyolbion*, Song IV.

<sup>96</sup> Skeat's *Piers the Ploughman*, p. 164.

<sup>97</sup> *Gentleman's Magazine Library*, "Manners and Customs," p. 30.

<sup>98</sup> Guthrie's *Old Scottish Customs*, p. 23.

<sup>99</sup> Brown's *Great Dionysiac Myth*, Vol. I. p. 232.

<sup>100</sup> Smith's *Greek and Roman Mythology*, Vol. II. p. 155.

<sup>101</sup> *Notes and Queries*, 5th Series, Vol. I. p. 508.

<sup>102</sup> Spenser's *Fairy Queen*, Vol. I. p. 331.

<sup>1</sup> *Gentleman's Magazine Library*, "Popular Superstition," p. 19.

to prevent smut in the wheat, farmers meet at the marching of twelve lands. They burn twelve straw fires in a row. Round the largest fire they drink cider, and going home feast on cakes made of caraways soaked in cider.<sup>4</sup> These beliefs and customs are valuable. They shew that the object of toasting the apple tree, or apple-howling as it was called, and also of toasting the young wheat, was to scare out of the tree and the wheat the evil spirit of barrenness and other ill influences that had established themselves during the months of the sun's waning power. As the twelfth day or close of the great Christmas or winter solstice festival, the Epiphany (6th January), is a fit time to drive off evil influences and ensure full play to the guarding and enriching virtues of the new-born sun. In this case it seems probable that the drinkers were in effect scapes, taking into themselves with the liquor the ill-luck which would otherwise haunt the apple trees and the wheat crop. In the 16th century, at Zurich, at new year time, men used to meet and force one another to take wine.<sup>5</sup> In Tibet, on the New Year, first footing and health-drinking are the order of the day; according to the saying:—"The Tibetan New Year is wine, the Chinese paper, the Nepalese noise."<sup>6</sup> The fishers of North-East Scotland, besides carrying fire round the boats to bless them on the last night in the year, used (1689) to take meat and drink to the boat-side and sprinkle liquor on the boat.<sup>7</sup> In Scotland, great drinking bouts, called *sprees*, used to be held on Sundays.<sup>8</sup> In 1766, no parish in Ireland was without its place of penance dedicated to a special saint, where, in the morning, the people confessed, did penance, and heard Mass, and in the evening celebrated the greatest debauches.<sup>9</sup> In Hungary, at a wedding, the chief of the tribe sprinkles a few drops of liquor on the heads of the couple, drinks the rest of the liquor, tosses the glass pitcher into the air, and lets it fall to the ground smashed. The more bits the more luck.<sup>10</sup> Here that the guardian drinker took into himself the ill-luck of the couple is shewn by his letting the glass be broken to pieces. The practice of dashing the glass to the ground after drinking a toast is widespread. It seems to be an extreme form of the toaster's law "No heel taps," that is, no leavings, the sense being that the liquor, through which evil influences should have passed into the toaster, being left in the cup, may serve as a place of refuge for some envious spirit. Similarly, if he heard any unlucky word, the Greek dashed the wine cup to the ground, the sense being that the evil influence in the unlucky word might pass into and harm the wine.<sup>11</sup> The Saturnalia, one of the chief spirit-scaring festivals in Rome, was marked by drunkenness. And the December festival at Babylon was known as the drunken festival.<sup>12</sup> At Rome, on the feast of St. John the Evangelist, on December 27th, ten days after the old Saturnalia, presents of blessed wine are sent to friends.<sup>13</sup>

At their public festivals the Dyaks of Borneo never fail to drink to excess.<sup>14</sup> In their worship of Sūma or Haoma, the early Brāhman and Persian priests drank to excess. This drinking was sacramental. The god was offered to the god; and the god passed into the offering and so into the partaker. So, at the feast of Mithrās, the king of Persia was bound to be drunk.<sup>15</sup> Except at sacrificial feasts, the ancient Greeks drank little. At sacrificial feasts it was proper to get drunk through the gods *δία θεῶν ὀνοῦσθαι*. To be drunk was termed *μεθύειν* as if *μετὰ τὸ θύειν* after sacrificing, a punning derivation which shewed that the ceremonial drunkenness was due either to the drinker taking the guardian into him or taking into himself haunting influences to guard the guardian.<sup>16</sup> So, heavy drinking marked the Greek harvest home, because as the banquet *θέην* took its name from *θεός*, it was the husbandman's duty to the gods or ancestral field-guardians to get drunk.<sup>17</sup> The noisy grave-feast of the early Christians, like

<sup>4</sup> Hone's *Every Day Book*, Vol. II. p. 23.

<sup>5</sup> Grimm's *Teutonic Mythology*, Vol. I. p. 279.

<sup>6</sup> Waddell's *Buddhism in Tibet*, p. 550.

<sup>7</sup> Mitchell's *Past in the Present*, p. 261.

<sup>8</sup> Guthrie's *Old Scottish Customs*, p. 145.

<sup>9</sup> *Gentleman's Magazine Library*, "Popular Superstition," p. 112.

<sup>10</sup> Victor Tissot's *Unknown Hungary*, Vol. II. p. 161.

<sup>11</sup> *Potter's Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 401.

<sup>12</sup> Hislop's *Two Babylons*, p. 139.

<sup>13</sup> Smith's *Christian Antiquities*, p. 888.

<sup>14</sup> Featherman's *Social History*, Vol. II. p. 259.

<sup>15</sup> Rawlinson's *Ancient Monarchies*, Vol. II. p. 323; Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, Vol. I. p. 274, n. 1.

<sup>16</sup> Compare *Potter's Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 274.

<sup>17</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 415.

the inscription to the Divine Manes on the tombstone, was in the main the continuance of the existing worship of the dead.<sup>18</sup> More than any part of the feast, drinking housed the dead or lightened his evils by drawing them into the drinker.<sup>19</sup> This explains St. Augustine's (A. D. 398) saying :—"Many drink most luxuriously over the dead, and, when they make a feast for the departed, place their gluttony and drunkenness to the score of religion."<sup>20</sup> St. Chrysostom A. D. (350) also admits the religious element in ceremonial drunkenness :—"You will prosper in the new year, not if you make yourself drunk on the new moon, but if you do what God approves."<sup>21</sup> In the sixth century, in England, men spent Christmas and other sacred days in drunkenness and scurrility, both practices doubtless ceremonial.<sup>22</sup> It must have been with a ceremonial or housing object that, in A. D. 536, a bishop in Asia Minor made drunk persons who came to him for Baptism.<sup>23</sup>

The religious, that is, the self-sacrificing or scape, element in drunkenness is shewn by the case of the Russian peasant, who at times thinks it a duty to the church and to the memory of the dead to get drunk.<sup>24</sup> Scotland, like Russia, long clung to the early belief in the sacramental character of funeral drinking. "I don't object so much," says the minister to the old Galloway farmer, "to your taking too much at a wedding. But to get drunk at a funeral is without excuse. You must give up whisky at funerals." "Hoot, Meenster, stap whuskey at funerals, Wad you have us burry oor deid with the burrial of a doag?" At a Japan wedding the drinking of rice beer is one of the chief rites.<sup>25</sup> In Japan, before the victim criminal is executed, he is given a cup of rice beer.<sup>26</sup> The Japanese offering at the yearly god-feast includes a cup of rice beer or *saki*.<sup>27</sup> In every Buddhist monastery in Tibet, within the outer gateway, the image of the place-spirit is worshipped with wine.<sup>28</sup> The Lamas of Tibet also pour liquor to evil spirits.<sup>29</sup> Among the Greeks, on the Ninth or Earthen Pot-day, at Eleusis, two vessels of wine were upset as an offering to the infernal divinities.<sup>30</sup> In Egypt, in the second century after Christ, in the processions of Isis, a large wine jar was carried.<sup>31</sup> The people of Nicaragua, in Central America, had twenty-one festal days dedicated to the gods. These were spent in drinking.<sup>32</sup> On certain high days the chief priest of the Zapotecs of South Mexico became drunk.<sup>33</sup> In Mexico, every religious ceremony ended in general intoxication.<sup>34</sup> The Mexicans drank together in closing an agreement.<sup>35</sup> The present Mexicans hang liquor outside of their hovels to keep the bees from leaving.<sup>36</sup> This practice is in agreement with the widespread belief that, when bees become unsettled, it is because they get spirit-possessed. Among the Peruvians, after marriage, the husband and wife fasted for two days, drank *chicha* together, and the bridegroom put a shoe on the bride's foot.<sup>37</sup> An invitation to drink was the usual salutation among Peruvian friends.<sup>38</sup> The Peruvians threw liquor into channels and rivers to bring rain.<sup>39</sup> With the same object they set a black sheep in a field, poured liquor over it, and gave it nothing to eat till rain fell.<sup>40</sup> The sense seems to be the drought demon went into the liquor and into the sheep, and so the rain was able to fall. The liquor drunk in the Osianic feasts of shells (A. D. 400-800) was a juice extracted from the birch tree and fermented. A liquor was also made of heather.<sup>41</sup> When, at Lammas-

<sup>18</sup> Dean Merivale notices that the first Christians at Rome did not separate themselves from those who kept to the older faith. They married with non-Christians, they continued the use of the old Roman law, they burnt their dead in Roman fashion, gathered the ashes into urns, and inscribed the usual dedication to the Divine Spirits. Quoted in Smith's *Christian Antiquities*, pp. 308, 309.

<sup>19</sup> Compare Smith's *Christian Antiquities*, p. 1436.

<sup>21</sup> Smith's *Christian Antiquities*, p. 812.

<sup>20</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 538.

<sup>25</sup> *Japanese Manners*, p. 132.

<sup>27</sup> *Japanese Manners*, p. 61.

<sup>30</sup> Brown's *The Great Dionysiac Myth*, Vol. I. p. 319.

<sup>32</sup> *Descriptive Sociology*, pp. 2, 23.

<sup>34</sup> *Descriptive Sociology*, pp. 2, 21.

<sup>36</sup> Harper's *New Monthly Magazine*, March 1886.

<sup>38</sup> *Descriptive Sociology*, pp. 2, 33.

<sup>40</sup> *The Golden Bough*, Vol. I. p. 17.

<sup>20</sup> Quoted in Smith's *Christian Antiquities*, p. 812.

<sup>22</sup> Compare Smith's *Christian Antiquities*, p. 538.

<sup>24</sup> Ralston's *Russian Folk-Tales*, Vol. I. p. 30.

<sup>26</sup> *Japanese Manners*, p. 226.

<sup>28</sup> Waddell's *Buddhism in Tibet*, p. 372.

<sup>29</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 225.

<sup>31</sup> King's *Antique Gems*, p. 367.

<sup>33</sup> *The Golden Bough*, Vol. I. p. 114.

<sup>35</sup> *Descriptive Sociology*, Vol. II. p. 33.

<sup>37</sup> *Descriptive Sociology*, 2, "Ancient Peru."

<sup>39</sup> *Descriptive Sociology*, 2, "Ancient Peru."

<sup>41</sup> Smith's *Gaelic Antiquities*, p. 154.

tide in August, the Orkney fishermen stopped the harvest of the sea to begin the land harvest, they used to have a ceremonial drink and pray :—"Lord, open the mouth of the grey fish and hold thy hand above the corn."<sup>42</sup> In the Edda, the king produced a large horn out of which his courtiers were obliged to drink when they had committed any trespass against the customs of the court.<sup>43</sup> In Abyssinia, a formal interview is opened by drinking *tedge* or mead, that is, honey beer.<sup>44</sup> Egyptians, Chinese and Jews drank, and drink, wine at the beginning of an entertainment.<sup>45</sup> The younger Pliny (A. D. 100) describes reverted Christians as offering wine and frankincense before the emperor's statue.<sup>46</sup> The Brazil boatman begins the day with a dram to frighten the fiend.<sup>47</sup> The wassail, that is, according to Hardwick, the waes hael or wax health, bowl of spiced ale, formerly carried with songs by girls on New Year's Eve, with sugar, nutmeg, toast and roasted apples, was, as its name shews, prepared and drunk with the object of securing health, that is, of housing or scaring fiends.<sup>48</sup>

At the Slawa or Guardian feasts among the Slavs to the south-west of the Balkans, the chief ceremony is toast-drinking. In the evening, after church, relations who have the same ancestral guardian or Slawa come to the house of the man of their brotherhood who is holding the Slawa feast. They salute the host with the words "May the Slawa be propitious." Each receives a glass of wine and a piece of sacred cake. All stand and uncover, and the senior guest chants: "We drank before as we liked and needed." He then gives the fresh health, the Guardian, and adds: "We drink now to the honour of the divine Slawa. May the Slawa be propitious to all." Glasses are emptied and filled again. A second guest rises and sings: "The Cross; We drank before to the Slawa, we drink now to the Cross." The glasses are emptied and filled. The third guest chants: "We drink to the Trinity and Pentecost. May the Pentecost feast help all. In house or in field, in water or in wood."<sup>49</sup> At their banquets, the modern Pársis drink the following toasts:—The Creator, Zoroaster, the Fire Temple, the Guardian Angels, the Empress, the Host, and lastly with a short prayer and the burning of incense the Dead. The solemn toasts are *yáds*, or reminders; the others are either safeguards, *salámatí*, or healths, *tandarustí*.<sup>50</sup>

Hecataeus (B. C. 330) and Plutarch (A. D. 46-106) said the Hebrew god and Bacchus are one.<sup>51</sup> Though in reply it may be urged that no Jew drank wine in the temple,<sup>52</sup> still it is true that the ceremonial and religious use of wine is a marked feature in Jewish customs. At the wedding of the Beni-Isrá'íl of Western India, the bridegroom holds a glass with wine in it, in which is the wedding ring. The bridegroom drinks half the wine, pours the rest into the bride's mouth, and dashes the glass to pieces on the ground.<sup>53</sup> The Jews drank a cup of consolation at or after a funeral.<sup>54</sup> Among the Beni-Isrá'íls a funeral ends with a drink.<sup>55</sup> At the feast held in the synagogue, and at the close of the Sabbath, a cup of wine is blessed and handed round.<sup>56</sup> The Jews used wine in their sacrifices, and, like the Egyptians, poured wine on their altars.<sup>57</sup>

<sup>42</sup> Guthrie's *Old Scottish Customs*, p. 176.

<sup>44</sup> *Eng. Illus. Mag.* December 1884, p. 191.

<sup>46</sup> Pliny's *Letters*, Book X. Letter 97.

<sup>48</sup> Compare Hardwick's *Traditions*, p. 60. The wassail cup was still in use in the north of England in 1825. *The Denham Tracts*, Vol. II. pp. 8 and 9.

<sup>49</sup> *St. James's Budget*, 4th June 1887, pp. 11 and 12.

<sup>51</sup> Jahn's *Hebrew Commonwealth*: Gill's *Notices of the Jews*, p. 75. Tacitus, about A. D. 100, refers (*History*, Book v. Chap. V.) to the belief that the Jews worshipped Bacchus, rejecting it on the ground that the worship of Bacchus was gay and the Jews' worship was gloomy. The belief, that the Jews worshipped Bacchus, probably found support in the likeness between Iao, the Greek form of Javeh or Jehova, and Euios or Euius, a name of Bacchus, and also between the Hebrew Sabi, glory, and Sabaoth and the Bacchic cry 'Sabaioi' and the name Sabazius. Further resemblances were the vineleaf ornament in the Jewish temple and the Dionysia-like Feast of Tabernacles. Compare King's *Antique Gems*, pp. 365-367.

<sup>52</sup> *Op. cit.*, loc. cit.

<sup>53</sup> *Poona Gazetteer*, Part I. pp. 512, 516.

<sup>54</sup> *Poona Gazetteer*, Part I. p. 535.

<sup>55</sup> Wilkinson's *Egyptians*, 2nd Series, Vol. II. p. 356; Whiston's *Josephus*, Book III. Chap. 9, or Bohn's *Josephus*, Vol. I. p. 219; *Jewish War*, Vol. XIII. p. 6; Jahn's *Hebrew Commonwealth*, p. 407.

<sup>43</sup> Mallet's *Northern Antiquities*, Vol. II. p. 126.

<sup>45</sup> Wilkinson's *Egyptians*, Vol. II. p. 221.

<sup>47</sup> Burton's *Brazil*, Vol. I. p. 405.

<sup>50</sup> *MS. Notes*, 1895.

<sup>54</sup> Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, Vol. II. p. 140.

<sup>56</sup> Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, Vol. III. p. 1401.

A "stone of drinking" took the place of the ark in the second temple at Jerusalem.<sup>58</sup> On the Sabbath of Repentance, the Beni-Isrâ'îl pours liquor on the ground to satisfy his ancestors.<sup>59</sup> On the first day of the Passover, the Beni-Isrâ'îl drinks wine with prayer.<sup>60</sup> At the Passover, the Jews began by blessing the day and the wine contained in a cup out of which the celebrant and others drank. At the close of the first part of the feast, the cup of wine again went round. A third cup, the cup of blessing, generally mixed with water, followed, and a fourth with the song Hallel, and sometimes a fifth with a great song.<sup>61</sup>

In most Greek and Roman sacrifices, wine was poured on the victim and on the altar. When with a nod the victim shewed its willingness to be sacrificed, the priest took a cup of wine, tasted it, made the worshippers taste, and poured the rest between the horns of the victim.<sup>62</sup> Among the Greeks, the ashes of the dead were soaked in wine, and wine was offered to the spirits of the dead.<sup>63</sup> At a Greek feast, the toast was to the gods, corresponding to the Roman formal drinking or *propinatio* to a god or to the Emperor.<sup>64</sup> The Greeks also drank during the feast two loving cups, that is, a cup passed from guest to guest. Of these the first was to the Good Genius or Daimon, that is, Bacchus, the inventor of wine, or, in more mystic phrase, the shewer forth of himself as the wine spirit. As each drank, he called on the Good Genius to guard him from the ill effects of wine.<sup>65</sup> The second loving cup was to Charm or Grace, a sacramental cup drunk with the object that the giver of mutual favour and affection might enter into the drinkers.<sup>66</sup> After the feast three more religious cups were drunk to Olympian Zeus, the Power of the Air, generally mixed with water, to Heroes, and to the Saviour.<sup>67</sup> Sometimes, a fourth cup was added to Health, and sometimes a fifth to Mercury, the sender of sleep and good dreams.<sup>68</sup> At their other cups they named and saluted friends; at each cup pouring a little on the ground for the evil spirits.<sup>69</sup> When the last cup was drunk they sang a hymn and left.<sup>70</sup>

The religious use of wine among Christians seems to be a blending of the Hebrew and Greek ideas and practices. The Cup of Blessing, also called the Cup of the Lord, Hebrew in origin, was imported into the Greek Church.<sup>71</sup> At the Agapæ or Love Feasts of the early Christian Church, one cup of wine was specially passed round as the cup of blessing.<sup>72</sup> That the Christians adopted the sacramental Greek belief that into their love cups the spirits of daimons or guardians entered and so passed into the drinker is shewn by St. Paul's injunction to the Corinthians: "Ye cannot drink the cup of the Lord and the cup of daimons: Ye cannot be partakers of the Lord's table and of the table of daimons."<sup>73</sup> Similarly, in the matter of meats, the early idea that the guardian passes into the offering is accepted. All meats are lawful to a Christian, except meats offered to idols.<sup>74</sup> This idea is Jewish as well as Greek. The Israelites<sup>75</sup> were ordered to destroy the idolaters, lest, if they sacrificed to gods, one should call thee and thou eat of his sacrifice.<sup>76</sup> The horror of eating the sacrifice was that the idol passed into the eater or drinker. So the earlier belief in the spirit-scaring power of articles into which the guardian had passed was continued. Cyril of Jerusalem (A. D. 315-386) says: "In drinking the wine, touch with the moisture of the lips the eyes, the brow and other organs of sense."<sup>77</sup> Consecrated bread was laid on the breast of the dead as a charm

<sup>58</sup> Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, Vol. I. p. 107.

<sup>59</sup> *Poona Gazetteer*, Part I. p. 514.

<sup>60</sup> *Op. cit.* Part I. p. 515.

<sup>61</sup> Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, Vol. II. p. 139.

<sup>62</sup> Potter's *Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 269, Vol. I. pp. 837, 838.

<sup>63</sup> Smith's *Greek and Roman Antiquities*, p. 562; Potter's *Antiquities*, Vol. II. p. 213.

<sup>64</sup> Smith's *Greek and Roman Antiquities*, Vol. II. p. 743.

<sup>65</sup> Potter's *Antiquities*, Vol. II. p. 395.

<sup>66</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 396.

<sup>67</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 395, 396.

<sup>68</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 396. <sup>69</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 391.

<sup>70</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 397.

<sup>71</sup> Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, Vol. II. p. 142.

<sup>72</sup> Smith's *Christian Antiquities*, p. 40.

<sup>73</sup> First Corinthians, x. 21.

<sup>74</sup> First Corinthians, viii. 1-7; Acts, xv. 20-29.

<sup>75</sup> Exodus, xxxiv. 15.

<sup>75</sup> Compare Potter's *Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 275.

<sup>77</sup> Smith's *Christian Antiquities*, p. 413.



against the attacks of malignant spirits: the dead were baptised; the Eucharist was celebrated at the grave, the Eucharist was given to the dead; wine-soaked bread was laid on the dead lips; vials of Eucharistic wine were placed in the coffin or grave, and glasses with the graven toasts Drink and Long Life.<sup>78</sup> So the sprinkling of wine at graves, like the lighting of lamps, seems to have been mainly to scare evil spirits.<sup>79</sup> Similarly, one element in the second phase of the Christian Love Feast, the eating and drinking at the graves of martyrs, seems to have been to take into the partakers the evil spirits which haunted the holy ground.<sup>80</sup> But the main object of the memorial feasts at the shrines of martyrs on their birth-day, that is, on their day of martyrdom, was that the guardian spirit of the martyr might through the food and the drink pass into the feasters.<sup>81</sup> As early as the second century toasts were drunk to the memory of the martyrs, the devout Christian wishing to be helped by the martyr's presence and protection.<sup>82</sup> At these feasts ceremonial drunkenness seems to have been common.<sup>83</sup> Saint Augustine (A. D. 396-426) complains: "The martyrs hate our drinking bouts. Would that we did not persecute them with our cups."<sup>84</sup>

Finally, wine is not only a sacrament; it is also a sacrifice. The Egyptians offered wine to many of their gods, pouring out the wine as the blood of enemies who had fought against the gods.<sup>85</sup> So, at the great banquet to gods and demons, the Tibet Buddhist offers country wine called devil-juice and tea called blood.<sup>86</sup> The Egyptians thought that wine made men mad because wine was the blood of their parents.<sup>87</sup> The mystical language of the early Christians regarding the bread and wine of the Supper gave rise to the belief that the drinking of human blood was the cement of their society, as the blood of a child was the bond of union in Cataline's conspiracy.<sup>88</sup> It was not only as representing blood that wine was a sacrifice. The ancient Brāhmaṇ and Persian Sôma and Haoma worshipper believed that Sôma the god, who, like the sea, poured forth songs and hymns and thoughts,<sup>89</sup> was offered to himself. The same belief formed part of the mystic rites of the great guardian Dionysos.

Liquor plays a part in two of the leading ever-young elements of the Hindu religion, the losing of Self in the Ocean of Being, and the purifying of Self by the indwelling guardian spirit of self-sacrifice. The part that liquor takes in the philosophic effort to get rid of the trammels and conditions of Self by absorption in the Universal has been illustrated by reference to the Sôma and Vâma literature. The second or practical aim that Self should become the home of the Guardian idea, which the Golden Legend of worshipful self-sacrificing Hindu champions and mothers keeps ever fresh, has through all ages secured to the Hindu religion a leaven of sweetness and youth. The highway to the union of Self with the Guardian spirit of self-sacrifice is the well known Hindu *prasadū*, that is, pleasing or grace, the offering into which the Guardian passes and through which the Guardian enters into and dwells in the partaker. This aim and belief, which half or unconsciously is the aim of all true Hindu worship, stands out clearly in the Thag brotherhood and oneness of spirit in murder secured by eating the sacramental sugar of the pitiless Kālī: and in the brotherhood of kindness and tenderness gained by partaking of the food offered to the Guardian at Pûrī in Orissa. As a main bond of union and oneness of spirit, liquor, like its prototype blood, has lost its ancient glory among orthodox Hindus. Still the literature of Sôma and the practice of the wilder tribes and lower classes shew an agreement between Hindu belief and the belief of other nations and peoples that into consecrated or sacramental liquor a Guardian spirit enters, and, passing into the partakers, makes them of one heart and of one mind. Far as the inspiration of wine can be traced the inspiration of blood can be traced further.<sup>90</sup> Wine is blood, said the antique Egyptian, and blood, not

<sup>78</sup> Compare Smith's *Christian Antiquities*, pp. 253, 308, 535, 732, 1434.

<sup>79</sup> Smith's *Christian Antiquities*, p. 312.

<sup>80</sup> Compare Smith's *Christian Antiquities*, p. 41.

<sup>81</sup> Compare Smith's *Christian Antiquities*, pp. 41, 345-346. <sup>82</sup> Compare Smith's *Christian Antiquities*, pp. 41, 253.

<sup>83</sup> Compare Smith's *Christian Antiquities*, p. 514.

<sup>84</sup> Quoted in Smith's *Christian Antiquities*, p. 1181.

<sup>85</sup> Wilkinson's *Egyptians*, 2nd Series, Vol. I. p. 301: Vol. II. p. 164.

<sup>86</sup> Waddell's *Buddhism in Tibet*, p. 430.

<sup>87</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 73.

<sup>88</sup> Smith's *Christian Antiquities*, pp. 260, 261.

<sup>89</sup> Mrs. Manning, Vol. I. p. 32.

<sup>90</sup> Compare Frazer's *Golden Bough*, Vol. I. p. 185; Brown's *The Great Dionysiac Myth*, Vol. II. p. 103.

wine, was the leading Mexican sun-sacrament. The early sacrificial drinking of blood as the life is refined into the drinking of the life of John Barleycorn or of the blood of the grape as the life of the world. In the mysteries of Babylon and Chaldea the ferment of wine, like the ferment of blood, was considered the direct working of the creative spirit. Wine, the blood of the grape, was the blood of Belus, the early Guardian, who spilt his own lifeblood on the ground, that, mingling with the dust, the divine blood might ferment into universal life.<sup>91</sup> From Chaldea the mystic view, that the origin of life is the self-sacrifice of the spirit of Nature, passed west in the slain Adonis Orpheus and Dionysos, the blood of the grape, the blood of the guardian, scaring evil, housing evil, passing himself and his hosts into his worshippers, and, in divine ecstasy, enabling them to overleap the barriers of Self.<sup>92</sup>

Over much of Western Asia the great Arab Prophet's (A. D. 612) yearning for scents drove the sacred use of liquor from earth to heaven.<sup>93</sup> Still in the seat of its old divinity, in Syria, Babylon and Persia, liquor continued to receive worship. In the fourteenth century (A. D. 1388), after about seven hundred years of the rule of wine-hating Islâm, Hâfiz sings the praises of wine with not less fervour than the old Persian songster hymned the Haoma:—

"On a rose-leaf, I saw, writ with the blood of the wind-flower,  
The bringer of ripe understanding is the ruby-red wine."<sup>94</sup>

Again:—

"That bitter maker of rye faces which the pious misname Mother of Fiends (Umm-ul-Khabâith),  
Is more pleasing to me than the virgin's kiss."

Again:—

"He who has learned the secret of the Almighty on the threshold of the wine shop  
Gains through the wine cup the full knowledge of the Derwish's cloister (that is of the mysteries of belief)."<sup>95</sup>

Once more Hâfiz sings:—

"Give me wine that I may make clear the secret of Fate,  
And shew forth the face of the Lord who charms me and whose scent inflames me."<sup>96</sup>

<sup>91</sup> Bunsen's *Egypt's Place in History*, Vol. IV. p. 287; Brown's *The Great Dionysiac Myth*, Vol. II. p. 108.

<sup>92</sup> Compare Frazer's *Golden Bough*, Vol. I. p. 322; Vol. II. p. 90; Brown's *Great Dionysiac Myth*, Vol. I. pp. 197, 235; Vol. II. p. 5.

<sup>93</sup> One of the Prophet's own sayings or *hadith*, recorded by the Saint of Saints, Abdul Kâdir Gilânî (A. D. 1257) in his *Futûh-ul-Ghaib*, *The Opening of the Unseen*, Lahor Edition, p. 29, and in Jalâl-ud-dîn Rûmî's (A. D. 1250) *Masnawî*, Bombay Edition, Part I. p. 17, shews the keenness of the Prophet's love of scents: "Three things in this world I am forced to love, scents, woman and prayers. But prayers are to me coolers of the eyes." The Arabs, before the Prophet, were fond of wine. Al-Mas'ûdî (A. D. 915; *Prairies d'Or*, Arab. Text IV. p. 218) gives the tale of Abû Mihjan, the hero of the great Arab victory of Kâdisiyyah over the Persians in A. D. 645 (H. 28). This famous warrior was also a poet. Shortly before the battle, the Arab General Sa'âd, who hated wine, ordered Abû Mihjan to be put in chains. On the morning of the battle, Abû Mihjan persuaded the general's wife to set him free for the day. The lady loosed his chains and gave him one of her husband's famous mares. On his return from the battle, which his skill and courage had mainly won, Abû Mihjan stretched his legs to receive the fetters. "Why wast thou imprisoned?" the lady asked. "For these lines," said the poet, "in praise of wine—

When I die bury me beneath the vine-tree:  
Let the dew from its tendrils water my bones;  
Bury me not under the open sky where my soul  
Would lack the elixir that in life sustained it."

The praise of wine was again permitted in the laureate days of Hârûn-ar-Rashîd (A. D. 786-806). And the mediæval Arab poetry, which began under Hârûn-ar-Rashîd at its close in the eleventh century, passed the torch to the early Persian poets. The great Sa'âdî (A. D. 1257) mellowed with mysticism the praise of wine, using the ferment of wine as a symbol of the creative working of the love of the Almighty—

From the wine that the eyes, that is the love, of Allâh shed in the mingling of Sa'âdî's soul,  
His brain will swim till the dawn of the Day of Doom.—*Faiz Lutfullah Farîdî*.

<sup>94</sup> *Bar-bargi-gul-zi-khâni-shakânyik-nawishtah-and,*  
*Kân-kas-kî-pukhtah-shud-mayî-chûn-arghawân girift.*

<sup>95</sup> *Bar astanah i mai khânah har kih yâft sirê,*  
*Zi faizi jâm i mai asrêri khânakah ddnist.*

<sup>96</sup> *Mai bidâh tâ dîhamat âgahi i sirri kasê,*  
*Kih barûi kih shudam âshako bar bûi kih mast.*

About a century before Ḥāfiz the early mysticism of Babylon and Syria awoke in Sa'ādī's (A. D. 1258) ascetic praise of wine as the type of the creative love of the Almighty : —

"The child of the world deep sunk in slumber knows not Life ;  
To be drunk with the wine of God's love, that is Life."<sup>97</sup>

About the same time (A. D. 1207-1277) the Master of Rûm, the mystic High Priest, Jalāl-ud-dīn, refines the early Babylonian —

"Life is the life of the Lord and the leaven of life is Blood ;"  
into the highest word of the mystic school —

"Life is the love of the Lord and the leaven of life is wine."

That is, the divine yearning of the Almighty to shew Himself is still active in the ferment of wine. This he repeats in more detail : —

"When (the Lord) the great Cupgiver of the day of All-Souls,  
Poured a drop of the wine of his love on this lowly clay,  
The clay fermented, and of that fermented clay are we.  
Spare, Lord, to us helpless, one more drop of the wine of thy love."<sup>98</sup>

It is strange that the Master, whose learning had raised him to so lofty a vision of life, should forthwith become the disciple of the hermit Persian Shams of Tabriz because of his one oddly Indian utterance : —

"What is this learning of yours,  
Better the blackest ignorance  
Than a knowledge that saves not from Self."

The sacrament of wine, which, in India, has passed out of repute, remains a leading rite in the half Indian religion of Tibet. The service, known to Europeans as the Eucharist of Lamaism, and locally as the Gaining of Life, seems to imply the acceptance of the two great secrets of sacrifice : —

- (a) The Guardian Life enters into the offering ; and
- (b) By partaking in the offering the Guardian Life passes into the partaker.

To the Indian Buddhist any seeking after Life is worse than meaningless. To him the trammels of life, like the trammels of Self, are evils to be shaken off, not possessions to be won. The Tibetan search for Life is, therefore, either local or Christian, probably Nestorian (8th to 13th century A. D.). The offerings are wine, called either the wine of life or the juice of devils, apparently the blood of the slain foes of the deity, but, since in Lamaism, most devils are Guardians, the phrase may mean the guardian's blood. Besides wine, offerings are made of pills of life, prepared from flour, sugar and butter, and of wafers composed of flour, butter and rice. The service begins by the priest bringing into himself the god Buddha Amitāyus by touching the image of that god and then his own heart with the thunderbolt sceptre. Next the priest invokes and takes into himself the guardian demon and through the guardian the king of the demons, when, being demon-possessed, he is able to put to flight the hosts of evil influences. Next the priest meditates. He invokes all guardians, deities, Buddhas, and Bôdhisattvas to endue with life the wine in the vase. The partakers kneel and some drops of the holy wine are given to each. Each rinses his mouth, touches the crown of his head, and drinks. On the head of each, in succession, the vase is set, and his crown is touched by the thunderbolt. Then each swallows a few drops from the skull cups, and takes some of the Life pills, with reverence receiving from the Lord of Life the gift of Life without end.<sup>99</sup>

The result of these notes on liquor may be thus summarised. Liquor is both a scare and a house. To scare evil spirits liquor is sprinkled on the ground, and is given to the sick, the

<sup>97</sup> *Ghāfil-and-as-zindagi-mastāni-khāb,*  
*Zindagāni-chīst? Mastī az sharāb.*

<sup>98</sup> *Masnawi*, Book V. pp. 15, 16, Bom. Ed.

<sup>99</sup> Waddell's *Buddhism in Tibet*, p. 448.

dying, and the dead. As a house liquor lodges ancestral and other guardians. But being a house it is a tempting lodging to unhoused evil influences, who, unless the guardian house is guarded, may make their lodging in the house and yield harm instead of help to those who hope from the guardian house to draw guardian influences. It follows that at all stages, at the making, at the storing, at the using of wine, still more at its consecration, special care must be taken to prevent the trespass of unguardian influences. Since liquor is a lodging for evil influences as well as for good, the drinker's object may be either selfish to draw a guardian into the wine and through the wine into himself; or it may be devotional to draw into the liquor and so into himself the evil influences which otherwise might harm and haunt the object of his devotion. Since wine is the home of a guardian, wine is a sacrament, that is, a thing inherently holy as a guardian's dwelling. Again, wine is the offering or victim, the sacrifice, that is, the thing made holy by the passing into it of the guardian spirit to whom it is offered. More than this, wine is the blood of ancestors, the guardian's blood. So the sacrifice is also the sacrament; the victim is also the guardian. This is the complete sacrifice, since the guardian not only passes into it, but is one with it. Therefore, through this complete sacrifice, the guardian passes with special power into him who partakes of the sacrifice. This, the inner shrine of Mysteries, secures the object of all rites and of all sacrifice, that, by sharing in the offering, worshippers may become of one spirit by taking into themselves the spirit of a guardian who sacrificed himself, and by sacrificing himself proved himself to be the true type of the old-world human Champion and Mother, whose devotion is the birth of the Guardian, who sacrificed self and life for their children and friends.

(To be continued.)

## MISCELLANEA.

### SOME REMARKS ON THE KALYANI INSCRIPTIONS.

(Continued from p. 303.)

#### (21) Haribhujja.

THIS is the classical name of Labón to the north of Siam. Chiengmai or Zimmè is probably intended here. The Burmese writers also call Chiengmai Yun or Yónaka, and the art of lacquerware, which is derived from that country, *yundó*.

#### (22) Chinadéssa.

The Chou and the Ch'in dynasties reigned in China in 550-200 B. C. The latter dynasty was thus synchronous with the Maurya dynasty, with whose sympathy and encouragement the tenets of Buddhism were transplanted beyond the confines of India. The name China became stereotyped owing to frequent intercourse, commercial and religious, inaugurated by Buddhism in the 3rd century before Christ.

#### (23) The Yôga River.

This may be identified with the Bassein River. In the 15th century the port of the deltaic province of Pegu was Bassein. Rangoon was non-existent in those days and was then known as Tigumpanagara (see note 25, *post*). Ships called at Bassein and their cargoes were trans-

ported in native boats through the Twintê and other creeks to Pegu. The journey took about eight days in the 16th century when Cæsar Frederike visited Pegu (*s. v.* "Cosmin" in Yule's *Hobson-Jobson*).

#### (24) Shrines at Anurâdhapura.

The Ratanachêtiya, Marichivattichêtiya, Thûpârâmachêtiya, Abhayagirichêtiya, Silâchêtiya, Jêtavanachêtiya, Mahâbôdhi, and the Lôhapâsâda, etc., are mentioned in the Kalyâni Inscriptions. Perhaps, it would be well if the Archaeological Commissioner of Ceylon would favour this *Journal* with a short description of each of these shrines.

#### (25) Tigumpanagara.

See "Dagon" in Yule's *Hobson-Jobson*, where the derivation of the word is discussed. Owing to the modern mania of Burmese writers, due to their short historical memory and ignorance of comparative philology, to ascribe every classical name to a Pâli origin, Tigumpachêti is now spelt Tikumbhachêti. In spite of the dictum of Yule and Forchhammer, it is quite probable that Dagon is a corruption of Dagob or Dagoba, the Sinhalese word signifying a Relic Shrine. In ancient native writings the shrine is called the Digôn Chêti, and the town Digôn, the vowel *i* in Digôn being pronounced as *a*.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> [See my remarks on this word, *ante*, Vol. XXII. pp. 27 f. — Ed.]

## (26) Dhammachēti's Bell.

Its weight was 3,000 *tulas* or 120,000 viss. It measured 8 cubits at the mouth and 12 in height. At the beginning of the 17th century the Portuguese adventurer, Philip de Brito y Nicote, *alias* Maung Zingā, who held his court at Syriam, among his other acts of vandalism, removed this huge bell and put it on board a ship which sank with its sacrilegious cargo at Dōbōn near Rangoon.

## (27) The Parādha.

This wind is also called Parāja. My Burmese assistant tells me that its latter appellation is due to the following fanciful derivation: — "Parājētiti Parājo" = because it occasions loss or ruin!

## (28) Nāgapattana.

Nagapattana is, no doubt, the modern Negapatam (q. v. in *Hobson-Jobson*).

## (29) The Cave of the Emperor of China.

The cave constructed by command of the Mahārājā of Chinadēsa must have been made when Ceylon was under temporary subjection to the Emperor of China in the 15th century (*Tennent's Ceylon*, Vol. I. pp. 621-625).

## (30) Nāvutapattana and Komālapattana.

These places are ports on the Coromandel Coast, but have not as yet been identified.

## (31) Nāgarāsi.

Nāgarāsi is Negrais (q. v. in *Hobson-Jobson*). The Burmese name is Mōdingarīt.

## (32) The Mahābuddharūpa.

The great image here referred to may be identified with the colossal recumbent image of Gautama Buddha between the Kalyāṇtsimā and Mahāchēti at Pegu. It measures 181 feet in length and 46 in height (*ante*, Vol. XXII. pp. 46 and 347).

## (33) The Mudhavamahāchētiya.

This shrine is the modern Shwēmōdō Pagoda of Pegu (q. v. in my *Notes on an Archaeological Tour through Rāmāññadesa*, *ante*, Vol. XXI. p. 385).

TAW SEIN-KO.

## TWO INEDITED CEYLON COINS.

WE have come in South India across two remarkable in edited coins of the Kandyan kings, which have since been given to Mr. Bell of the Ceylon Civil Service, Archæological Commissioner of Ceylon.

## (1) a gold fanam—

*Obverse*. — Standing Sinhalese man.

*Reverse*. — (Nāgarī legend) Vijayabāhu.

## (2) a copper quarter massa—

*Obverse*. — Standing Sinhalese man.

*Reverse*. — Dharmāsōkadēva (in Nāgarī).

Mr. Bell, though an ardent coin collector, had never met with these in Ceylon, and gave us in exchange for the copper piece the gold coin inscribed Lankēśvara (Nos. 1, 2, 3 or 4 in Mr. Rhys Davids' Plate, in the *Numismata Orientalia*, Ancient Coins and Measures of Ceylon). Professor Rhys Davids evidently was unaware of the existence of the gold fanam and the quarter massa abovementioned; for he makes no mention of them in his essay on Ceylon coins, explaining the abovementioned Plate. Mr. Tracy of Periyakulam, Madura District, is known to possess a duplicate of the gold fanam of Vijayabāhu, and we possess a duplicate of the quarter massa of Dharmāsōkadēva — a bad specimen, the one given to Mr. Bell being in excellent preservation.

During a tour that we made lately in the eastern part of the Madura District, we came across many coins of the Kandyan kings. A gold Lankēśvara in company with a gold Rājarāja (No. 165, Plate IV. of Sir Walter Elliot's *Numismata Orientalia*, Coins of Southern India) were acquired for us at Parmakudi, a town on the banks of the Vaigai, not far from Kilakarai, which is said to be one of the capitals of the Pāndya Dynasty. From all these facts it is patent that considerable intercourse has existed between South-Eastern India (the Pāndya country) and Ceylon, for the last 800 years, at least across the pearl-laden seas which divide them.

T. M. RANGACHARI.

T. DESIKACHARI.

## NOTES AND QUERIES.

## LĀL BĒG AND THE MUSALMAN CREED.

AN amusing anecdote, *à propos* of these words, is often related. A scavenger was once boasting that none but the followers of Lāl Bēg would be saved. He was asked to reflect and find if there was the slightest chance of salvation for men of any other faith. After some hesitation he

said — "Yes, there is a small chance in favor of Muhammadans who practically, although unwittingly, invoke the name of the *Lāl* Gurū in their creed by saying *lā ilāha ill' illāhu* (there is no god but God)."

J. G. DELMERICK in *P. N. and Q.* 1883.

## SOME EARLY SOVEREIGNS OF TRAVANCORE.

BY P. SUNDARAM PILLAI, M. A.

(Concluded from p. 311.)

## XIII.

SEVENTEEN years later, we meet with another monarch of Vēṇāḍ. That the 22nd of Iḍavam 427 was a day in the reign of Śrī-Vīra-Padmanābha-Mārtāṇḍavarman Tiruvaḍi is proved by a Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscription at Varkkalai, a place of pilgrimage about 24 miles to the north of Trivandram. Perhaps to the pilgrim world in India, no place in Travancore is so well known as Varkkalai or Janārdanam. The geologically interesting cliffs that form the characteristic features of this promontory, are obviously of much earlier formation than the alluvial soil surrounding it on all sides, and possibly the early Indian geographers used it, along with Cape Comorin and Rāmēśvaram on the eastern coast,<sup>89</sup> for marking off the southern contour of their favourite Bhārata-Varsha. The mineral springs of this sacred place may be taken, perhaps, as furnishing another and more practical justification for the estimation in which it is held by foreign pilgrims. To the *Sthala-Purāṇa*<sup>90</sup> of the place, however, the hills and the springs are as if they never existed. It delights only to relate how on one occasion the Dēvas performed a sacrifice on the spot, how the Brāhmaṇas had then a feast, rich and indescribable, and how the local deity, with the object of perpetuating that feast, practised a clever and successful practical joke upon the authors thereof! On the southern wall of the chief shrine in this spot will be found in four lines the document I now proceed to translate:—

No. 13. Vaṭṭeḷuttu  
48. Old Malayālam. Varkkalai Inscription of Vīra-Padmanābha-Mārtāṇḍavarman.

“Hail! Prosperity! In the Kollam year 427, with Jupiter entering into Aries, and the sun 21 days old in Taurus, Wednesday, the 5th lunar day after new moon, and with the sign of Cancer rising in the orient, the loyal chieftains of Śrī-Vīra-Padmanābha-Mārtāṇḍavarman Tiruvaḍi, graciously ruling over Vēṇāḍ, consecrated the holy temple of Vaḍaśērikkarai, at Udaiyamārtāṇḍapuram in Varkkalai, after constructing with granite stones the inner shrine from the foundations to the wall plates, and paving the courtyard with stones, besides repairing the Śrī-Mukha-Manḍapa (or the hall in front facing the shrine).”

This is one of the most satisfactory Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscriptions I have, every word in it being clear and unmistakable. It proves that on the morning of the 22nd of Iḍavam 427 M. E., about 9 a. m., Wednesday, the throne of Vēṇāḍ was enjoyed by Śrī-Vīra-Padmanābha-Mārtāṇḍavarman Tiruvaḍi, who in all probability immediately succeeded Śrī-Vīra-Ravī-Kēraḷavarman of Maṇalikkarai fame. It is interesting to note that the sacred spot where the temple now stands was then called Udaiyamārtāṇḍapuram, no doubt in commemoration of an earlier builder or patron of the fane; but it cannot be the Udaiyamārtāṇḍavarman of our Tiruvaṭṭār inscription, as it is not likely that the temple could have demanded repair and reconstruction in so short a time. That the chiefs of Śrī-Padmanābha-Mārtāṇḍavarman were not the originators of the temple is clear enough from their having had only to repair the hall facing the shrine.

<sup>89</sup> It is possible that the sanctity of Varkkalai is partly due to its having been taken by early Indian geographers to be in the same latitude as Rāmēśvaram in the east. Later, perhaps, a closer approximation was attempted by the foundation of a temple near Quilon, under the very name of Rāmēśvaram. That something of the kind must have been meant, is proved by such places as the following almost in the same latitude:—Alwaye and Madura, whose ancient name was Ālavāy, and Trichūr and Trichinopoly, obviously derived from the same root, despite modern fanciful corruptions.

<sup>90</sup> It is available only in manuscript. Its style is clearly modern.

## XIV.

Hitherto we have been discussing the records of a series of sovereigns, from 301 to 427 M. E., with intervals too short to lead us to suspect their unbroken succession. But now for the first time appears an apparent blank. The next king of Vēṇāḍ revealed by the documents in my collection is **Sri-Vira-Udaiyamārtāṇḍavarman II.**, who ruled on the 22nd of Kumbha 491 M. E. There is thus an interval of 64 years—a period presumably too long to be allotted to one reign. What princes, if any, enjoyed the throne of Vēṇāḍ during the interval, and whether they have left any traces at all behind them, future researches alone can determine. I have about 15 documents in my present collection, dated from 400 to 491 M. E., but none of them gives me any help. On the other hand, judging by the light of these records, one would be led to conclude that this unaccounted interval of half a century was a time of trouble in the south-eastern frontiers of Vēṇāḍ. It is about this time that the foreign temple of Rājendra-Chōlēsvara at Kōttār receives several grants and dedications from private parties, *primā facie* foreign to Travancore. In the midst of these grants and presumably of the same age, so far as palæography and situation can tell us, occur four inscriptions dated in the 11th year of Kō-Jaṭavarman *alias* **Sri-Sundara-Chōla-Pāṇḍyadēva**. In an inscription at Suchindram, dated in the 9th year of the same Pāṇḍya king, this ancient village is itself called **Sundara-Chōla-chaturvēdimāṅgalam**. Finally in **Saka 1293, or 546 of the Malabar era**, this same foreign temple of Rājendra-Chōla receives substantial repairs at the hands of **Parākrama-Pāṇḍyadēva**. What could all this mean but that South Travancore was once more, about this period, under foreign sway? It looks highly probable that **Sri-Sundara-Chōla-Pāṇḍyadēva** of the inscriptions we have just noticed, was the same as Jaṭavarman *alias* **Sundara-Pāṇḍya**, whose accession<sup>91</sup> is calculated by Mr. Dikshit of Dhulia, from materials furnished by Dr. Hultzsch, to have taken place in the Saka year 1172, and whose ninth year of reign in consequence would be Saka 1181, or 434 M. E., *i. e.*, exactly seven years after the chieftains of Vira-Padmanābha-Mārtāṇḍavarman completed their reconstruction of the temple at Varkkalai. Probably, then, soon after the completion of that architectural undertaking in the north, **Sri-Vira-Padmanābha-Mārtāṇḍavarman** must have been called upon to do more anxious duties in the south. The cloud must have been gathering in that horizon even much earlier. I find the foreign temple of Rājendra-Chōlēsvara rising into favour from 392 M. E. The contest might have been long kept up, but the result could not have been other than unfavourable. **Sundara-Chōla-Pāṇḍyadēva** succeeded at least in wresting the whole of the district of which Kōttār was the centre. He seems to have established also his authority so widely and well as to lead private parties to reckon their grants in the year of his reign, and to call an ancient hamlet like Suchindram by a new fangled name, coined specially to flatter his pride. **Sundara-Chōla-Pāṇḍya** was by no means the last of the revived dynasty of Pāṇḍyas to trouble Travancore. I have with me an inscription dated in the 3rd year of **Uḍaiyār Sri-Chōla-Pāṇḍyadēva Kōchchaḍaiyavarman**, another dated in the 2nd year of a simple **Kōchchaḍaiyavarman**, probably the same as the last; two again dated in the reign of **Māvarman alias Vikrama-Chōla-Pāṇḍyadēva**, and two more in the reign of **Māvarman alias Srivallabha-dēva**. Pending further researches, we may, therefore, for the present, reasonably assume that the hiatus of sixty years, of which we have now no account, was a period too full of trials and tribulations to allow occasions for such acts of charities and temple buildings as form the subject matter of the Travancore inscriptions in general.

But before the end of the fifth century, the Pāṇḍya wave of conquest must have receded for a while; for we get once more a glimpse of the Vēṇāḍ throne in 491 M. E. On the 22nd of Kumbha of that year, that throne was occupied by **Sri-Vira-Udaiyamārtāṇḍavarman II.**, *alias* **Vira-Pāṇḍyadēva**. My authority for this statement is an inscription in five

<sup>91</sup> *Ante*, Vol. XXII. p. 221.

lines on the southern wall of a temple at Kēraḷapuram, about three miles from Padmanābhapuram. It would read thus, if translated :—

No. <sup>14</sup><sub>69</sub>. <sup>Vaṭṭeḷuttu</sup><sub>Old Malayālam.</sub> Kēraḷapuram Inscription of Vīra-Udaiyamārtāṇḍavarman II.

"In the Kollam year 491, and in the 4th year, the sun being 21 days old in Aquarius, is made the following grant. The loyal chieftains of **Sri-Vīra-Udaiyamārtāṇḍavarman Tiruvaḍiyār, Vīra-Pāṇḍyadēvar**, graciously ruling over Vēṇāḍ, do hereby provide in writing for a sacred perpetual lamp and for the daily expenses of the Mahādēva of Sri-Vīra-Kēraḷēśvaram, at Mnttalaik-kuruchchi, in Pāḷkōḍadēsam, in division No. 1 of the district of Cheikaḷunīrnāḍu, in Tennāḍu, belonging to (or under the administration of) the said chieftains. Accordingly, the said chieftains make over (for the said purpose) all the dues taken as *kaḷiyakkam*, from this *dēsam* (or circle), including *oṭṭira* tax, *uvvi*, bamboo grain, *aḷageruḍu*, duty on looms and palmyras, *karaipparṟu*, fines and *kō-muṇaippāḍu*. In this manner then, the said chieftains grant in writing, all the dues taken as *kaḷiyakkam* from this *dēsam* (or circle), including *oṭṭira* tax, *uvvi*, bamboo grain, *aḷageruḍu*, duty on looms and palmyras, *karaipparṟu*, fines and *kō-muṇaippāḍu*, excepting such of them as have been already granted to meet the charges of the Mahādēva of Tiruvitāṅkōḍu<sup>52</sup> and the Dēva and Bhagavati of Pākkōḍu, to be made use of as long as the moon and the stars endure, for the purpose of supplying the daily needs of the Mahādēva of Kēraḷēśvaram, and a sacred perpetual lamp to the same deity, which fact we the following do know and can attest:—Chāttan Maniyan of Tāḷkkil Pulavaraman; Nārāyaṇan Kuḍiśan of Penankāḍu; Kaṇḍan Iravivarman (signature); \* \* Tiruvikraman of Punalūri (signature). This deed in *caḍjan* is written with the knowledge of the above persons by Irāman Kēraḷan of Kaitavāy (signature)."

Thus then on the 22nd Kumbha 491 M. E., or roughly speaking about the end of February 1316, the sovereign of Vēṇāḍ was **Sri-Vīra-Udaiyamārtāṇḍavarman**, who, it will be observed, styled himself further **Vīra-Pāṇḍyadēva**. Nothing could be of greater historical interest than to know the circumstances that led to the assumption of this new and foreign title; but I have succeeded as yet in finding no clue whatever towards its solution. May it be that when the Pāṇḍya power shrunk back to its original condition, after having been blown out into dangerous and meddlesome greatness by the breath of a Kōchchaḍaiyan or a Kōmāraṇ, the Vēṇāḍ kings not only regained their lost ground, but also retaliated by invading and conquering a portion of the dominions of their recent conquerors, and assumed, too, their style and manners to legitimize their hold upon the territories so added to their own? Agreeably to this foreign title, we find also the no less foreign method of dating the inscription in the year of the sovereign's reign. But thanks to the wisdom of the Vēṇāḍ chiefs, this new method was not allowed to supersede, but was only combined with, the old and sensible way of reckoning in the fixed Kollam era. In the case before us, therefore, the mention of the year of the king's reign, instead of giving rise to endless collations and calculations, as is so usual in Indian epigraphy, only gives us the additional welcome information that Udaiyamārtāṇḍavarman ascended the throne three years previously, i. e., in 488 M. E. It is quite possible that the reference is made not to the year of the accession, but to the date of his assuming the foreign title of Vīra-Pāṇḍyadēva. In either case, we are sure that the reigning sovereign of Vēṇāḍ on the 22nd of Kumbha 491 (March 1316) was **Sri-Vīra-Udaiyamārtāṇḍavarman Tiruvaḍi**. Having already met a king of this name, we may call him **Sri-Vīra-Udaiyamārtāṇḍavarman II.** or as, styled in the document before us, **Vīra-Pāṇḍyadēva**.

As for the particulars of the grant, I am at a loss to understand the nature of all the taxes set apart by this document for the use of the Mahādēva. Most of the terms used are unknown

<sup>52</sup> The word Travancore is a corruption of Tiruvitāṅkōḍu. But I am not at all sure Tiruvitāṅkōḍu is analysable into Sri vāḷum kōḍu, as is now so generally assumed. The derivation owes its plausibility to the corrupt form of Tiruvāṅkōḍu.



to literature and the lexicons, and as far as I am aware, they are obsolete also in the current revenue system of the land. Neither *kalīyakkam* nor *oṭṭira* carries any meaning to my mind. *Uvvi*, according to Winslow, may mean 'head;' but what sort of tax was called by this rare word for 'head' is now impossible to conjecture. 'Bamboo grain' is still of some use to hill-men, and probably it stood, in those days of little or no forest conservancy, as the type of hill products, which in Travancore now includes besides timber, ivory, bees' wax, etc. *Alagerudu* is a term already met with in these inscriptions and despaired of. Literally, it may mean a 'fair bull.' To the known tax on hand-looms, we find here attached a tax on the palmyra, and it looks probable that what is meant is a tax for tapping, and not otherwise using, that palm. Besides fines, the government of those days, it would appear, appropriated certain payments under the name of *kō-muraippādu*, literally 'royal-justice-income,' which we might take to represent the court fees and 'judicial revenue' of modern times. *Karaipparru* means 'adhering to or reaching land,' and it might be taken to include treasure trove, mines, jetsam and flotsam, and all such royalties known to law. It would be interesting indeed to know how, at what rates, and through what agencies, these several taxes were levied, and what exactly was the bearing of the charge with respect to both people and government, when the revenue was assigned away, as in the present instance, for the maintenance of a particular temple. One would think from the minute political divisions and subdivisions noticed in this document that the administration of the revenue was far from crude or primitive. We have seen above that Vēṇāḍ was primarily divided into eighteen provinces or *nāḍus*, and probably Tennāḍu, or, Southern Province, was one of these primary divisions. That the part of the country about Padmanābhapuram should be called the southern province, while the one still further to the south is named Nāñchil-nāḍu, may be significant of the extent of the Vēṇāḍ principality at one stage of its history. The loose and redundant style of the document speaks badly of the literary capacity of the hereditary clerk of the crown, Kaitavāy Irāman Kēraḷan, — whose family name, Kaitavāy, occurs so frequently in the royal grants in my collection, — unless, indeed, it is taken to indicate the hurried occasion of the grant itself, such as the flush of a signal triumph, or sudden recovery from a serious malady. The absence of the usual expression 'Hail! Prosperity!' at the commencement, and that of the 'sign manual' at the end are omissions equally worthy of attention. What they signify, if anything at all, we have no data to determine. That only two of the four ministers or chieftains that arrange for the grant sign their names, may to some extent be taken as an indication of the state of education at the time.

### Results.

The next record I have in point of date would take me beyond the fifth Malabar century, and therefore beyond the scope of the present paper. Of the many themes of historical interest calling for investigation in Travancore, I selected the royal house as that most naturally and rightfully claiming my first and foremost attention. Limiting myself to a particular period in the history of that house, *viz.*, the 4th and 5th Malabar centuries, of which no account of any description has been hitherto forthcoming, and availing myself of but one of the means of historical research, the safest and the best in fact, *viz.*, public stone inscriptions, I have endeavoured to dispel the darkness in which the epoch has up to date been enveloped. Putting aside all side lights and inferences as to the general condition of the country, its society, its economy, its internal government, I have now the following solid facts to offer :—

- I. Śrī-Vīra-Kēraḷavarman ruled Vēṇāḍ in 301 and 319 M. E.
- II. Śrī-Vīra-Ravivarman in 336 and 342 M. E.
- III. Śrī-Vīra-Udaiyamārtāṇḍavarman I. in 348 M. E.
- IV. Śrī-Āditya-Rāmaavarman in 365 M. E.
- V. Śrī-Vīra-Rāmaavarman in 371 M. E.

- VI. Śrī-Vīra-Rāma-Kēraḷavarman in 384 and 389 M. E.  
 VII. Śrī-Vīra-Ravi-Kēraḷavarman in 410 M. E.  
 VIII. Śrī-Vīra-Padmanābha-Mārtāṇḍavarman in 427 M. E.  
 IX. Śrī-Udaiyamārtāṇḍavarman II. *alias* Vīra Pāṇḍyadēva in 491 M. E.

It will be observed, in this list of the early sovereigns of Travancore, whose names and dates the inscriptions have served to bring to light, I have not included the doubtful case of Śrī-Vīra-Kēraḷavarman II. of the Ārriṅgal fragments, or of Kōḍa-Mārtāṇḍa, who seems to have taken part in the institution of the Kollam era in 824 A. D. That these names and dates by themselves will not constitute the history of the two centuries under investigation, needs no saying. But that they will stand in good stead when the history of the epoch comes to be written, is my humble hope and trust.

## ESSAYS ON KASHMIRI GRAMMAR.<sup>1</sup>

BY THE LATE KARL FRIEDRICH BURKHARD.

*Translated and edited, with notes and additions,*

*by G. A. Grierson, Ph.D., C.I.E., I.O.S.*

### NO. I. — THE VERB.

#### A. INTRODUCTORY.

##### AUTHORITIES.

#### 1. I. — Printed —

##### (1) *Texts* —

- (a) *Ns.* = The Holy Bible, translated into the Kashmeera Language by the Serampore missionaries. Vol. V. containing the New Testament; Serampore 1821 (in Śāradā characters).  
 (b) *Np.* = مَتَّى , مَرْقَس , لُوقَا , يُوْحَنَّا سَنَرِ اَنْجِيل , The Four Gospels, Lodiana, 1882 [in Persian (*ta'liq*) characters].<sup>2</sup>  
 (c) *K.* = A Dictionary of Kashmiri proverbs and sayings, by the Rev. J. Hinton Knowles, Bombay, 1885.<sup>3</sup>

##### (2) *Grammars and Dictionaries*—

- (a) *Ed.* = Grammar and Vocabulary of the Cashmiri Language, by M. P. Edgeworth; J. A. S. B., Vol. X.; Calcutta, 1841 (in the Roman character).  
 (b) *L.* = Grammar of the Cashmeeree Language, by Major R. Leech, J. A. S. B., Vols. XIII., XIV.; Calcutta, 1844 (in the Roman character).  
 (c) *B.* = Grammar contained in Dr. Bühler's Detailed Report of a Tour in search of Sanskrit MSS. in Kāśmīr. J. R. A. S., Bo. Br., for 1877 (in the Roman character).

<sup>1</sup> This series of three valuable essays on the Kāśmīrī Language, dealing respectively with the Verb, the Noun, and the Preposition, appeared originally in the Proceedings of Royal Bavarian Academy of Science, for 1887, 1888, and 1889. They are republished in an English dress by the courteous permission of that body and of the heirs of the learned author. The translator wishes to record his acknowledgments to Prof. Kuhn of Munich for his kind offices in obtaining the necessary permission. Additions by the translator are enclosed in square brackets.

<sup>2</sup> [There are also several publications of the Śrinagar missionaries; some in the Persian, and some in the Roman character; including a very useful church-service for Native Christians in the Roman character. The student must be warned against *Ns.* It is full of serious blunders. — TRANS.]

<sup>3</sup> The proverbs and sayings are in the Roman character. As might be expected from the contents, the language is often extremely elliptical, and appears to resemble closely the colloquial. The work is not of much value from the point of view of grammar, but is of the highest importance from that of lexicography. The English translations are not always literal, as indeed was often not possible.

- (d) El. = A Vocabulary of the Kashmîrî Language, Kashmîrî-English and English-Kashmîrî, by William Jackson Elmslie; London, 1872 (in the Roman character).<sup>4</sup>

[The following are not mentioned by Dr. Burkhard :—

- (e) W. = A Grammar of the Kashmîrî Language, by the Rev. T. R. Wade, B. D., M. R. A. S.; London, 1888 (in the Roman character).  
 (f) A. = A Vocabulary of English, Balti and Kashmîrî, compiled by H. H. Godwin Austen, J. A. S. B., Vol. XXXV.; Calcutta, 1866.  
 (g) Lw. = The Valley of Kashmir, by Walter R. Lawrence, I. C. S., 1895. Chapter XIX. contains an important Glossary of Kâsmîrî words.]

## II. — Manuscript —

### (1) *Texts* —

- (a) In the Dêvanâgarî character; (a) Collection of Kâsmîrî songs, made by Chand Râm (very difficult).  
 (β) Nâgârjuna-charita Kâsmîrîbhâshâ-yâm. (Two MSS., one complete, one extracts.)  
 (b) In the Roman character; (a) Extracts from the Nâgârjuna-charita.  
 (β) Yusuf-o-Zulaikhâ.  
 (γ) Shîrîn-o-Khôsra.

The last four are the property of Dr. Bühler.

### (2) *Grammars and Dictionaries* —

- (a) Mp. = A Kâsmîrî Grammar from the Puna Library [in Persian characters (*ta'ûq*) and language].

(This MS., which is mentioned in Dr. Bühler's Detailed Report (above, I, 2 (c)), and which has been most liberally placed at my disposal, has been of most assistance to me.

It contains 98 pages in small 8vo. Pages 1-46, about 1,200 words arranged in the order of the Persian Alphabet in 29 divisions; pp. 47-53, the Irregular verbs, quoted in the Infinitive, Present, Perfect Participle, Imperative, and Aorist (always in the 3rd person), with Persian translation; pp. 55-84, the conjugation of regular verbs (pp. 55-84, *rachhun* and *sôzun*); pp. 71-74, *yun*; pp. 74-76, *gatshun*; pp. 76-85, *mâranâvun*; pp. 86-89, the conjugation of auxiliary verbs; pp. 89-90, the Pronouns; p. 90, remarks on certain letters which are used as suffixes; p. 92, Declension; pp. 93-98, Numerals.)

- (b) A Kâsmîrî Grammar by Dr. Bühler (in the Roman character).

2. This is not the place to criticize the above mentioned grammatical authorities; I merely feel myself justified in remarking that they leave many points which are far from being satisfactorily cleared up. Putting to one side the terribly varying, and indeed, to the beginner, altogether confusing, transliteration which sometimes is not even consistent throughout one and the same work, there is absolutely no explanation to be found in any of them of some of the most difficult questions in regard to the conjugation of verbs. In some instances important forms are altogether omitted. Anyone who compares this work with its predecessors, can easily satisfy himself on these points.

<sup>4</sup> [See also, *Kashmîrî Test Words*, by W. J. Elmslie, Esq., M.D., J. A. S. B., Vol. XXXIX. (1870), Pt. I. p. 95.—TRANS.]

## ALPHABET AND SYSTEM OF transliteration.

## (1) Vowels.

3. Devanagari (Śāradā).	Persian.	Transliteration.
अ	ا	a, [a] <sup>5</sup> [e]
आ	آ, اُ, اِ	ā [ā]
इ	ی, —	i [i] [e]
ई	ای, یِ	ī [ē]
उ	و, —	u, u, [o]
ऊ	وو, —	ū [ō]
ए	(ای), ے	ē
ऐ	ای, ے	ay
ओ	وو, —	o, [ō]
औ	وو, وو, —	ōv, [ōv]
य	after a consonant =	ē
व	after a consonant =	ō

[و — av, and وو — iv, at the end of a word are pronounced au and iu respectively.]

## (2) Consonants.

Gutturals.	{	क	ک	k
		ख	کھ	kʰ
		ग	گ	g
		घ.	گھ <sup>6</sup>	gʰ
Palatals.	{	ङ	ن	ŋ
		च	च, छ	ch, ts
		छ.	च, छ	chh, tsh
		ज	ज, झ	j, z
		झ	(ज)	jʰ
Cerebrals.	{	ञ.	न	ñ
		त	ت	t
		ठ	ٹ	tʰ
		ड	ڈ	d
		ढ	ढ	dʰ
		ण	ن	ɳ
Dentals.	{	न	ن	n
		य	ی	y
		थ	ث	th
		द	د	d
		ध	(ध)	dh

<sup>5</sup> Letters in brackets are added by the translator, vide §§ 5 and ff. post.

<sup>6</sup> Occurs in Luke xxi. 19, گھبرانہ ghōbrānā, the Hindūstānī گھبرانہ ghōbrānā

Labials.	{	प	پ	p
		फ	ف	ph
		ब	ب	b
		भ	(بہ)	bh
Semi-vowels.	{	म	م	m
		य	ی	y
		र	ر	r
		ल	ل	l
		व	و	v
		श	ش, س	sh
		ष	ش	sh
		स	س	s
		—	ژ	zh
		ह	ه	h

Remarks. — (1) ع, ح, ه, خ, گ, ق, ص, ض, ط, ظ, ث, ذ, are all purely Arabic letters.

(2) ف *f* is purely Arabo-Persian.

(3) ژ *zh* is purely Persian; in Mp. it is used instead of ङ *ts*.

(4) و [*ŋ*<sup>i</sup>] is pronounced *ny*<sup>i</sup>.

(5) The letters enclosed in marks of parenthesis do not occur in Np.

#### PRONUNCIATION.

4. The pronunciation of the consonants is the same as in Persian and Hindūstānī. On the other hand the correct pronunciation of the vowels is not shewn by the Śāradā (Dēvanāgarī), or by the Persian Alphabet, or by any existing system of transliteration in the Roman character.<sup>7</sup> For this reason, I have contented myself with reproducing the vowels which I find in the texts in the Śāradā and Persian characters which are available to me, without any reference to the pronunciation; and refer the reader, who requires further information, to the scholarly and thorough comparison of Kāśmīrī sounds given by Leech (see above, — Authorities, I. 2 (b) pp. 399-410). I may, however, remark that —

(1) Persian — *i*, and Śāradā *ū*, is sounded as *ū* in feminine forms; e. g., کُرِت *karūt*, Śāradā [करुत] *karūth*. [This is as often as not represented by *u*. I represent the sound whenever it occurs, however it may be written, by *ū*. — TRANS.]

(2) The vowel *u*<sup>8</sup> at the end of a word and before suffixes is hardly audible; e. g., دُپ *dopu* (or دُپ *dop*), Śāradā [दप] *dap*<sup>u</sup>; دُپَنَس *dopu-n-as*, Śāradā [दपुनस] *dap<sup>u</sup>-n-as*;

(3) *ā*, is pronounced *ā* in feminine forms; e. g., سَوَزَم *sōzōm*, fem. سَوَزَام *sōzōyam*;

(4) *ā* and *ū* are frequently pronounced like the *ā* in آب *āb*, 'water.' Hence دَس *ās* (*ōs*) is written आसु *ās<sup>u</sup>* in Śāradā, and आसो *ās<sup>o</sup>* in Dēvanāgarī.







[Note by Translator on Kāśmīrī pronunciation.

5. Since the above was written the difficult question of Kāśmīrī pronunciation has had much light thrown upon it by the excellent little grammar of Wade. The following notes derived

<sup>7</sup> [This was written before Mr. Wade's *Grammar* was published.]

<sup>8</sup> [Also *i*, see translator's note below.]

from the works of Elmslie, Bühler, and Wade, and checked by the writer himself in Kâśmīr may be found of use to students.

8. **Vowel sounds.** — *a*, *ā*, *i*, *ī*, *u*, *ū*, *ē*, *ō* are pronounced nearly as in other Indian languages. *E* and *o* are the corresponding short vowels of *ē* and *ō* respectively. They are pronounced like the *e* in 'met,' and the *o* in 'cot' respectively. The short *e* is represented in the Persian character by , the same sign as that used for *i*, and the short *o* by , the same as that used for *u*. In my transliteration I shall endeavour to distinguish between these two pairs of sounds although there is no difference in the Persian method of representing each member of each. Similarly, the Persian   *i*, is often used to represent the sound *ē*, and   *ū*, to represent *ō*. When this is the case, I shall represent the pronunciation in transliteration.

7. Kāśmīrī also possesses three broken vowels, viz., *α*, *ŷ*, and *ô*. The first of these is represented in the Persian character by  $\text{ـ}$ , as if it were a simple *α*, no distinction being made between the two letters. It is sounded something like a German *ü*, and hence Dr. Bühler represents it in transliteration by that character. As, however, Elmslie represents this sound in his Vocabulary, by *â*, and Wade uses *α* in his grammar, I have, after consideration, adopted the form *α* myself. This will prevent confusion in looking up words containing this vowel in the Vocabulary. Owing to the doubtful nature of this sound, it is as often represented in the Persian character by  $\text{ـ}$  as by  $\text{ـ}$  *α*. Thus  $\text{رہج}$  or  $\text{رہج}$  *rah*, a rag. This sound has been mentioned by the author in § 4, 1 *supra*. It is developed from the influence of a following *i* or *e*, which has been elided, and left its influence behind, or, sometimes directly from *i*. Thus *karα-m* (Bühler, *karī-m*), feminine of *koru-m*, she was done by me, for \**kari-me*. Again *pαchī*, she went, but *pachī* (in which the *i* is not elided, but is fully pronounced), they (fem.) went.

8. The letter *ǣ* is merely the long sound of *æ*. Bühler represents it by *ê*, which has the merits of consistency. To be consistent, I should have adopted *ê*. As, however, both Wade and Elmslie represent this sound by a sign based on the letter *u*, (*viz.* Wade *ū*, Elmslie *ü*), I have from practical motives adopted *ǣ*. This sound is of rare occurrence. An example of it is in the word *tǣr*, cold. It is represented in Persian by the sign | *ē*, *i. e.*, the same as that for *ē*.

9. The sound  $\delta$  (cf. § 4, 3 *supra*), which is pronounced like the German vowel  $\bar{o}$ , is also due to the influence of a following  $i$  which has disappeared. It is usually represented in the Persian character by  $\bar{\delta}$ , the same as that used for  $\bar{a}$ , but we often find  $\bar{\delta}$  used for the same purpose. Thus  $\text{برور}$  *brôr*, a tom-cat, fem.  $\text{برآر}$  or (incorrectly)  $\text{برور}$ , *brôr*, for \**brôr(i)*).

10. A final *i* or *u* (*vide supra*, § 4, 2) is sometimes pronounced so slightly as to be almost inaudible; this is represented by a small *u* or *i* above the line. Thus *guru*<sup>u</sup>, a horse, *guri*<sup>i</sup>, horses, *tami*<sup>i</sup>, by him; but *guri*, mares, *tami*, by her, in which the final *i* is fully pronounced. In the Persian character, when these final vowels are fully pronounced, the Persian silent *h* (هائي مخففي) is used, thus, *tami*<sup>i</sup>, by her. When the *i* is almost inaudible, the word is written without the *h*, thus, *tami*<sup>i</sup>, by him. The *u*, specially, is barely audible, and is usually omitted in writing. Except when necessary for some particular reason, I shall also usually omit it in transliteration.

11. The following is, therefore, the complete vowel system of Kāśmīrī:—

<i>a</i> ,	<i>ä</i> ,	<i>α</i> ,	<i>ü</i>
<i>i</i> ,	<i>î</i> ,	<i>ι</i>	
<i>u</i> ,	<i>ü</i> ,	<i>υ</i>	
<i>e</i> ,	<i>ê</i>		
<i>o</i> ,	<i>ô</i> ,	<i>ο</i>	

I take the responsibility of using all these signs, instead of the few used by the author. They do not exhaust all the numerous shades of vowel-pronunciation in Kâśmîrî, but they give the principal ones, and will be found useful by the learner. It must be understood that I am entirely responsible for the insertion of these diacritical marks.

12. The following are the Persian methods of denoting these sounds : —

ā,  $\text{—}$  (or sometimes  $\text{—}$ ), e. g.,  $\text{تہا}$  ( $\text{تہا}$ ) *thāz*, high (fem.)

ū,  $\text{—}$ , e. g.,  $\text{پانسی}$  *pāntsa* (not *pāntsi* or *pāntse*), twenty-five.

i,  $\text{—}$ , e. g.,  $\text{تم}$  *tam*, by him.

u,  $\text{—}$ , but more usually omitted, e. g.,  $\text{گور}$  ( $\text{گور}$ ) *gur* (*guru*), a horse.

e,  $\text{—}$ , e. g.,  $\text{ادر}$  (*ader* (fem.)), damp; often, however, we find  $\text{—}$  incorrectly used. Thus,

$\text{ویٹ}$  for  $\text{ویٹ}$  *vyet* (fem.), fat.

o,  $\text{—}$ , e. g.,  $\text{سوت}$  *sot*, silly.

ô,  $\text{—}$  (or incorrectly  $\text{—}$ ), e. g.,  $\text{مادر}$  ( $\text{مادر}$ ) *môj*, a mother,  $\text{دل}$  ( $\text{دل}$ ) *lô!* (fem.), beloved.

13. It should be noted, once for all, that when Kâśmîrî is written in the Persian character, the greatest carelessness is exhibited in the use of  $\text{—}$  (*a* or *ā*) and  $\text{—}$  (*i* and *e*). These signs are continually, and capriciously, used, one for the other. The author has as a rule followed as nearly as may be the capricious spelling of Np., and I have throughout endeavoured to correct it in the transliteration.

14. Consonants. — The letters *ch* and *chh* have occasionally developed into a new sound *ts*, and *tsh*, pronounced as written. This has already been noted by the author. *Tsh* is to be pronounced as *ts* + *h*, not as *t* + *sh*. It is represented in the Persian character by  $\text{چ}$ . A similar change occurs in Marâṭhî.]

#### [Note by Translator on the Phonetic Laws of Kâśmîrî.]

15. Some of the changes, both of vowels and of consonants, which are common in Kâśmîrî, will be new to students of other Indian languages. The following remarks, partly condensed from those of Dr. Bühler, will tend to make them more intelligible : —

(1) The vowels *i* ( $\text{ی}$ ), *e* ( $\text{ہ}$ ) are frequently confused. One is often written for the other. *I* is often pronounced as *e*, and *ē* as *i* or *ī*. So also there is a similar confusion between *u*, *ū*, *o* and *ô*.

(2) A medial *a* or *e* usually changes to *u* or *o*, under the influence of an original following *u*. Thus *karun* to do, for \**karanu*; *hostu*, an elephant, for *hastu*. The oblique form is *hastī*, in which the *a* is preserved, because there is no original following *u*. Again, *vyoṭu*, fat, for \**vyetū*, fem. *vieṭ* or *vyet*.

(3) Similarly, a medial *i* before an original final *u* becomes *yu*, and the original *u* becomes *u*. Thus, *nyūlu*, blue, for \**nīlu*; but oblique *nīlī*. So also *dyūṭhu*, seen, for *dīṭhu*; but feminine *dīchh*, or *dīchh*, in which there is no original final *u*.

(4) In the formation of feminines, and in the conjugation of verbs, and also occasionally in declension, the following consonantal changes often occur : —

$\left. \begin{array}{l} k \text{ becomes } ch \\ kh \text{ becomes } chh \end{array} \right\}$ , e. g., *hoku*, or *hokhu*, dry, fem. *hoch* or *hochh*.

*g* becomes *j* or *d*, e. g., *sruḡu*, cheap, fem. *sruj*; *longu*, lame, *land*, or *lanj*.

*ṭ* becomes *ch*, e. g., *tsot*, cut, fem. *tsach*.

*ḡh* becomes *chh*, e. g., *ḡyūḡh*, seated, fem. *ḡichh*.

*t* becomes *ts*, e. g., *sotv*, silly, fem. *sats*.

*th* becomes *tsh*, e. g., *mothv*, anointed, fem. *matsh*.

*ḍ* becomes *z*, e. g., *thodv*, high, fem. *thaz*.

*ḍ* becomes *j*, e. g., *lodv*, built, fem. *laj* or *laz*.

*n* becomes *ñ*, e. g., *kannv*, alone, fem. *kunñ*.

*l* becomes *j*, e. g., *wōzulv*, red, fem. *wōzaj*.

(5) The following vowel changes occur in declension and conjugation. Some have been already described above : —

*α* becomes *q* in certain feminine nouns, e. g., *ni'mat*, a favour, pl. *ni'mats* (regarding the change of *t* to *ts*, see above), and in forming feminines, e. g., *khar*, an ass, *khqr*, a she-ass.

*a* becomes *o* in verbs, e. g., *pakun*, to go, Aorist *poḡv*.

*q* becomes *a* in certain feminine nouns, e. g., *gab*, a sheep, pl. *gabi*.

*ḍ* becomes *ḍ* in feminine monosyllabic nouns and in forming the feminine of adjectives, e. g., *rāt*, night, pl. *rōts*; *ḍānv*, easy, fem. *ḍōñi*.

*ḍ* becomes *ḍ* in verbs, e. g., *mārun*, to kill; aor. *mōru*.

*i*, see *e*.

*i* becomes *u* in verbs, e. g., *chārun*, to squeeze; aor. *chūru*.

*u* becomes *a* in masc. nouns, e. g., *kokur*, a cock, dat. *kokaras*.

*α* (often confused with *a*, *q*, *v*.) becomes *q*, e. g., *wōzulv*, red, fem. *wōzaj*.

*α* becomes *ḡ*, e. g., *kurv*, red, fem. *kūr*.

*u* becomes *e*, e. g., *kōtur*, a pigeon, fem. *kōter*.

*u* becomes *o*, e. g., *hunv*, a dog, pl. *honi*.

*α* becomes *ḍ*, e. g., *krurv*, a well, pl. *krōri*.

*ḍ* (sometimes written *ḍ*) becomes *ḍ* in certain feminine nouns, e. g., *kār*, a daughter, pl. *kōri*.

*i* and *e* become *y* or *u* in verbs, e. g., *kekun*, to be able; aor. *kyukv*.

*ē* becomes *y* or *u* in verbs, e. g., *phērun*, to turn; aor. *phūru*.

*o* (often confused with *u*, *q*, *v*.) becomes *q*, e. g., *boḡv*, big, fem. *baḡ*.

*o* becomes *e*, e. g., *vyoḡv*, fat, fem. *vyef*; *adōru*, damp, fem. *aḡer*.

*o* becomes *u* in verbs, e. g., *wothun*, to rise; aor. *wūhv*.

*ḍ* (sometimes written *ḍ*) becomes *q*, e. g., *mōḡv*, thick, fem. *maḡ*.

*ḍ* becomes *ḍ*, e. g., *tsōngv*, a lamp, instr. pl. *tsāngiu*.

*ḍ* becomes *ḍ*, e. g., *khōñkhv*, one who speaks through his nose, pl. *khōñkh*; *ḡḡv*, beloved, fem. *ḡḡ*.

*ḍ* becomes *ḡ* in verbs, e. g., *sōzun*, to send, aor. *sūzv*.

*ḍ* becomes *ḡ* in all feminine nouns, e. g., *dōr*, a beard, pl. *dāri*; also in certain masc. pl. forms.

*y* becomes *i*, e. g., *phyrv*, a drop, dat. *phiris*.

*y* becomes *i*, e. g., *nyūlv*, blue, fem. *nij*. Sometimes also, *ḍ*, e. g., *apazyūru*, false, fem. *apazōr*.

With reference to the above it must be remembered that *i* is often pronounced *e*, and *u*, *o*, and *vice versa*.

(6) The soft aspirates *gh*, *dh*, *ḡh*, and *bh* have almost completely disappeared, the corresponding unaspirated letters being substituted for them. Thus, *guru*, a horse, for *ghuru*, Prakrit *ghōḡḡ*, Skr. *ghōḡakāḡ*; *bōi*, a brother = Hindi *bhāi*. The soft aspirate *jh* has become softened to *z*, e. g., *bōzun*, to hear, cf. Skr. *budhya-te*, Pr. *bujja-i*.

(7) As in other Indo-Aryan Vernaculars, the cerebral *ṇ* has almost completely disappeared, and *n* is substituted for it. Thus, *kan*, the ear, Pr. *kanyṇ*, Skr. *karnah*.]



## B. THE VERB.

16. Kāśmīrī verbs are quoted in the Infinitive form; thus, *karun*, to do, to make.

The infinitive is, properly speaking, of a shortened form of the Noun of Action in *anq*.<sup>9</sup> The Root, or Verbal Stem, is always the same as the 2nd person singular of the Imperative; thus, *kar*, make.

17. As regards form, Verbs are either —

(1) Primitve, as *karun*, to make; or

(2) Derivative, that is either —

(a) Causals, like *mokāṭvun*, to release (from *mokāṭun*, to be free); and Double-Causals, like *māṛāṭvun*, to cause to slay (from *marun*, to die, Causal *māṛun*, to cause to die, to slay).

(b) Denominatives, — derived from nouns, *e. g.*, from *boḍ*,<sup>10</sup> great, *boḍun*,<sup>11</sup> to become great, to increase; or

(3) Compound, *i. e.*, used in conjunction with nouns like *hukm karun*, to make an order, to command.

In regard to meaning, Verbs are either (a) transitive, or (b) intransitive. Except in tenses formed from the past participle, both are conjugated in the same way. There is thus, properly, only one conjugation.

## Formation of Causals.

18. The proper formative of Causals is the syllable *āv*. This is added either

(a) directly to the verbal stem; *e. g.*, *bachun*, to be saved (to remain over and above); *bachāṭvun*, to rescue (from the stem *bach*); *diun*, to give (stem *di*), causal *diāṭvun*. Monosyllabic stems in *l*, *sh*, *k*, and *m* insert a euphonic *r* before *āv*: *e. g.*, *balun*, to be convalescent, *balrāṭvun* (stem *bal*), *mashun*, to be forgotten *mashrāṭvun*, to forget; or

(b) more usually to the [oblique] noun of action in *anq*; *e. g.*, *bōzun*, to hear, [obl.] noun of action, *bōzanq*, Causal *bōzāṭvun*, to cause to hear; *behun*, to set, causal *behanāṭvun*, to give a seat to a person, to ask to sit down. Sometimes both forms occur for the same verb; as in the case of *phuṭun*, to sink, to burst, causal *phuṭāṭvun* and *phuṭāṇḍvun*, to cause to sink, to drown, to split (active).

(2) Some verbs merely lengthen the root-vowel; *e. g.*, *māṛun*, to die, *māṛun*, to cause to die, to kill; *harun*, to fall, *hārun*, to let fall. Irregular is *khasun*, to climb; *khasun* and *kharun*, to cause to climb, to lift up, to pull up.

<sup>9</sup> [It is really the nominative of an oblique base in *anq* — vide § 19.] <sup>10</sup> [Elmslie, *bōḍ*] <sup>11</sup> [Elmslie *boḍun*.]

Some verbs have the same meaning both in the Primitive and in the Causal forms; e. g.,  
 مُتْسَارُون *mutsarun* and مُتْسَارَاوَن *mutsarāvun*, to open, بَگَرُون *bagrun* and بَگَرَاوَن *bagrāvun*, to divide.

**Infinitive (مصدر) and Noun of Action (اسم فعل).**

19. [The translator has here considerably altered the author's text, in order to bring it into accord with his subsequent writings, and with the actual facts of the language. At the time of writing this portion of his essay, the author had evidently failed to notice that the Infinitive is, as in other Indo-Aryan languages, a pure verbal noun, having both masculine and feminine forms, and declined, according to circumstances, in the 1st (masculine), or in the 3rd (feminine), declension. It is used principally in the nominative, dative, ablative and genitive singular cases. The declension is quite regular, *viz.* :—

(1st declension.)

Masc. Nom. کَرُون *karun*, doing.

Dat. کَرَانَس *karanas*, to or for doing.

Abl. کَرَانَه *karana*, from doing. Used also as a general oblique base.

Genitive کَرَانُک *karanuk*, of doing.

(3rd declension.)

Fem. Nom. کَرَانِ *karanī*, Dat., Abl. کَرَانِی *karanī*.]

20. The Nominative of the Infinitive can be used as the subject of a verbal sentence; thus,  
 گَاتَشُون چَهہ ضرور *gatshun chhu zarūr*, to go is necessary, it is necessary to go.

The other cases are formed by changing the syllable *un* to *an*, and adding the usual terminations. Thus, کَرُون *karun*, to make, abl. کَرَانَه *karana*, مارَناوَن *māranāvun*, to slay, able مارَناوَنَه *mārandvanā*.

The verb دِیَن *diun* or *dyun*, to give, has, however, its ablative دِنَه *dina*. The following verbs follow دِیَن *diun* in this irregularity :—

پِیَن *peun*, to fall.

چِیَن *cheun*, to drink.

زِیَن *ziun* or *zyun*, to be born.

کِیَن *kheun*, to eat.

نِیَن *niun* or *nyun*, to take, to lead.

هِن *heun*, to take.

یَن *yun*, to come.

E. g., یِنَه *yina*, from coming.

An example of the dative of the infinitive occurs in the phrases کِیَنَس لایق *khenas lā'iq*, fit for food; لَوْنَس تَام *lōnanas tām*, till the harvest (lit., reaping) (Matth. xiii. 30). So also after other prepositions which govern the dative, such as اَنَدَر *andar*, in; نِش *nish*, to.

[The ablative appears very commonly, and is frequently used as a mere oblique base, like the Hindustani oblique infinitive. Its uses are as follows.]

(a) As complement to a verb, whose sense is in itself incomplete, *e. g.*, دین *diun*, to give, permit; thus, دین *ninā diun*, to permit to take.

(b) Governed by prepositions which take the ablative; such as خا طره *khòtra*, با پت *bápat* (= بابت *bábat*), or مکھ *mokhā*, on account of; پت *patā*, after; بونہی *bónhay*, before; سیت *sét*, with; رست *rust*, without; و رای *varōy*, و رای *savōy*, except; موجب *mājib*, according to. *E. g.*, دپنے پت *dāpanā patā*, after speaking (*i. e.*, after he, she, they, etc., had spoken); کھوچنے مکھ *khòtsanā mokhā*, on account of fear.

(c) With loss of the final *q* in composition with وقتہ *vaqtā* or وز *vizi*, at the time of *e. g.*, مرن وقتہ *maran vaqtā*,<sup>12</sup> at the time of dying; گاتشن وز *gatshan vizi*, at the time of going (*i. e.*, as he, she, they, etc., went). But we have also کھنے وقتہ *khena vaqtā*, at the time of eating [and پرسنے وز *prasani (fem.) wizi*, at the time of travail].

(d) To form the Passive, *vide* §§ 137 and ff. In this case the final *q* becomes *a*. Thus, مارنے *mārana* (not *māranā*) *yun*, to be killed.

The genitive of the Infinitive is usually formed by the adjectival suffix نک *uk* (fem. چ *qah*) (§ 198); *e. g.*, کارنک *karanuk*, fem. کارنچ *karanach*, of doing; مارنک حکم *māranuk hukm*, an order to kill; مارنچ ہمت *māranach himmat*, the intention of slaying.

21. [The feminine form of the infinitive belongs to the third declension. Its nominative hence ends in ان *ānī*, and all its oblique cases in انی *anī*. Thus, کارن *karun*, to do, fem. کارانی *karañi*, abl. fem. کارانی *karani*. It is used when the object of the verb is feminine; thus حکم کارن *hukm (masc.) karun*, to give an order; but نظر کارانی *naẓar karañi*, to do seeing, to watch گتشی نہ کارن *gatshi nā karañi*, laziness will not go to be done, *i. e.*, one should not be lazy. Here *karañi* is feminine in agreement with *sustī*. Note the force of the infinitive equivalent to the Latin participle in *-endus*. This is common, both in the masculine and in the feminine. *Karañi* is equivalent to *facienda*. So also آخر چھہ مرن *ākhir chhu marun* in the end one must die (*i. e.*, lit., it is to be died, *moriendum*).]

[The oblique feminine infinitive, is used—

(a) when it is governed by feminine prepositions; *e. g.*, پرسنے وز *prasani vizi*, at the time of travail;

<sup>12</sup> According to Math. xiii. 30, the word should be مرن *marañi* (*lōnāñi*), not مرن *maran*. We also find the expression مرنک وقتہ *maranāki (dat. of genitive) vaqtā*.

(b) after لَگُنْ *lagun*, in the meaning of 'to begin to'; e. g., لَگُنْ دَپَنِمْ *lagun dāpami*, he began to speak.]

The Noun of the Agent (اسم فاعل).

22. This is formed by the addition of the syllable وُل *vōl* to the oblique form of the noun of action of verbs like دِن *din* (see above). Thus, دِنَوُل *dina-vōl*, a giver; کِهَنَوُل *khenavōl*, an eater (also written رَوُل *rohul*); pl., دِنَوَال *dinavōl*; fem., sg. دِنَوَاج *dinavoj* or دِنَوَاجِن *dinavōjēn*, pl. دِنَوَاجِه *dinavājē*, or دِنَوَاجِنِه *dinavājēni*. In the case of other verbs the final vowel of the noun of action is elided before the وُل *vōl*; thus, سَوَزَن *sōzun*, to send; سَوَزَنَوُل *sōzanvōl*, a sender. The fem. sg. in *vōj* is an old form. The usual form at the present day is that in *vōjēni*.

23. Another form of the noun of the agent is formed by suffixing اَوْن *avun* to the stem of the verb. Thus, سَوَزَن *sōzun*, stem سَوَز *sōz*, hence سَوَزَوْن *sōz-avun*, fem. سَوَزَوْنِه *sōz-avāni*; pl. سَوَزَوْنِه *sōz-avāni*, fem. سَوَزَوْنِه *sōz-avāni*. The verbs conjugated like دِن *din* (see above, insert an euphonic *v* before the *avun*; thus دِن *dyun*, stem د *di*, hence دَوْن *di-v-avun*).

24. Both these verbal nouns of the agent can be used with a future signification; e. g., یَن *yun*, to come, یَوْن *yi-v-avun*, one who will come, that is, who is destined to come, or who may be expected to come.

(To be continued.)

## NOTES ON THE SPIRIT BASIS OF BELIEF AND CUSTOM.

BY J. M. CAMPBELL, CLE., I.C.S.

(Continued from p. 331.)

**Light.** — Light, the scatterer of the terrors that people the dark, is the chief of guardians. Dionysos is the light and life of the World:<sup>100</sup> Gautama is the light of Asia: Amitāba Buddha is the infinite light: Jesus is the light of the World: the Light of Heaven and of Earth is Allah. A red ray of light from the right eye of Amitāba brought into life Padmapāṇi, and a blue ray of light from his left eye formed Tāra, the enlightener. A beam of light from Padmapāṇi, the great pitiful, becomes incarnate in the Dalai Lāma.<sup>1</sup>

**The Guardian gives forth a light.** In the great temple at Tyre Melkarth was adored in the form of a luminous stone.<sup>2</sup> It is because the spirit of light lives in them that the diamond, the pearl, the ruby, the crystal, and other clear gems enjoy a worldwide worship as scarers of disease, terror and other forms of evil. Rays of glory issue from the body of Śūrya.<sup>3</sup> The babe Kṛishṇa brightened the dungeon in which he was born.<sup>4</sup> Balder was so fair of face and so shining that a light went forth from him.<sup>5</sup> The face of Moses shone so brightly that he had to wear a veil. In Tibet, the images of Buddha have a glowing halo or nimbus, and

<sup>100</sup> Brown's *Great Dionysiac Myth*, Vol. I. p. 235.

<sup>2</sup> Brown's *Great Dionysiac Myth*, Vol. I. p. 353.

<sup>4</sup> Inman's *Ancient Faiths*, Vol. I. p. 401.

<sup>1</sup> Schlagintweit's *Buddhism in Tibet*, pp. 84, 83.

<sup>3</sup> Wilkin's *Hindu Mythology*, p. 27.

<sup>5</sup> Edda in *The Golden Bough*, Vol. II. p. 308.

those of the fierce tutelary demons have a flaming halo.<sup>6</sup> The Lâma god is born with a halo of glory.<sup>7</sup> A flame-like process issues from the crown, or through the suture, of the Ceylon Buddha.<sup>8</sup> In India, the guardian king shares with Buddha the glory of a nimbus. In Greece, the victim, or the god in the victim, shone. From the three Persian youths, who were sacrificed to Dionysos Omestes, before Salamis (B. C. 480), a bright flame blazed.<sup>9</sup> In the guardian Brâhman a fire burns. "If there is no fire," says Manu,<sup>10</sup> "let the worshipper place the offering in a Brâhman's hand, for the priests say, 'Fire is a Brâhman'." Again<sup>11</sup> Manu says:—"An offering in the fires of a Brahman's mouth, which are kindled by austerity and knowledge, frees from misfortune even from great sin." From the early Egyptian Etruscan and Roman encircling cloud the guardian's gleam became localised into the Christian nimbus or head circle, and again, in the form of the Martyr's aureole, went back to the *vesica piscis*, enveloping the whole figure.<sup>12</sup> That light was the source of the guardian virtue of the Egyptian good-spirit, the hawk-headed snake Chneph, appears from the Egyptian saying: "When Chneph opens his eyes the land is flooded with light; When Chneph closes his eyes the land is hid in darkness."<sup>13</sup> During the centuries before and after the Christian era a mighty flood of Sun-worship spread over Asia, Egypt and Europe under the influence of the religions of Mithras Serapis and Christ.<sup>14</sup> It is as the greater and the lesser lights that the Sun and Moon have earned universal worship. The Accadians or early Babylonians (B. C. 3000) worshipped the sun as fire,<sup>15</sup> and held fire to be one of the chief of guardians. This faith lasted into later Babylon, where Bel or Merodach was the orderer of good for man, the healer, the scarer of evil spirits.<sup>16</sup> The Tibet Lama, gazing at the rising sun, says:—"The glorious One has arisen; the Sun of happiness has arisen; the goddess Marichi has arisen; keep me, goddess, from the eight terrors,—robbers, wild beasts, snakes, poisons, weapons, fire, water, and precipices."<sup>17</sup> When the days lengthen with the northing sun, when the nights brighten with the waxing moon, evil influences are driven from among men. With a southing sun and a waning moon the guardian power weakens, and the danger from evil spirits again presses. The horror reaches a climax when, as among the Mexicans, unless some mystic re-birth of light comes to his aid, at the end of one of his cycles of fifty-two years, the sun will rise no more and evil spirits will destroy mankind.<sup>18</sup> The light by the woman in child-birth, by the youth at baptism, by the bride and bridegroom at marriage, by the sick, by the dying, and by the dead: the light at the tomb, the lamp in the place of worship, the feasts of lights, of lanterns, and of candles, shew how at every crisis in the life of the individual, at all seasonal changes that endanger public health, the guardian virtue of light puts to flight evil influences. So Herrick in his charm-song:<sup>19</sup> "Light the tapers here to fright far from hence the evil sprite" A lamp is an essential offering to the images in a Tibetan Buddhist temple.<sup>20</sup> So in the statue of St. Genevieve of Paris (509) an impeller a bellows to blow out the saint's candle, and a demon tries to quench the lantern of St. Gudula of Brussels (712).<sup>21</sup> When an Australian tribe passes into a strange land, they kindle bark and sticks to clear and purify the air,<sup>22</sup> that is, to scare the local spirits. When a strange prow is wrecked on the island of Timorlaut, between Timor and New Guinea, the natives burn the boat to scare the foreign demons.<sup>23</sup> In the procession of Isis, the Egyptian priest cleansed a boat with an egg, sulphur, and a lighted torch.<sup>24</sup> The Japanese house is purified by fire.<sup>25</sup> The ancient Greek signal for battle was the throwing of torches in

<sup>6</sup> Waddell's *Buddhism in Tibet*, p. 337.

<sup>7</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 86.

<sup>8</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 343, n. 4.

<sup>9</sup> Plutarch's *Themistocles*, xiii.

<sup>10</sup> Manu, Vol. III. p. 12.

<sup>11</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. III. p. 98.

<sup>12</sup> Smith's *Christian Antiquities*, pp. 1398, 1399, 1401.

<sup>13</sup> King's *Antique Gems*, p. 864.

<sup>14</sup> *Op. cit.*, *passim*.

<sup>15</sup> Lenormant's *Chaldean Magic*, p. 249.

<sup>16</sup> *Op. cit.* pp. 60, 61: 184-186; Budge's *Babylonian Life and History*, p. 128.

<sup>17</sup> Waddell's *Buddhism in Tibet*, p. 218.

<sup>18</sup> Mayer's *Mexico*, p. 129.

<sup>19</sup> *Hesperides* quoted in Story's *Castle of St. Angelo*, p. 214.

<sup>20</sup> Waddell's *Buddhism in Tibet*, pp. 425-427.

<sup>21</sup> Mrs. Jameson's *Sacred and Legendary Art*, Vol. II. pp. 778, 779.

<sup>22</sup> Frazer's *Golden Bough*, Vol. I. p. 153.

<sup>23</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 187.

<sup>24</sup> Brown's *Great Dionysiac Myth*, Vol. I. p. 194.

<sup>25</sup> *Japanese Manners*, p. 339.

front of the army by men called Fire bearers, priests of Ares.<sup>26</sup> An undying lamp tended by widows burned in the Pretaneum at Athens.<sup>27</sup>

In the eighth century, Bede (730 A. D.) remarked that the Christian Church had done well to change the lustrations which used to scatter the evil influences of ungracious February for the lights, which in Rome so brightened the churches and the city, that the day of St. Mary came to be known as Candlemas, the feast of lights.<sup>28</sup> But the Candlemas procession of lights has a direct origin in the Roman and Greek walking round the fields carrying torches and candles in honour of Februa and Ceres, a rite which still continues in France.<sup>29</sup> The old Slav and German guardian Swanto Wit or Holy Light, whose worship lasted till the ninth century, was then Christianized into the worship of St. Vitus, the boy-martyr of Rome, to whom, in Germany, the fiery sun-wheel is still set a-rolling in Midsummer dances.<sup>30</sup> In the eighth century, in Germany, to jump over a Need Fire, kindled by rubbing dry wood on St. John's Eve, kept off ill-luck and fever.<sup>31</sup> The practice of lighting bonfires from a flame kindled by rubbing wood is still observed on St. John's Eve in Russia.<sup>32</sup> In Ireland, on the 21st June, fires were lit, and every member of the family passed through the fire to get good fortune in the coming year.<sup>33</sup> In Scotland, at the beginning of this century, the money presents of boys and girls to the schoolmaster on Candlemas Day were known as bleezes or blases, a memory of earlier candle gifts to the priest.<sup>34</sup> In the Western or Latin Church, Christmas as well as Candlemas was called the feast of lights on account of the number of candles that burned at the feast.<sup>35</sup> On Christmas mornings, in North-East Scotland, fire and juniper were burned.<sup>36</sup> In the North of England (1825), each family had a Yule Candle lighted in the evening and set on the table. A piece of the candle was kept to secure luck.<sup>37</sup> In Scotland, on the last night of the year, fire is carried round houses, fields, and boats for luck, that is, to scare evil.<sup>38</sup> A third Christian festival of lights was Easter Eve. Constantine the Great (A. D. 330) turned the sacred vigil into the light of day, hanging lamps everywhere and setting wax tapers, as big as columns, all over Byzantium. In the fifth century, one special wax taper was solemnly blessed as a type of Christ's rising from the dead.<sup>39</sup> Fires were lighted on Mayday and on St. John's Day (June 24th), and the lantern was one of the many guardian influences on spirit-haunted Halloween (October 31st). Fires lighted on the Transylvanian hills in South-East Austria, on June 24th, guard the flocks from evil spirits.<sup>40</sup> In North-East Scotland, the children, who danced round the Mayday bonfires, used to shout:—"Fire blaze and burn the witches."<sup>41</sup> A mediæval legend says fires were kindled on St. John's Eve to scare the dragons of pestilence.<sup>42</sup> In Forfarshire and in the Isle of Man, sick cattle have to walk over lighted peat or to pass between two fires.<sup>43</sup> In England, in 1783, the Roman Catholics used to light bonfires on the hills on All Saints' Night, the Eve of All Souls.<sup>44</sup> In Brittany, the fragments of the torches burnt on St. John's Eve are kept as charms against thunder and nervous diseases.<sup>45</sup> The

<sup>26</sup> Potter's *Antiquities*, Vol. II. p. 79.

<sup>27</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 131.

<sup>28</sup> Smith's *Christian Antiquities*, p. 998.

<sup>29</sup> Napier's *Folk-Lore of Scotland*, p. 181.

<sup>30</sup> Baring Gould's *Strange Survivals*, p. 247. After the death of Charles the Great (A. D. 814) the people of Rugen gave up the worship of the foreign Christian Vitus and went back to the worship of their local Swanto Vitus, who was apparently both Sun-god and God of War. This idol continued a centre of worship till after the middle of the twelfth century. Elton and Powell's *Saxo-Græmmaticus*, pp. 892-896.

<sup>31</sup> Grimm's *Teutonic Mythology*, Vol. II. pp. 606, 617; Smith's *Christian Antiquities*, pp. 810, 1515. For the same belief in nineteenth century Sussex, see *Folk-Lore Record*, Vol. I. p. 83.

<sup>32</sup> Balston's *Russian Songs*, p. 240.

<sup>33</sup> Jamieson's *Scottish Dictionary*: s. v. "Beltein." Home's *Every Day-Book*, Vol. I. p. 849. According to the *Folk-Lore Record*, Vol. IV. p. 97, bonfires are burnt in Ireland on June 28rd. If a bone is burnt in them, to leap through the smoke cures barrenness in man or in beast.

<sup>34</sup> Napier's *Folk-Lore of Scotland*, p. 181; *Folk-Lore Record*, Vol. I. p. 108.

<sup>35</sup> *Notes and Queries*, 5th Series, Vol. I. p. 379.

<sup>36</sup> Gregor's *Folk-Lore of North-East Scotland*, p. 159.

<sup>37</sup> *The Denham Tracts*, Vol. II. pp. 25, 28.

<sup>38</sup> Mitchell's *The Past in the Present*, p. 144.

<sup>39</sup> Smith's *Christian Antiquities*, p. 595.

<sup>40</sup> *Nineteenth Century Magazine*, No. 101, p. 135.

<sup>41</sup> Gregor's *Folk-Lore of North-East Scotland*, p. 167.

<sup>42</sup> Folkard's *Plant-Lore*, p. 489.

<sup>43</sup> Cumming's *In the Hebrides*, p. 218.

<sup>44</sup> *Gentleman's Magazine Library*, "Popular Superstitions," p. 7.

<sup>45</sup> Rislop's *Two Babylons*, p. 136.

Egyptians held a feast of lamps at Sais in honour of the goddess Noith.<sup>46</sup> The ancient Chaldeans, under the mystic name of Iao, adored the physical and intellectual light.<sup>47</sup> The Yezedis, or modern Sabæans, hold a festival of lights in honour of Sheikh the Sun at Midsummer, when the men and women pass their right hands through the lights carried by the priests, rub their brows, and touch their lips.<sup>48</sup> Both the Chinese and the Japanese have their feasts of Lanterns.<sup>49</sup> Tibetans hold a light-feast in early December.<sup>50</sup> The Canton river gods are worshipped with an accompaniment of hundreds of fire crackers.<sup>51</sup> The Hindu worships light with wise wonder and with thankful heart. His holiest *gâyatri* prayer is: "Let us think the worshipful Light, may it lighten our souls." According to another text Fire comes as a dear friend: in his presence men sit as in a parent's house. The *palas*-fed fire, kept in a strict Brâhmaṇ's inner room, is the Garhapatya or House-guardian.<sup>52</sup> Besides his Dîwālî or lamp-feast, the Hindu dances and sings at Dasahrâ (September-October) round a *garbu* or lamp housed in a clay or wooden case drilled with holes. On many great religious nights, both Hindus and Muhammadans lighten their temples and shrines. In India, the evening twilight, dreaded by Hindu gods, is made safe and pure from the approach of the evil Yôginis or Fire-fiends by the *arti* or waving of lamps and flaming camphor.<sup>53</sup> Similarly, the Shâns of Southern China, once a year, with gongs and trumpets and with flaming torches, drive out the twilight fire-fiends.<sup>54</sup> At a Râjpût court, at lamp light, all rise and salute, a practice which was adopted by the Emperor Akbar.<sup>55</sup> In the early Christian Church, lamp-lighting was the occasion of a service of prayers and praise. The rosy-fingered dawn drives away evil spirits and brings health.<sup>56</sup> "Demons," says the Tibetan proverb, "cannot move except in darkness."<sup>57</sup> In Western India, lamps are waved round the sick, and flaming camphor is held in front of the faces of the possessed. The lighted candles of the Christian altar, for which the Greek, the Roman, and the Jewish ritual furnish precedents, find a further parallel in the lighted candles on the altar table of the Chinese emperor.<sup>58</sup> Of guardian lights at child-birth, an example is given in the chapel of the Bologna University, where, in the fresco of the birth of the Virgin Mary, a woman holds a lighted candle close to the mother's face.<sup>59</sup> Pericles mourns that his wife died in child-birth at sea without fire and without light.<sup>60</sup> In Ireland, no fire should be given out of a house in which a woman has been lately confined.<sup>61</sup> The poet Herrick (1650) refers to "the tapers five that shew the womb shall thrive."<sup>62</sup> In eighteenth century Scotland, women in child-birth were purified or sained by being crossed by a fir-candle.<sup>63</sup> In Brazil, when a girl comes of age, and has to leave her hammock, she rides on the back of a female relation, carrying a live coal to keep evil influences from entering her body.<sup>64</sup> In rural Scotland, Ross<sup>65</sup> describes how—

"A clear burnt coal in the hot tongs was ta'en  
Frae out the ingle-mids for clear and clean,  
And through the corsy-belly<sup>66</sup> latten fa,  
For fear the weeane should be ta'en awa."

In the Scottish Highlands, a live peat was carried sun-wise round the mother and unbaptised child to keep off evil spirits. And the newly baptised child was hauded thrice across the

<sup>46</sup> *Herodotus*, Vol. II. p. 62; *Wilkinson's Egyptians*, 2nd Series, Vol. II. p. 308.

<sup>47</sup> *Brown's Great Dionysiac Myth*, Vol. I. p. 56.

<sup>48</sup> *Hislop's Two Babylons*, pp. 171-178.

<sup>49</sup> *Kidd's China*, p. 302; *Japanese Manners*, p. 67.

<sup>50</sup> *Waddell's Buddhism in Tibet*, p. 511.

<sup>51</sup> *Mrs. Gray's Fourteen Months in Canton*, p. 120.

<sup>52</sup> *Mrs. Manning's Ancient India*, Vol. I. pp. 13, 86 (n. 3), 90.

<sup>53</sup> *The Golden Bough*, Vol. II. p. 179.

<sup>54</sup> *Tārīkh-i-Badawnt* in *Elliot's Musalmân History of India*, Vol. V. p. 581.

<sup>55</sup> *Smith's Christian Antiquities*, p. 225.

<sup>56</sup> *Rig-Veda*, I. 48, *Wilson's Works*, Vol. I. pp. 129, 298 (note).

<sup>57</sup> *Waddell's Buddhism in Tibet*, p. 495.

<sup>58</sup> Compare *Middleton's Conformity between Popery and Paganism*, pp. 144, 145; *Howorth's Mongols*, Vol. I. p. 635.

<sup>59</sup> From MS. Notes.

<sup>60</sup> *Pericles*, III. 1.

<sup>61</sup> *Folk-Lore Record*, Vol. IV. p. 108.

<sup>62</sup> *Poems*, Vol. I. p. 56, Ed. 1869.

<sup>63</sup> *Dalyell's Darker Superstitions of Scotland*, p. 184.

<sup>64</sup> *The Golden Bough*, Vol. II. p. 281.

<sup>65</sup> *Jamieson's Scottish Dictionary*, s. v., *Corsy-belly* = the infant's first shirt folded across the belly; *Napier's Folk-Lore*, p. 80.

<sup>66</sup> *Ross's Helenore*.

fire.<sup>67</sup> Fire was carried before the Roman emperor, and, in the provinces, before the magistrates.<sup>68</sup> Sacred fire was carried before the kings of Asia.<sup>69</sup>

In South-East Africa, Mashona boys greet the new-born moon by throwing lighted brands into the sky.<sup>70</sup> In England, the birth-day cake is guarded by lighted candles, one for each year of the life of the hero of the day. Compare the Greek cakes to the lonely Full Moon called *amphiphontes* because lighted candles were set round them.<sup>71</sup> The fourth century Christians had baptismal lights. In A. D. 500, when certain Jews were baptized at Auvergne, candles blazed and lamps shone.<sup>72</sup> At the baptism of Theodosius the Younger (A. D. 401), so many carried lights that the stars might be supposed to be seen on earth.<sup>73</sup> Light was used to keep evil from the unbaptised. In the Hebrides, until it was christened, a flaming torch was three times a day carried round the new-born child.<sup>74</sup> So the body of the baby-daughter of the Scottish king was swathed in fine linen and laid in a gilded casket with salt and a light.<sup>75</sup> The Egyptian bride was escorted with torches and songs.<sup>76</sup> At Roman weddings, many wax tapers were lighted at noon.<sup>77</sup> In the fourth century, when nuns offered themselves to be veiled, they passed among the blazing lights of the neophytes as if to become the brides of Christ.<sup>78</sup> One of the leading rites in the early Christian marriage was the wedding-pomp, when, with torches, lanterns and singing, the bride was led to the bridegroom's house.<sup>79</sup> At a Japanese wedding, it is not lawful to snuff the candles.<sup>80</sup> The Chinese bride is carried into her husband's house over a pan of live coals.<sup>81</sup> The Scottish bride, on entering her husband's house, is given a pair of tongs to stir the fire.<sup>82</sup> The Mongol bride is carried thrice round a fire, and is then led to her husband.<sup>83</sup>

The Greeks, except the Athenians, had their funerals by day, for during the night furies and evil spirits were abroad. At the funeral, though it was day and though they buried and did not burn their dead, the mourners carried torches. A lighted lamp was also placed with the dead in the vault,<sup>84</sup> a practice which was continued by the Christian buriers in the catacombs at Rome and by the placers of candles in Middle Age Christian coffins.<sup>85</sup> The early object of these funeral torches is shewn among the Greenlanders, where a woman waves a fire-brand behind the corpse, and tells it not to come back, and by the Siberian Chuwashes who fling a red hot stone after the corpse to bar the soul's return.<sup>86</sup> The Jews burn a candle at the head of the dead.<sup>87</sup> In every section of the early Christian Church, lights, both stationary and processional, were used at funerals. The lights round the body of the sun-worshipping Constantine (A. D. 340) made a show such as the world had never seen.<sup>88</sup> At Chrysostom's funeral (A. D. 438), the mouth of the Bosphorus was covered with lamps.<sup>89</sup> At the death of Justinian (A. D. 585), mournful bands carried funeral torches.<sup>90</sup> At Paris (A. D. 585), King Guntram buried his grandson with the decoration of innumerable candles.<sup>91</sup> In the north of Scotland, a candle or two used to be burned near the dead.<sup>92</sup> A light is kept burning when a dead Pársi has been laid out.<sup>93</sup> A lighted candle is set near the Corean coffin.<sup>94</sup> The Andaman islanders kindle a fire on their dead chief's tomb to keep off evil spirits.<sup>95</sup> The burning of lamps and other lights at tombs is common to Hindus, Musalmáns and Christians. "I'm sure," says Herrick, "the nuns

<sup>67</sup> Cumming's *In the Hebrides*, p. 101.

<sup>68</sup> Adam's *Roman Antiquities*, p. 144.

<sup>69</sup> *Ammianus Marcellinus*, A. D. 300, xxiii., 6, Yonge's Translation, p. 336.

<sup>70</sup> Elworthy's *The Evil Eye*, p. 411.

<sup>71</sup> Smith's *Greek and Roman Antiquities*, Vol. II. p. 181.

<sup>72</sup> Smith's *Christian Antiquities*, pp. 995-96.

<sup>73</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 993.

<sup>74</sup> Elworthy's *The Evil Eye*, p. 64.

<sup>75</sup> Napier's *Folk-Lore of Scotland*, p. 34.

<sup>76</sup> Eber's *Egyptian Princess*, Vol. II. p. 338.

<sup>77</sup> Pater's *Marius the Epicurean*, Vol. I. p. 248.

<sup>78</sup> St. Ambrose (374 A. D.) in Smith's *Christian Antiquities*, p. 995.

<sup>79</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 1109.

<sup>80</sup> Titsing's *Japan*, p. 207.

<sup>81</sup> Kidd's *China*, p. 324.

<sup>82</sup> Grogor's *An Echo of Olden Time*, p. 119.

<sup>83</sup> Dalryell's *Darker Superstitions of Scotland*, p. 391.

<sup>84</sup> Potter's *Antiquities*, Vol. II. pp. 192, 193; Vol. II. p. 281; Baring Gould's *Strange Survivals*, p. 81.

<sup>85</sup> Smith's *Christian Antiquities*, p. 814.

<sup>86</sup> Moncreu Conway's *Demonology and Devil-Lore*, Vol. I. p. 53.

<sup>87</sup> *Illustrated Dublin Journal*, Vol. I. p. 184;

Moncreu Conway's *Demonology, and Devil-Lore*, Vol. I. p. 4.

<sup>88</sup> Smith's *Christian Antiquities*, p. 993.

<sup>89</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 996.

<sup>90</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 998.

<sup>91</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 993.

<sup>92</sup> *North Scotland*, p. 139.

<sup>93</sup> *Notes on Pársi Customs*.

<sup>94</sup> Ross's *Corea*, p. 330.

<sup>95</sup> *Beyville Les Religions des Peuples Non Civilisés*, Vol. II. p. 164.



will have Candlemas (that is a show of lights) to grace the grave.'<sup>96</sup> At several Christian tombs in western Europe, the lamp gave a perpetual light.<sup>97</sup> Within the tomb of the magician, Michael Scott, burns a wondrous light to chase the spirits that love the night.<sup>98</sup>

No Hindu, Musalman or Roman Catholic temple or shrine is without its light. In Babylon, in Rome, in Jerusalem, and in Egypt, during the performance of religious rites, candles were burned.<sup>99</sup> Russian churches are full of lighted tapers and candles.<sup>100</sup> The Christians of Western Europe, in the sixth, seventh and eighth centuries, burned candles and lamps before their sacred images and pictures, "the visible light being a symbol of the gift of the divine light."<sup>101</sup> Lights and incense were also burned before the elements, the life-giving cross, the holy gospels, and the other sacred ornaments.<sup>2</sup> The St. Petersburg Russian peasant of the present day, having for the good of his body invested five farthings in his hot bath, for the benefit of his soul invests a like sum for a taper to be set before the shrine of some favourite saint.<sup>3</sup> The Tungusians, near lake Baikal in Siberia, burn wax tapers before their gods; in the Molucca islands, wax tapers are used in the worship of the Nito; in Ceylon, wax candles are burned before Buddha.<sup>4</sup> The earliest known form of Venus or Aphrodite is in Paphos, a ball in a pyramid surrounded by burning torches.<sup>5</sup> Among the Greeks a sudden or unusual splendour was lucky; darkness was unlucky.<sup>6</sup> The rites to the gods of the under-world were performed at night.<sup>7</sup> As in the Catholic Church the water of Baptism is purified by dipping a candle into the font, so it was with the classic Greeks. The holy water at the entrance to the Greek temple, which was sprinkled to purify all who came in, was consecrated by putting into it a burning torch from the altar. The torch was used because light purifies all.<sup>8</sup> So a priest purified the newly launched Greek ship with a lighted torch, an egg, and brimstone.<sup>9</sup> In Middle-Age Europe, magicians and heretics were burnt alive in order that the fire might scare the devil that possessed them.<sup>10</sup> This remedy was at one with popular witchcraft cures. In a 1603 witch trial, an old woman stated she had burned alive one hen because a witch had possessed all her hens, and in the same trial, a farmer stated he had burned a pig alive, and thereby scared the witch's familiar.<sup>11</sup> In much more recent times, in Cornwall, the father of an overlooked, that is, of a bewitched child, went to the witch's house, tied the witch down, piled furze in front of the door, fired it, and passed the witch-possessed child over the furze flames.<sup>12</sup> Before their sacred images, the Chinese keep burning candles and joss sticks.<sup>13</sup> As has been noticed, Hindus scare the dreaded *yâgînîs*, or twilight hags, by waving flaming camphor in front of their gods. If a Hindu goes out in the dark he repeats charms, touches his amulets, and carries a live brand to keep off evil spirits.<sup>14</sup> If a Scottish Highlander has to pass through a churchyard he will carry a live coal.<sup>15</sup> In Ireland, a live coal keeps fairies and other evils away at night.<sup>16</sup> In North Scotland (1800), a live coal is dipped into the water in which a newborn child is washed.<sup>17</sup>

The Hindu belief, that the waving of lights cures sickness and that flaming camphor is specially helpful in driving evil spirits out of the possessed, finds a parallel in the Christian girl, who (A. D. 587) expelled a sickness by holding in front of her a burning candle, and in a man, who, recovering from an ague, held lighted candles in his hands all night long.<sup>18</sup> Similarly, oil from a lamp burning in a Church at Ravenna cured the eyes of two believers.<sup>19</sup> In Germany, fire was struck out of a flint on erysipelas. And the cattle were

<sup>96</sup> *Poems*, Vol. II, p. 321, Ed. 1869.

<sup>97</sup> Smith's *Christian Antiquities*, p. 997.

<sup>98</sup> Sharpe's *Witchcraft in Scotland*, p. 27.

<sup>99</sup> Middleton's *Conformity between Popery and Paganism*, xxi.; Hislop's *Two Babylons*, p. 139.

<sup>100</sup> *An Englishwoman in Russia*, p. 198.

<sup>1</sup> Smith's *Christian Antiquities*, p. 997.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.* pp. 612, 613, 819.

<sup>3</sup> *St. James's Budget*, 9th December 1888, p. 10.

<sup>4</sup> Hislop's *Two Babylons*, p. 283.

<sup>5</sup> *Ency. Brit.* Aphrodite.

<sup>6</sup> Potter's *Antiquities*, Vol. I, p. 391.

<sup>7</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. I, p. 267.

<sup>8</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. I, pp. 260, 261.

<sup>9</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. II, p. 132.

<sup>10</sup> See Sharpe's *Witchcraft in Scotland*, p. 20.

<sup>11</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 211.

<sup>12</sup> Black's *Folk-Medicine*, p. 69.

<sup>13</sup> Moncreu Conway's *Demonology and Devil-Lore*, Vol. I, p. 74.

<sup>14</sup> Lenormant's *Chaldean Magic*, p. 39.

<sup>15</sup> Cumming's *In the Hebrides*, p. 227.

<sup>16</sup> *Folk-Lore Record*, Vol. IV, p. 117.

<sup>17</sup> Gregor's *An Echo of the Olden Time*, p. 90.

<sup>18</sup> Smith's *Christian Antiquities*, p. 997.

<sup>19</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 817.

driven through the holy Need Fire to keep off sickness. German mothers put their children in the oven to cure fever, and lay in an oven a child who does not grow to drive out of him the dwarfing spirit of the elderling.<sup>20</sup>

As regards lights at festivals, according to Bede (A. D. 730), the English practice of keeping a candle burning all through Christmas Day goes back to fore-Christian times, when, on the eve of the winter solstice, the Saxons used to light great candles and kindle the Yule Clog.<sup>21</sup> Lighted candles were also used ceremonially by the Germans before they became Christian.<sup>22</sup> In Ripon, in Yorkshire, on the Sunday before Candlemas Day, all the afternoon the collegiate church is (1790) ablaze with lighted candles.<sup>23</sup> In Rome, after sunset on Shrove Tuesday, everyone carries a lighted taper and tries to blow out his neighbour's light.<sup>24</sup> During Easter-week the Pope worships a cross of fire over St. Peter's tomb.<sup>25</sup> According to the Greek Christians, on Easter Day in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, in Jerusalem, a magic light from above kindles the candles.<sup>26</sup> According to the traveller Coryate, in 1614, except the Latins, all Christians in Jerusalem at Easter prayed that the Holy Ghost might come from heaven in the visible form of fire. After great processioning the Patriarchs of the Greeks and Armenians went into the sepulchre. A priest passed into the grottoe. After a quarter of an hour he came forth with his tapers lighted. So great was the rush to get a light that the priest was nearly stifled.<sup>27</sup> At Durham, the great Easter candle, called Paschal, was lighted by flint and steel with a consecrating rite, and from it all other candles were kindled.<sup>28</sup> So it is with the Paschal taper carried before the Pope, parts of which are kept as charms.<sup>29</sup> In Transylvania, on Easter Eve, witches and demons are abroad. Every man must attend the midnight service and hold a lighted wax candle. Afterwards, if what is left of the candle is lighted during a thunderstorm, it will keep the fiend lightning from striking the house.<sup>30</sup> In London, on Midsummer Eve (June 24th), and on the Eve of St. Peter and St. Paul (June 28th), every man's door was shaded with green birch, long fennel, St. John's wort, orpin, white lilies and the like ornaments with flower garlands. Glass oil-lamps were kept burning all night, covering the branches with hundreds of lights.<sup>31</sup> So, among the Circassians, the holy pear-tree is hung with candles.<sup>32</sup> At the hottest time of the year the grove of Diana at Nemi, near Rome, was lighted by a multitude of torches.<sup>33</sup> In Rome, before the Church was eclipsed by the Italian Government (1869), an illumination took place when a new Cardinal was appointed.<sup>34</sup> At the crowning of the Eastern Christian Emperors and at the throning of the Pope, a wisp of flax is lighted and burnt before the eyes of the enthroned.<sup>35</sup> At the feast in honour of the dedication of the temple by Judas Macabeus (B. C. 160), the Jews lighted one candle the first day, and one more each day till seven were lighted.<sup>36</sup> A lamp was always burning in the Jewish tabernacle; a lamp still burns in the Synagogue.<sup>37</sup> The prophetic stones on the High Priest's breast-plate were called Urim or Lights.<sup>38</sup> The undying fire on the altar of Solomon's temple couched like a lion and shone like the sun. Its solid pure and smokeless flame consumed alike the wet and the dry.<sup>39</sup> In the fore-Christian Jewish catacombs at Rome, on each place for a body, is scratched the image of a seven-branched candle-stick.<sup>40</sup> When an early Christian Church was consecrated twelve candles were lighted.<sup>41</sup> At the Japanese lantern feast, lighted lanterns are launched on water to ascertain the fate of dead friends.<sup>42</sup> At the Chinese feast of lanterns, on the fifteenth of the first moon, that

<sup>20</sup> Grimm's *Teutonic Mythology*, Vol. III. pp. 1152, 1163.

<sup>21</sup> *Notes and Queries*, 5th Series, Vol. X. p. 183; *Germanian's Magazine Library*, "Popular Superstitions," p. 1.

<sup>22</sup> Grimm's *Teutonic Mythology*, Vol. II. p. 616. <sup>23</sup> *Germanian's Magazine Library*, "Popular Superstitions," p. 3.

<sup>24</sup> "Carnival" in *Ency. Brit.* Xth Ed.

<sup>25</sup> Hilde's *Two Babylons*, p. 225.

<sup>26</sup> From MS. Notes.

<sup>27</sup> Coryate's *Creditus*, Vol. III. "Extracts."

<sup>28</sup> *Hone's Every-day Book*, Vol. I. p. 436.

<sup>29</sup> Smith's *Christian Antiquities*, p. 1561.

<sup>30</sup> *The Nineteenth Century*, No. 101, p. 134.

<sup>31</sup> Strutt's *Sports and Pastimes*, p. 320.

<sup>32</sup> Frazer's *Golden Bough*, Vol. I. p. 73.

<sup>33</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 5. <sup>34</sup> *Ency. Brit.* "Carnival," p. 63.

<sup>35</sup> Smith's *Christian Antiquities*, p. 498.

<sup>36</sup> *Cornhill Magazine*, December 1880.

<sup>37</sup> Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, Vol. III. p. 1398.

<sup>38</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. III. p. 1600.

<sup>39</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 54.

<sup>40</sup> Smith's *Christian Antiquities*, pp. 290, 1912.

<sup>41</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 130.

<sup>42</sup> *Japanese Manners*, p. 67.

is about March, all hang lanterns in front of their houses.<sup>43</sup> The Chinese have passed from the stage of scaring the dreaded dead to the stage of pleasing the beloved dead. In Canton, during the yearly festival for the unmarried dead, after dark, boats glide down the river a mass of lanterns. In front and at the sides of the lantern boats are small fire boats. In the front fireboat a gong is beaten to attract spirits. In the big lantern boat priests chant hymns and throw burning paper clothes and paper money into the river. The paper clothes and paper money are supposed to be refined by fire so as to be useful to the naked craving unwed ghosts who float on the water. Oil lamps in clay vessels are drawn after the lantern boat to serve as guides to the spirits.<sup>44</sup>

For more than 300 years after Christ, the use of ceremonial candles, torches and lamps in Christian Churches was not general. Tertullian (A. D. 205) and Lactantius (A. D. 303) scoff at the use of lights by day. 'The early gods,' they say, 'need lights' because being of the earth they are in darkness.' 'Let us not blaze,' says Gregory of Nazianzen (A. D. 373), 'like a Greek temple at holy moon.' The ceremonial use of lights in connection with Christian worship is supposed to have begun with the placing of a light on the tombs of martyrs and with the illumination of churches on high days. By the eighth century the blessing of the lamps and candles on Easter Eve was a widespread ceremony. The font was baptized with lights, and the early converts, after baptism, held a lighted candle. Lights were kindled when the Gospel was read, and lights were carried at funerals and hung over graves. Candles and lamps were also lighted before pictures and images, and were presented as a thank-offering on recovering from sickness.<sup>45</sup> Other early fire rites were forbidden. In A. D. 680, a council penalized the kindling and the leaping over fires in front of workshops and houses at the time of new moon.<sup>46</sup>

Few people have shewn a more marked trust in light as a guardian against evil spirits than the Mexicans. The chief Mexican dread is the great day at the end of the cycle of fifty-two years, when the sun may rise no more, and man may be left a helpless prey to evil spirits. To prevent man's ruin, the only hope of the Mexican priesthood was by raising a new light or fire to scatter the evil influences that might prevent the sun from rising. To raise a new fire on the evening before the dreaded day, the gods, that is, the priests in the garments of the gods, leaving their shrines and temples, marched forth to a hill-top. And, when the kindly influences of the Pleiades were at their strongest, on an altar on the hill-top, the chief priest slew a human victim and on a wooden shield fastened to the victim's chest kindled fire by rubbing. From the New Fire a great pyre, on which the victim was laid, was kindled, and from the pyre-flame torches were lighted, and the New Fire was borne speedily by special runners over the whole land. The dawn and the sunrise of the next morning shewed that the virtue of the guardian light had prevailed. The gods marched back to their shrines, the temples were cleansed, the people dressed in festive garments. Light had routed evil and saved Mexico from ruin.<sup>47</sup>

The above examples illustrate the working of two leading religious laws; that the Guardian is the squared fiend, and that the Guardian needs guarding. Though so great a guardian, light, like fire, has failed to free itself from its early shadow, the fiend-element, known to the Hindus as the hideous iron-tusked Kravyād,<sup>48</sup> that underlies its guardian nature. To the Egyptian fire was a wild beast.<sup>49</sup> The Hindu and the Shân agree that the blaze of camphor and the flare of torches are required to scare the twilight fire-fiends. To the Hindu the morning sun is Vishnu the preserver, but the midday sun, the terror that walketh at noon-tide, is Mahâdêv the destroyer. So the lesser lights that inlay the floor of heaven, though grouped by faith into guardian shapes, shoot baneful glances at mankind which have to be soothed by the star which rules the moment of each man's birth. With the Greeks and Romans,

<sup>43</sup> Kidd's *China*, p. 302.

<sup>44</sup> Mrs. Gray's *Fourteen Months in Canton*, p. 212.

<sup>45</sup> Smith's *Christian Antiquities*, pp. 993-998.

<sup>46</sup> Grimm's *Teutonic Mythology*, Vol. II. p. 626; Moncreux Conway's *Demonology and Devil-Lore*, Vol. I. p. 67.

<sup>47</sup> Mayer's *Mexico*, p. 129.

<sup>48</sup> Wilkin's *Hindu Mythology*, p. 28.

<sup>49</sup> Wilkinson's *Egyptians*, 2nd Series, Vol. II. p. 463.

St. Elmo's or St. Erasmus' fire, the electric fire balls that settle on ships' rigging in a storm, were the genial guardians Castor and Pollux. Lightning, on the other hand, was a fiend defiling what it struck, to be driven away in classic fashion by a hiss or in early Christian fashion by the sign of the cross, by prayer, and by the sprinkling of holy water.<sup>50</sup> Under this application of the principle of Dualism lies the great law of religious development, the guardian is the squared-fiend, a phase of early belief which is alive and orthodox in the Defenders of the Faith, Tutelary Demons, or Guardian-Fiends who play so leading a part in Tibet Buddhism.<sup>51</sup> Again, the above examples illustrate the law, the Guardian needs guarding. The position and surroundings of the Guardian, well housed, tended with care, treated with honour, make the Guardian a specially tempting lodging for the hosts of unhoused wandering spirits. So, when the Chinaman, and also the Tibetan Lâma, has prepared all parts of the image with elaborate care and ritual, when the sculpture is completed, he has an anxious formula to prevent the entrance of a wicked spirit into the sacred image.<sup>52</sup> By the use of the spirit-scares, spirit-traps, spirit-scapes, and spirit-prisons, known as ritual and decoration, priests and worshippers do much to guard the Guardian from the trespass of unclean lodgers. However complete the theory, however sleepless the practice, these precautions cannot fail to fall short of perfection. In annoyance at intrusion, it may be stained by the spirit of the intruders, like the sun shorn of his beams at the close of day and at the opening of winter, like the Leader whose guardian force ebbs till it is lost in death, the Guardian ceases to guard. So, when the sins of the Hebrews were forgiven, that is, when the haunting evil spirits were scared, the High-priest's breast jewels shone bright. When the sins were not forgiven, that is, when the air remained heavy with evil influences, the gems became black.<sup>53</sup> From the recurring dangers of seasonal fiend-swarms, from the sudden blow of the plague demon, a young fresh untarnished Guardian can alone save man. The necessity of a new or a renewed Guardian explains the practice, perhaps even the name, of the Celtic and German Need Fire: it explains the fire kindled through a crystal ball at the Eleusinian mysteries;<sup>54</sup> it explains the Catholic flint-lighting at Easter, and the Catholic blessing of candles: it explains the Mexican and Peruvian re-birth of the sun. The early experience that, through failure of his guardians to guard him, the Guardian spirit dwindles and dulls through the housing of evil influences is recorded in the magical phase of early religion. According to Reginald Scott, the success of the ceremonial use of fire by the Middle-Age European exorcist was made doubtful by the chance that evil influences had taken their abode in the guardian fire. Before using fire, says Scott, let the exorcist repeat these words: "By Him that created heaven and earth and is God and Lord of all I exorcise and sanctify thee, thou creature of Fire that immediately thou banish every phantom from thee."<sup>55</sup> The belief, that the aged out-of-date guardian not only ceases to guard but becomes a fiend-home, is shewn in Herrick's *Ceremony on Candlemas Eve*:—

"Down with the rosemary and so  
Down with the bays and mistletoe,  
Down with the holly ivy all  
Wherewith ye dressed the Christmas hall,  
That so the superstitious find  
No one least branch there left behind:  
For look how many leaves there be  
Neglected there, maids, trust to me,  
So many goblins you shall see."<sup>56</sup>

<sup>50</sup> Potter's *Antiquities*, Vol. I. pp. 382-384; Vol. II. p. 172; Smith's *Christian Antiquities*, p. 992.

<sup>51</sup> Waddell's *Buddhism in Tibet*, pp. 363-365. Besides, in Tibet, the idea, that the guardian is the squared fiend, is familiar in the Indian Durgâ and Siva and in the Greek guardian-fury of the Medusa. Even the Mother, the teatrest of guardians, is pestilence among Hindus and madness among Romans and English: "How this Mother swells up towards my heart." *King Lear*, Act II. Scene IV.

<sup>52</sup> Emerson's *Masks, Heads and Faces*, p. 134; Schlagintweit's *Buddhism in Tibet*, p. 204.

<sup>53</sup> Emmanuel's *Diamonds and Precious Stones*, p. 23.

<sup>54</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 23.

<sup>55</sup> Reginald Scott's *Discovery of Witchcraft*, p. 480. Compare the Christian exorcism of water, salt, and oil before their use in sacred offices. Smith's *Christian Antiquities*, p. 633. Details of the kindling of Need Fire in Scotland, as late as 1810, to stay murrain are give in Napier's *Folk-Lore*, p. 34.

<sup>56</sup> Horne's *Hesperides*, p. 203.

Like the re-birth in the Need Fire and in the Flint-spark, like the Mexican and Peruvian renewal of the youth of the Sun at the close of his span of fifty-two years, the Dalai Lâma, for the good of man, sacrifices his yearning for absorption, and, by certain signs, shews in the body of what babe he has been pleased to endure the penalty of re-birth. So the Guardian spirit of the dying king passes either into the king's son, or, through some sacramental channel, enters the body of the chosen successor. The king is dead; long live the king: the Guardian is dead; the Guardian lives.

(To be continued.)

### FOLKLORE IN SOUTHERN INDIA.

BY PANDIT S. M. NATESA SASTRI, B.A., M.F.L.S.

No. 40. — *Ēbhya the Learned Fool (a Noodle Story).*

IN the town of Mânâmadurai, in the Pândiyan country, there lived a young Brâhmaṇ. named Ēbhya, who was a fool. He was married to a girl in Madura. Ēbhya was a learned man, as he thought, in his own way, and like Śākara, in Śûdraka's play, could always quote Sanskrit verses and rules, as authority for all his actions. He wished to see his wife. He therefore started for Madura. On his way, he saw the dead body of an ass lying neglected in the way.

"What," thought he, "this was a living being. It had no friends in this world. There is no one now to bury it or cremate it, and it is, therefore, lying thus neglected in the dead stage of its existence. If I do now the meritorious action of cremating this dead ass I obtain the boon of having performed *aśvamêdha* (horse-sacrifice). For does not the sage say:—

*Andâhprêtasamskâram aśvamêdhaphalam bhavêti.*

The cremating of an ownerless dead body is equal to the performance of a horse-sacrifice.

Why should I not thus in an easy way obtain that? What have I to do here? It is not much. Fuel is easily obtained in the jungle. I have only to carry the dead ass to a good distance in the jungle, away from the common path."

Thus thinking, Ēbhya lifted up the dead animal and. essayed to carry it into the jungle. He struggled hard. It was a very heavy weight. But then, how could merit be obtained without exertion and trouble? Alas, the weight was more than his strength could bear, and he did not know what to do. The merit, however, must be obtained, for he had found out the easiest way of attaining it. A horse-sacrifice is a very costly thing which only monarchs may attempt; whereas without any such cost, and by merely collecting the fuel necessary in the wood, and by cremating a dead ass he could now attain that merit.

The wisdom of Ēbhya was never at fault, and he at once found means for getting out of his new difficulty. The utterance of the sages that the head is the important member of the animal-body rushed into his mind: —

*Sarvasya gâtrasya śiraḥ pradhânam.*

The head is the chief of all parts of the body.

He praised his memory and his ready wit, and at once with a small knife he severed the head of the dead ass from its trunk. And having now secured the head he proceeded on his way to reach a spot in the jungle where the cremation could take place without nuisance to travellers. But for this he had a long way to go and the severed head became a repulsive thing

to carry. But the undertaking was nevertheless not to be given up. So he quoted to himself another saying and it ran thus : —

*Sarvëndriyāṇāṁ nayanāṁ pradhānam.*

The eye is the chief of all the senses.

Under this rule, Ēbhya laid down the head and pulled out its two eyes only, and proceeded on his journey. Soon he reached a lonely part of the wood, where he cremated the eyes of the ass with all the formalities of a funeral rite. Thus by an easy way and at no cost but that of a few dried sticks, which the woods supplied him with, he obtained the merit of a horse-sacrifice.

According to the Hindu rules, a person who has performed a funeral rite is affected with pollution for ten days. So Ēbhya, without any mark on his forehead and with his locks untied, and with other marks of mourning, entered his father-in-law's house just at evening time. The first relation he met was his mother-in-law in the court-yard of the house. She was just finishing her evening bath in that part of the house, as she did not expect any body then, and had by mistake left the outer door ajar instead of bolting it. Ēbhya ran up suddenly to where she was bathing, and falling on the ground paid his respects to her according to the Hindu way of the *namaskāra*, for does not the rule say —

*Dṛiṣṭamātram namaskuryāt śvaśrūṇ śvaśuram ēva cha.*

Worship your mother-in-law and your father-in-law soon as you see them.

Under this authority the son-in-law did his duty. He did not care for the occasion, time, and place. The strict rules were to him venerable authorities, and he rigidly observed them. His agitated mother-in-law first took him to be an impolite young man, and then toned down her opinion at the stupidity which she soon discovered in him. Thus, with this introduction our hero entered his wife's house.

After thus paying his respects to his wife's mother, Ēbhya went to a big hay-stack in the middle of the court-yard, and, mounting it, sat on the top of it, for he had heard the rule that people on elevated places are always respected :—

*Uchchaiḥ sthānēshu pūjyāntē.*

They worship those placed on high.

So to extract respect he chose that spot. His brothers-in-law, for he had three such relations, soon returned home, and their mother directed their attention to her son-in-law on the top of the hay-stack.

"Our *namaskāras* (respects) to you, O son-in-law? When did you come down? Why do you sit there? Descend, please," said they, and after thus receiving the respect he thought due he came down. But he did not mingle with the company. He stole up to a corner of the hall, and stood apart.

"Why do you thus stand aloof? Come near, please," said the brothers-in-law.

"I am polluted," was the reply, and this was given out with all the sincerity of a mourner with low voice and dejected face. Not wishing to extract the cause of the mourning from his own mouth, the brothers-in-law went in and asked their mother whether she knew anything about it. She was not able to enlighten them, but gave them enough of information to make them all suspect that something was wrong with the brain of her son-in-law. The brothers, not believing his statement entirely, approached Ēbhya, and asked him to be more plain. Ēbhya then narrated the details of his journey. But, as it was his first visit they did not like to displease him. So they mildly tried to convince him of his foolishness, and though he was beyond conviction he went through the formality of mingling with his wife's relations. Grand preparations were then made in the house to feed the newly arrived guest.

"Is there anything that you specially like which we should order to be cooked?" asked the brothers.

"Nothing," said Ēbhya; "but I wish all vegetables to be flavoured with castor oil, for Dhanvantri—the master of medicine—has said that castor oil is the destroyer of wind—*ēraṇḍataīlāṁ vdaṭagṇam*."

The dinner time approached. Scented oil to rub on the body and lukewarm water to bathe in were placed in the court-yard, and according to the Hindu custom Ēbhya was requested to undergo this happy bath (*mūṅgalasnāna*), and prepare himself for the meal. Refusal would have been regarded as extremely impolite, so Ēbhya bathed and had the scented oil rubbed over his body. Now the rule runs:—"pravañhābhīmukhaṁ snānam—bathe facing the current," and how was this to be done in a court-yard with all the water available stored up in a big vessel? But Ēbhya would not give up his rules; so he upset the vessel, and running to the end of the yard, where the water would find its outlet, laid himself down on the ground to let it pass over his body. The brothers who witnessed this mad act did not understand him for a moment. They were stupefied by these unprecedented actions. But as they had contracted relationship with Ēbhya, they merely mildly rebuked him, and gave him fresh water to bathe in.

At last even the dinner was over and then, at bed-time, his beautiful young wife for the first time was sent into his room. Now the saying is—"bhāryā rūpavatī śatruḥ—a beautiful wife is an enemy." Ēbhya saw she was very beautiful, and at once concluded that a beautiful wife must always be an enemy. He looked round him and found a small iron wire with which lamps are trimmed up. He took hold of it and making his wife sit by him he thrust it into one of her eyes. The pain was more than she could bear. She raised a cry and her brothers, suspecting something serious, ran up to the door, which was bolted inside. They knocked, but Ēbhya would not open it. He was not going to stop there. He took up the light and gazed at her writhing in pain.

"You are no more beautiful. You are no more my enemy. You are my good friend and chaste wife from this moment," said Ēbhya.

"Open the door for God's sake," roared the brothers, but Ēbhya had not completed his idiotic proceedings. He surveyed his wife a second time. She had still one eye. The saying is "*ekākṣhī kulandāsinī*—the one-eyed woman is a destroyer of the family;" so Ēbhya put out the remaining eye also. The doors were now rooted out by force, and the wretched blind girl discovered.

"What hast thou done, thou scoundrel, thou idiot, thou ass?" roared all the people. Ēbhya in his own cool way quoted authorities for his actions. They thrashed him from head to foot.

"I am lord of my own wife, and who are you to beat me?" said Ēbhya in reprimand.

"Come out, you fool, we will take you to the king," cried they. And Ēbhya, not giving up his own rights, said:—

"Very well, proceed; let us go to the king himself, and let me see whether he will deny the rights of a husband over his wife."

Thus they all went that very night to the palace. Everything in the streets, even every dog, was sound asleep. The palace and the harem was reached, and the crowd stopped outside; but Ēbhya went on undaunted, for he was a fool, and he had no fear of the consequences of his actions. The swiftness with which he proceeded made it impossible for the guards to oppose him without disturbance, and a disturbance in the harem premises was dreaded. The king, if disturbed in his rest, would come down heavily upon the disturbers. So Ēbhya, unarrested, entered the very inner rooms of the palace. The queen was sitting there in silence, and with his royal head on her right thigh the monarch was sleeping soundly. Even the air feared to blow hard there, for such was the dread the king inspired. Silence reigned. Ēbhya,

undaunted, placed his head on the queen's left thigh, and, stretching his body in a direction opposite to that of the king, fell asleep. What could the poor queen do? If she spoke and thus disturbed her lord in his sleep she would verily lose her head. But the monarch's sleep was soon disturbed; our hero was a great snorer. The king rose up in a great fury, and a strange spectacle met his sight. A man asleep on the king's own bed with his head in the queen's lap! He gave a push to the impertinent head, and Ebhya rose up.

"How came you to dare this impertinence?" asked the king. Ebhya came out with his long story, and the crowd of people, which had collected, caused the king to go outside. He now grasped the whole position.

"But what made you sleep in that posture?" roared the king. Undaunted, Ebhya replied: — "'*Yathā rājā tathā prajāh* : — as is the monarch so are the subjects.' You slept in that posture, and so I did under the authority of that rule."

The monarch's anger was changed into laughter. Even the fierce king pitied the helpless idiot, who was so ready with his misapplied quotations. And thus ends the story.

### NOTES AND QUERIES.

#### TELUGU SUPERSTITIONS.

1. If it rains continuously for three or four days and the female members of a Telugu family are thereby prevented from leaving the house for marketing, a small female child is sent out naked into the rain with a burning piece of wood in her hand, which she has to shew to the rain. The rain is then supposed to cease.

2. If a man suffers persistently from intermittent fever for a long while which he cannot shake off, he must hug a bald-headed Brahman widow at the first streak of daylight. He is then cured.

3. If a man suffers from ophthalmia, he should watch the reflection of his face in a pot full of oil belonging to an oil-seller, if he wishes to be cured.

The repeated failure of these specifics has had no effect on their universal popularity.

4. Emaciation follows the touch of the house-broom, while used in sweeping out the house, so in Telugu houses every body is asked to keep out of the way of the broom while the house is being swept out.

5. If it rains steadily for three or four days, a man throws a piece of steel at the god of the rain to make him kindly disposed and stop the rain.

6. "Never spit on ordure: it will give you sore throat," say the Telugus.

7. If a puppy runs between the legs of a child, it will suffer from dog-worms (*kakku nattala*).

Such superstitions must and do constantly fail, but they are as popular as ever all the same.

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### BOOK-NOTICES.

*Āpastambīyadharmasūtram*, Aphorisms on the Sacred Law of the Hindus, by Āpastamba, ed. by Dr. G. BÜHLER, C. I. E., 2nd edition, revised. 2 parts, Bomb. 1892, 1894.

THE first edition of the present work, published in 1868 and 1871, was an *editio princeps*, and has materially aided the progress of Sanskrit scholarship in one of its most important branches, the *Dharmaśāstra*, Āpastamba's *Dharmasūtra* being the best and most authentic specimen of the ancient collections of religious and civil laws which originated in the Brahmanical schools of India. The various important questions concerning the position of Āpastamba's manual of law among

other works of its own class, and among the other writings attributed to the same author, its age and origin, style and language, have been amply discussed by Prof. Bühler in the introduction to his translation of Āpastamba, in the second volume of the *Sacred Books of the East*. I may confine my remarks, therefore, to the main features of the present new edition of the Sanskrit original of Āpastamba's law book and the commentary on it.

The "Critical Introduction," which is at least five times as extensive as it had been in the previous edition, contains valuable new information, both as regards the work of Āpastamba



himself and of his commentator. To begin with the latter, the proofs furnished by Prof. Bühler that Haradatta cannot have lived later than about A. D. 1450-1500 are convincing. The question as to his identity with Haradattamiśra, the author of the *Padamañjarī*, who is quoted by Sāyaṇa, has been left open by Prof. Bühler. It has been answered in the affirmative by Aufrecht in his *Catalogus Catalogorum*, s. v. Haradatta, and the *Sarvadarśanasamgraha* reference to Haradatta which is given in the same work (see p. 104 in Gough's transl.), renders it extremely probable that Sāyaṇa-Mādhava was acquainted with the writings of Haradatta who must have lived, consequently, about 1300 A. D. An examination of those references to the opinions of Haradatta which may be collected from Eggeling's *Catalogue* of the Legal MSS. in the India Office Library tends to confirm this view. Thus he is quoted in the *Prayogapārijāta*, *Vidhānapārijāta*, *Vīramitrodāya*, *Govindārṇava*, *Smṛtikaustubha*, and *Chaturvīmśatimatavḍābhayana*. The importance of the reference to Haradatta in the *Vīramitrodāya*, which was composed in the first half of the seventeenth century, has already been brought out by Prof. Bühler. Nearly all the other works<sup>1</sup> also belong to the same century, except Nṛsiṃha's *Prayogapārijāta*, in which Haradatta's commentary on the *Āpastambasūtra* is distinctly referred to (*Catalogue of the T. O.*, 3, 416). Though Dr. Burnell has certainly gone too far in making of Nṛsiṃha an author of the twelfth century (*Tanjore Cat.*, 131), he cannot be placed much later than about 1400 A. D., as an old MS. of his work is dated Sam. 1495; it is true that he refers to the *Parāśaravyākhyā* of Mādhava, who flourished in the second half of the fourteenth century. The early MS. in question has been noticed in R. Mitra's *Bikaner Catalogue*, p. 439. The fact that Haradatta is mentioned by an author of the early part of the fifteenth century strengthens the supposition that his writings were not unknown to the most eminent writer of the latter part of the fourteenth century.

The early date and high standing of Haradatta tends to justify the method observed in the present edition, as indeed in the former one, of giving the text of Āpastamba's Sūtras as established by Haradatta. This method precludes the conjectural emendation of many ungrammatical forms and phrases, tempting as it may seem to substitute grammatically correct forms for the "medley of Vedic, classical and Prakṛtic forms" in the present work.

We are looking forward very much to Prof. Bühler's promised full discussion of the language of Āpastamba. For the present, we are glad to obtain the valuable evidence regarding it, which he has collected from the quotations contained in Aparārka's commentary of the *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*, and Yādavaprakāśa's *Vaijayanī*, as well as from the various new MSS. used for the notes to the present edition, and from the various readings of the *Hiraṇyakeśi-Dharmasūtra* making up the second appendix.

The new MSS. used are six in number, and the total of the MSS. underlying this new edition amounts to thirteen. In the editor's pedigree of these MSS. the Grantha copies occupy the most prominent place, and appear to have enabled him to reproduce, as closely as possible, the text settled by Haradatta. The interpolations and false readings in the other copies seem to be due principally to marginal notes having crept into the text of the Sūtras, and to the influence of Hairanyakeśa Brahmins who substituted the readings of their own *Dharmasūtra* for those of Āpastamba's. Both works were closely related from the first, as may be gathered from the above-mentioned *varietas lectionis* at the end of the volume under notice.

Owing to the new materials used and new principles adopted in preparing the present edition, it differs in many places from its predecessor. Most of these alterations, however, are important in point of language only, and consist either of the substitution of obsolete and ungrammatical forms for ordinary ones, or of corrections, a certain portion of the latter having been first proposed conjecturally by Dr. Böhtlingk in the *Journal* of the German Oriental Society. It may not be out of place here to advert to a valuable essay published by Dr. Winternitz in the *Memoirs* of the Vienna Academy for 1892 on Indian Marriage Ceremonies in which the language of Āpastamba's *Gṛhyasūtra* has been discussed very carefully, the results agreeing with those arrived at by Prof. Bühler for the *Dharmasūtra*.

The second volume of the work under notice, like the first, is not a mere reprint of the previous edition, the new MSS. used for the extracts from Haradatta's commentary having suggested a good many alterations, additions, and omissions. Another new feature of the same volume is the complete *Index Verborum* by Dr. Th. Bloch, an able and learned pupil of Profs. Windisch and Bühler.

J. JOLLY.

<sup>1</sup> The date of the *Govindārṇava* is uncertain.

ON A RECENT ATTEMPT, BY JACOBI AND TILAK, TO DETERMINE ON  
ASTRONOMICAL EVIDENCE THE DATE OF THE EARLIEST  
VEDIC PERIOD AS 4000 B. C.

BY THE LATE PROFESSOR W. D. WHITNEY, OF YALE UNIVERSITY, NEW HAVEN.<sup>1</sup>

**A**T a meeting of the [American Oriental] Society nearly nine years ago (October 1885), I criticised and condemned Ludwig's attempt to fix the date of the *Rig-Vêda* by alleged eclipses. The distinguished French Indianist, Bergaigne, passed the same judgment upon it at nearly the same time (*Journ Asiat.* 1885). Although the two criticisms provoked from Ludwig a violent and most uncourteous retort (see his *Rig-Vêda*, Vol. VI. p. x.),<sup>2</sup> his argument appears to have fallen into the oblivion which alone it merited.

Within the past year, a similar attempt has been made, independently of one another, by two scholars, one German (Prof. Jacobi, of Bonn, in the *Festgruss an Roth*, 1893, pp. 68-74) and one Hindu (Bâl Gangâdhar Tilak, *The Orion, or Researches into the Antiquity of the Vedas*, Bombay, 1893, pp. ix., 229, 16mo.), working along the same general line, and coming to an accordant conclusion: namely, that the oldest period called Vedic goes back to or into the fifth millennium before Christ—an antiquity as remote as that long recognized for Egyptian civilization, and recently claimed, on good grounds, for that of Mesopotamia also. This is a startling novelty; as such, however, we have no right to reject it offhand; but we are justified in demanding pretty distinct and unequivocal evidence in its favor, before we yield it our credence.

The general argument may be very briefly stated thus: The Hindus (as also the Chinese, the Persians, and the Arabs) had a lunar zodiac of 27 (or 28) asterisms, rudely marking the successive days of the moon's circuit of the heavens. Since the establishment of the Hindu science of astronomy, under Greek influence and instruction, in the first centuries of our era, the series of asterisms has been made to begin with *Âsvini* (in the head of Aries), for the acknowledged reason that that group was nearest the vernal equinox at the time. But earlier; in the *Brâhmanas*, etc., the series always began with *Kṛittikâ* (Pleiades), presumably because, owing to the precession, that group had been nearest to the equinox: and this was the case some two thousand and more years before Christ. Some two thousand and more years yet earlier, the equinox was near to *Mṛigaśiras*, or the head of Orion; if, therefore, it can be made to appear that the Hindus once began their asterismal system with *Mṛigaśiras*, and because of the latter's coincidence with the equinox, we shall conclude that they must have done so more than four thousand years before Christ. But the same sum can be worked in terms of months. The Hindu months are lunar, and are named sidereally, each from the asterism in or adjacent to which the moon is full in the given month: but the seasons follow the equinoxes and solstices (hence the rainy season, for example, began about a month earlier when *Âsvini* (Aries) was at the equinox than when *Kṛittikâ* (Pleiades) was there, and about two months earlier than when *Mṛigaśiras* (Orion) was there; and if it can be shewn that the year always commence with a fixed season, and has twice changed its initial month, *Mṛigaśiras* (Orion) will thus also be proved to have been at the equinox at a recorded or remembered period in Hindu

<sup>1</sup> [I have printed this article from the *Proceedings* of the American Oriental Society for March, 1894, with the full approval of Dr. Bühler because of the articles already published in this *Journal* on these subjects. I have done so that scholars in India, who may not otherwise hear of them, may be in possession of this great Orientalist's views of these questions, though stated with his characteristic vigor and disregard of the feelings of others. — ED.]

<sup>2</sup> His language is as follows: "Anything more completely the opposite (*Widerspil*) of criticism than the judgment which our, in all points well-considered, discussion of the subject has met with at the hands of Whitney and Bergaigne is not to be conceived. It [the discussion] is refuted in no single point; the judges do not stand upon the ground of criticism, but upon that of personal and wholly unjustified opposition." Perhaps nothing different from this was to be expected from one who could propose such a theory: finding nothing to say in its defence, he was obliged to abuse his critics and impute to them personal motives.

history. And this, in one of the two alternative methods, or in both combined, is what our two authors attempt to demonstrate.

Professor Jacobi sets out by finding in the *Rig-Vēda* the beginning of the year to be determined by that of the rainy season. And first he quotes a verse from the humorous hymn to the frogs, R.-V. vii. 103, 9, usually rendered thus: "they keep the divine ordering of the twelve-fold one (*i. e.*, of the year); those fellows do not infringe the season, when in the year the early rain has come": that is to say, the wise frogs, after reposing through the long dry season, begin their activity again as regularly as the rains come. Jacobi objects that *dvādaśa*, rendered "twelve-fold," means strictly "twelfth," and ought to be taken here in this its more natural sense; and he translates: "they keep the divine ordinance; those fellows do not infringe the season of the twelfth [month];" inferring that then the downright rains mark the first month of the new year. But *dvādaśa* does not in fact mean "twelfth" any more naturally than "twelve-fold;" its ordinal value, though commoner, especially in later time, is not one whit more original and proper than the other, or than yet others; and the proposed change, partly as agreeing less with the metrical division of the verse, is, in my opinion, no improvement, but rather the contrary; and no conclusion as to the beginning of the year can be drawn from it with any fair degree of confidence. This first datum, then, is too indefinite and doubtful to be worth anything.

Next our attention is directed to a verse (13) in the doubtless very late *sūryā*-hymn in the tenth book (x. 85), where, for the sole and only time in the *Rig-Vēda*, mention appears to be made of two out of the series of asterisms, the *Atharva-Vēda* being brought in to help establish the fact. The subject is the wedding of the sun-bride, and the verse reads thus: "The bridal-car (*vahatū*) of *Sūryā* hath gone forth, which Savitar sent off; in the Maghā's (R.-V. Aghā's) are slain the kine (*i. e.*, apparently for the wedding-feast); in the Phalguni's (R.-V. Arjuni's) is the carrying-off (R.-V. carrying-about: *vivāha* 'carrying-off' is the regular name for wedding)." The Maghā's and the Phalguni's are successive asterisms, in Leo, Maghā being the Sickle, with  $\alpha$  Leonis, Regulus, as principal star; and the Phalguni's (reckoned as two asterisms, "former" and "latter" Phalguni's) are the square in the Lion's tail, or  $\beta$ ,  $\theta$ ,  $\delta$ , and 93 Leonis. Now, as Prof. Jacobi points out, the transfer of the sun-bride to a new home would seem plausibly interpretable as the change of the sun from the old year to a new one; and hence the beginning of the rainy season, nearly determined as it is by the summer solstice, would be with the sun in the Phalguni's; and this would imply the vernal equinox at *Mṛigaśiras* (Orion), and the period 4000 B. C. or earlier.

There is evidently a certain degree of plausibility in this argument. But it is also beset with many difficulties. The whole myth in question is a strange and problematic one. That the moon should be viewed as the husband of the asterisms, whom he (all the names for "moon" are masculine) visits in succession on his round of the sky, is natural enough; but that the infinitely superior sun, made feminine for the nonce (*sūryā* instead of *sūrya*), while always masculine else, should be the moon's bride, is very startling; nor indeed, is it anywhere distinctly stated that the moon (*soma*) is the bridegroom, though this is inferable with tolerable confidence from intimations given. *Sūryā* is repeatedly said to go (vs. 7*d*) or go forth (vs. 12*d*) to her husband (and only vs. 38 to be "carried about:" but for Agni, not Soma), or to go (vs. 10*d*) to her house; while any people who had gone so far in observation of the heavens as to establish a system of asterisms, and to determine the position of the sun in it at a given time (no easy matter, but one requiring great skill in observing and inferring), must have seen that it is the moon who "goes forth" in the zodiac to the sun. The astronomical puzzle-headedness involved in the myth is hardly reconcilable with the accuracy which should make its details reliable data for important and far-reaching conclusions. The kine for the feast, too, it would seem, must be killed where the bride is, or when the sun is in Maghā; then if the wedding-train starts when sun and moon are together in the Phalguni's, which would be ten to fifteen days later, how do we know that they do not go and settle down in some other asterism,

further on? And are we to suppose that the couple move and start their new life in the rains? That is certainly the least auspicious time for such an undertaking, and no safe model for the earthly weddings of which it is supposed to be the prototype. On all accounts, there is here no foundation on which to build important conclusions.

Nor shall we be able to find anything more solid in Prof. Jacobi's next plea, which is derived from the prescriptions of the *Gṛhya-Sūtras* as to the time when a Vedic student is to be received by his teacher, and to commence study. *Sāṅkhya* sets this at the season when the plants appear: that is to say, at the beginning of the rains; and it is pointed out that the Buddhists also fix their season of study and preaching in the same part of the year. But *Pāraskara* puts the initiation of the student at the full moon of the month *Śrāvaṇa*, which (*Śrāvaṇa* being  $\beta, \alpha, \gamma$  *Aquilæ*) would have been first month of the rains in the second millennium before Christ; while *Gobhila* sets it, alternatively, in the month *Bhādrapada*, which would have occupied the same position more than two thousand years earlier, or when the vernal equinox was at Orion. The author further points out that the *Īśāmāyana* (a comparatively very late authority) designates *Bhādrapada* as the month for devoting one's self to sacred study; and that the Jains (whom one would think likely to be quite independent of Brahmanic tradition) do the same. The reason for fixing on this particular season Prof. Jacobi takes to be the fact that "the rainy months, during which all out-of-doors occupation ceases, are the natural time of study;" and then he makes the momentous assumption that the designations of *Śrāvaṇa* and *Bhādrapada* can be due only to traditions from older periods, when those months began the rainy season respectively. On this point cautious critics will be little likely to agree with him. If the systematic study (memorization) of Vedic lore began as early as 4000 B. C., and could be carried on only in-doors, and so was attached closely to the in-doors rainy season, we should expect to find it attached throughout to the season, and not to the month, and especially in the case of the Jains: that these also abandoned the rains is one indication that the consideration was never a constraining one. And the orthodox Vedic student did not go to school for a limited time in each year, but for a series of years of uninterrupted labour; and on what date the beginning should be made was a matter of indifference, to be variously determined, according to the suggestions of locality and climate, or other convenience — or to the caprice of schools, which might seek after something distinctive. I cannot possibly attribute the smallest value to this part of our author's argumentation.

We are next referred by him to the connection established by several of the *Brāhmaṇas* between the *Phalguni*'s ( $\beta, \delta$ , etc., *Leonis*) and the beginning and end of the year. The *Taittiriya-Saṁhitā* (vii. 4, 8) and the *Panchaviṃśa-Brāhmaṇa* (v. 9, 8) say simply that "the full-moon in *Phalguni* is the month (*mukha*, i. e., 'beginning') of the year;" this would imply a position of the sun near the western of the two *Bhādrapada*'s ( $\alpha$  *Pegasi*, etc.), and determine the *Phālguna* month, beginning 14 days earlier, as first month. The *Kāushītaki-Brāhmaṇa* (v. 1) makes an almost identical statement, but adds to it the following: "the latter (eastern) *Phalgu*'s are the month, the former (western) are the tail:" and the *Taittiriya-Brāhmaṇa* (i. 6, 2<sup>a</sup>) virtually comments on this, saying that "the former *Phalguni*'s are the last night of the year, and the latter *Phalguni*'s are the first night of the year." The *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* (vi. 2, 2, 18) puts it still a little differently: "the full moon of *Phalguni* is the first night of the year — namely, the latter one; the former one is the last [night]." All this, it seems, can only mean that, of two successive (nearly) full-moon nights in *Phalguni*, the former, when the moon is nearer the former *Phalguni*, is the last night of one year, and the other the first night of the next year; and the only conclusion to be properly drawn from it is that the full-moon of the month *Phālguna* divides the two years. But Prof. Jacobi, by a procedure which is to me quite unaccountable, takes the two parts of the statement as if they were two separate and independent statements, inferring from the one that *Phālguna* was recognized by the *Brāhmaṇas* as a first month, and from the other that the summer solstice was determined by them to lie between the former and latter *Phalguni*'s — as if the sun in the *Phalguni*'s entered

into the question at all, and as if the *Brāhmaṇas* ever made any pretence to such astronomical exactness as would be implied in their drawing the solstitial colure between the former and the latter Phalguni's! What they have really done is bad and blundering enough, but quite of a piece with their general treatment of matters involving astronomical observation. For it is senseless to talk, in connection with the full moon in Phālguna, of a year-limit between the two Phalguni's; if the definition would fit the circumstances in a given year, it could not possibly do so in the year following, nor in the year after that, nor ever in two years in succession. All that we have any right to infer from these *Brāhmaṇa* passages is that they recognize a reckoning of the year (among others) that makes it begin in Phālguna; and this might be for one of a great many reasons besides the occurrence of the solstice near that group of stars four thousand years before Christ. In fact, all inferences drawn from varying beginnings of the year, in one and another and another month, seem to me helplessly weak supports for any important theory. With their customary looseness in regard to such matters, the ancient Hindus reckoned three, or five, or six, or seven seasons (*ṛitū*) in the year; and there was no controlling reason why any of these might not have been given the first place—the vacillating relations of the lunar months to the actual seasons adding their share to the confusion. Of course, any given month being taken as first, the ancient four-month sacrifices, of primary importance, would be arranged accordingly.

Professor Jacobi even tries (though with becoming absence of dogmatism) to derive a little support from the names of the two asterisms which, with the vernal equinox at Mṛigaśiras (Orion's head), would enclose the autumnal equinox, namely Jyeshthā 'eldest' before the equinox, and Mūla 'root' after it: the former, he thinks, might designate the "old" year, and the latter be that out of which the new series springs and grows. But how should *jyeshthā*, 'eldest' or 'chief,' ever come to be so applied? The superlative is plainly and entirely unsuited to the use; and an asterism does not suggest a year, but only a month; and the asterism and month just left behind would properly be styled rather the "youngest," the most recent, of its series. If we are to determine the relations of the asterisms on such fanciful etymological grounds (after the manner of the *Brāhmaṇas*), I would repeat my suggestion, made in the notes to the *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, that Mūla (tail of the Scorpion) is 'root' as being the lowest or southernmost of the whole series; that Jyeshthā (Antares, etc.) is its "oldest" branch, while in Viśākhā 'divaricate' ( $\alpha$  and  $\beta$  Libræ) it branches apart toward Svāti (Arcturus) and Chitrā (Spica); this is at least much more plausible than our author's interpretation.

Finally, after claiming that these various evidences "point unmistakably" (*untrüglich*) to the asserted position of the equinox at Orion in the oldest Vedic period, Prof. Jacobi goes on as follows: "The later Vedic period has applied a correction, consisting in the transfer of the initial point to Kṛittikā (the Pleiades); and this very circumstance gives their determination a real significance; it must have been nearly right at the time of the correction." Here he seems to me to be wanting in due candor; I cannot see that he has any right to make such a statement without at least adding a caveat: "provided the system of asterisms was really of Hindu origin and modification," or something else equivalent to this. Doubtless he cannot be ignorant of the discussions and discordance of opinion on this subject, nor unaware that at least some of those who have studied it most deeply hold views which would deprive his statement of all value. If the asterismal system were limited to India, there would be much less reason for regarding it as introduced there from abroad—and yet, even in that case, some would doubtless have been acute enough to suspect a foreign origin. But it is found (as was pointed out above) over a large part of Asia; and the only question is whether it was brought into India or carried out of India. What possible grounds has Prof. Jacobi for regarding its Indian origin as so certain that the opposing view has no claim even to be referred to? The eminent French astronomer Biot thought that he had proved it primitively Chinese, by an array of correspondences and historical evidences alongside of which our author's proofs of a remote

antiquity for the Veda make no show at all. Other scholars — *e. g.*, Sédillot — have been as confident that the system had its birth in Arabia. Weber and I, on whatever other points we may have been discordant, agreed entirely, some thirty-five years ago, that it must have been introduced into India, probably out of Mesopotamia; nor, I believe, has either of us seen any reason for changing his conviction since. And I know of no modern scholar whose opinion is of any value that holds and has endeavored to show the contrary. Nothing in the *Rig-Vēda* nor in the *Brāhmaṇas*, and nothing in the later Sanskrit literature, tends in any degree to give us the impression that the ancient Hindus were observers, recorders, and interpreters of astronomical phenomena. On the contrary, their treatment of such facts (we have already seen an instance or two above) shews the same looseness and heedlessness that is characteristic of the Hindu genius everywhere in its relation to objective truths, to successive historical occurrences. That no hint of the existence of a planet can be found in the *Rig-Vēda* is enough by itself to shew that the Hindus of that period had not devised an asterismal system. A late hymn or two, and passages in the *Brāhmaṇas*, shew the recognition of a year of 360 days, divided into 12 months of 30 days each, beside a system of lunar months, which would give a year of only 354 days: what their relation to one another, how their differences were reconciled, and by what method either reckoning was kept in unison with the true year, no one knows. The earliest so-called “Vedic” astronomical manual (*vedāṅga*), the *Jyotiṣa*, whose first object, seemingly, it ought to be to give rules on such points, is mostly filled with unintelligible rubbish, and leaves us quite in the lurch as regards valuable information. And when, not long after the beginning of our era, the Hindus had borrowed from Greece a true astronomical science, the product of long-continued and accurate observation, they at once proceeded to cast it into an artificial form, founded on assumed and consciously false data, adapting it to purely closet use, with exclusion of further observation: taking in as part of the data a grossly inaccurate determination of the positions of certain selected “junction-stars” (*yogatārā*) of the asterisms, which positions they called *dhruva* ‘fixed,’ thus virtually denying the precession. That such observers and reasoners as these should have been capable, some four or five thousand years before Christ, of determining, or believing themselves to have determined, the position of the summer solstice as between  $\beta$  and  $\delta$  Leonis lacks to my mind any semblance of plausibility. Instead of shifting the beginning of the asterismal series from *Mṛigaśīras* (Orion’s head) to *Kṛittikā* (Pleiades) in the later Vedic period, I hold it as alone probable that they received the system from abroad with *Kṛittikā* at its head, and would probably have retained it in that form until the present day but for the revolution wrought in their science by Greek teaching. When the beginning was shifted from *Kṛittikā* to *Aśvinī* (Aries), it was for good reason, and owing to the change of position of the equinox; but the credit of this belongs to the Greeks, and not to the Hindus.

If Prof. Jacobi’s main argument is thus wholly destitute of convincing force, neither can we attribute any greater value to the supporting evidence which he would fain derive from the mention of a polar star (*dhruva*, lit. ‘fixed’) by the *Grihya-Sūtras*, solely and alone as something which a bride is to be taken out and made to look at on the evening of her wedding-day. For such observers, and for such a trifling purpose, any star not too far from the pole would have satisfied both the newly-wedded woman and the exhibitor; there is no need of assuming that the custom is one handed down from the remote period when  $\alpha$  Draconis was really very close to the pole, across an interval of two or three thousand years, during which there is no mention of a pole-star, either in *Vēda* or in *Brāhmaṇa*.

The success of the author of the other work here considered in establishing his kindred thesis is, as will readily be inferred, no better. Mr. Tilak is not by profession a student of Indian antiquity, nor of astronomy, but a lawyer — a pleader and lecturer on law in Poona. He was, as he states, led to his investigation by coming upon Krishṇa’s claim in the *Bhagavad-Gītā*: “I am *Mārgaśīrṣa* among the months,” ascribing to it an importance and authority which, considering the late date and secondary origin of that episode of the *Mahābhārata*,

Western scholars would be far from endorsing. The investigation is carried on in an excellent spirit, with much and various learning, and with commendable ingenuity; it assembles many interesting facts, and makes some curious and attractive combinations; but, as appears to me, its arguments are in general strained, its premises questionable, and its conclusions lacking in solidity. A book larger than his own would be needed to discuss fully all that the author brings forward; nothing more can be attempted here than to excerpt and comment upon leading points, in such a way as to give a fair impression of his strength and his weakness.

Mr. Tilak's main object is, as already intimated, to establish that the asterism *Mṛigaśīras* (lit. 'deer's head') with its surroundings, or the constellation Orion with its neighbours, was a great centre of observation and myth-making in the earliest time, even back to the period of Indo-European or Aryan unity — and this, not only because of its conspicuous beauty as a constellation, but also, and principally, for its position close to the vernal equinox in the fifth millennium before Christ: somewhat, it may be added, as the equal or superior prominence of the Great Bear is due in part to its character as a constellation, and in part to its place near the pole.

To this central point of the value of Orion we are conducted by a well-managed succession of stages. After a general introductory chapter, on which we need not dwell, the second is entitled "*Sacrifice alias the Year*;" and in it begin to appear the misapprehensions to which reference has been made above. That there is a close relation between natural periods of time and the sacrifices is a matter of course: the morning and evening oblations depend upon the day; the new-moon and full-moon ceremonies, upon the natural month; the four-month or seasonal sacrifices, upon the recognized seasons; and so, when the round of the year had made itself plain, there were established rites to mark its recurrence. But Mr. Tilak appears to hold that the year was fixed and maintained by and for the sake of the great *sattra* ('session') or protracted sacrifice that lasts a whole year. Unmindful of the fact that every ceremony of more than twelve days is called a *sattra*, and so that there are *sattras* of a great variety of lengths, even year-*sattras* for variously measured years, and (at least theoretically) for series of two or more years; failing also to see that they are, all of them, the very superfetation of a highly elaborated sacrificial system, implying orders of priests, accumulated wealth, and, one may even say, regulated city life — he views (pp. 13-14) the year-*sattra* as a primitive Indo-European institution, the necessary auxiliary to a calendar. "Without a yearly *sattra* regularly kept up, a Vedic Rishi could hardly have been able to ascertain and measure the time in the way he did. . . . The idea of a sacrifice extending over the whole year may be safely supposed to have originated in the oldest days of the history of the Aryan race." Then, in order to trace back into the *Rig-Vēda* a recognition of the two *ayanas* ('courses') or halves of the year, the northern and the southern — those, namely, in which the sun moves respectively northward and southward, from solstice to solstice, or else (for the word has both varieties of application) on the north and on the south of the equator from equinox to equinox — he determines that meaning to belong to the Vedic terms *devayāna* and *pitṛiyāna*: and this is and utter and palpable mistake; the words have no such value; *devayāna* occurs a dozen times, usually as adjective with some noun meaning 'roads,' and never signifies anything but the paths that go to the gods, or that the gods go upon, between their heaven and this world, to which they come in order to enjoy the offerings of their worshippers; and *pitṛiyāna*, occurring only once, designates in like manner the road travelled by the Fathers or *manes*, to arrive at their abode. There is, in fact, nothing yet brought to light in the *Rig-Vēda* to indicate, or even intimate, that in its time such things as *ayanas* and equinoxes and solstices, regarded as distances and points in the heavens, had ever been thought of; everything of the kind that the author of *Orion* thinks to find there is projected into the oldest Veda out of the records of a much later period. And these two fundamental errors are enough of themselves to vitiate his whole argument.

The next chapter (III.) is entitled "The Kṛittikās." Over its main thesis — namely, that in the earlier time the asterismal system began with Kṛittikā (Pleiades) instead of Āśvini (Aries) — we need not linger; that is conceded by everyone, and has been sufficiently set forth above: together with, it is believed, its true explanation. The (as concerns this point) crucial question respecting the origin of the system Mr. Tilak barely mentions in his Introduction (p. 6 ff.), declining to enter into any discussion of it: and, from his point of view, not without reason; for if he is in a position, as he claims, to prove that India had a yet earlier system beginning with Mṛigaśīras (Orion), he has demonstrated the Hindu origin, in spite of all that has been said and can be said against it. A considerable part of the chapter is taken up with a full quotation, accompanied by translation and discussion, of two parallel passages from the *Taittirīya* and the *Kāushītaki Brāhmaṇas*, respecting the times of consecration for the year-*sattra*. Four different times are prescribed in succession: the last quarter in the month Māgha, the full-moon of the following month Phālguna, the full-moon of the next succeeding month Chaitra, and four days before the full-moon (*i. e.*, doubtless, of Chaitra: but some native authorities regard Māgha as intended: see Weber, *Nakshatras*, ii. 343); objections are raised to the convenience of the first two, and the others (virtually one) are approved as acceptable. If, now, this *sattra* were, as Mr. Tilak assumes and fully believes, a counterpart of the year, established in primeval times on competent astronomical knowledge, for the purpose of keeping the calendar straight, and accordingly adapted precisely to the movements of the sun; and if its *vishuvant* or central day (with 180 days of ceremonies in a certain order preceding it, and 180 days of the same in a reverse order following it), were attached necessarily to an equinox, because the word *vishuvant* implies an equal division of the day between light and darkness; and then if there were no way of explaining the series of alternative beginnings excepting by recognizing two of them as conservative traditions from times that fitted these astronomical conditions — then, and only then, we could use them as sufficient data, inferring from them the positions of the equinox, and hence the epochs, at which they were successively established. But all these necessary conditions appear to be wanting. Weber, in his essays on the *Nakshatras* (ii. 341 ff.), quotes and expounds the same *Brāhmaṇa* passages in full. He demonstrates yet other allowed seasons for beginning the year-*sattra*, out of the *Kāushītaki-Brāhmaṇa* itself and out of the *Sūtras*. So far as any preference is shewn in connection with the incidence of the *vishuvant*-day, it is for the solstice instead of the equinox. And the texts which set forth the different dates side by side are plainly unaware of any deeper reason for the choice of one instead of another. In short, there is nothing to be fairly inferred from these quoted passages except that considerable diversity prevailed in practice, and was allowed, as regards the time for commencing the *sattra*, and that the element of astronomical exactness did not enter into the case at all. How, indeed, should it do so, when the date was attached to any one of the constantly shifting lunar months? No fixation expressed in such terms could ever be accurate two years in succession. If there had been among the primitive Indo-Europeans, or among the earliest Hindus, science enough to establish such a rite by a certain sidereal position of the sun, there would have been enough to keep it there, without transference to an ever oscillating date.

The next chapter is called "Agrahāyana," and is devoted to a learned and ingenious argument to prove that, as the word *agrahāyana* means 'beginning of the year,' and is recognized as a name for the month Mārgaśīrsha (with the moon full near Orion), that month must have been at one time regarded as first of the twelve (or thirteen). This may be freely granted, without at all implying that the asterism Mṛigaśīras (Orion's head) was ever first of the asterismal series, and for the reason that it lay nearest to the vernal equinox. The extended and intricate discussions into which Mr. Tilak enters as to the relation of *agrahāyana* and its derivatives, *agrahāyana*, etc., as laid down and defended by various native lexicographers and grammarians, are rather lost upon us, who value far more highly a few instances of actual and natural use in older works than the learned and artificial lucubrations of comparatively modern Hindu



savants; that *agrahāyana* itself designates the asterism *Mṛigaśīras*, and so proves it to have been first asterism of a series beginning and ending with the year, is by no means to be credited, in the absence of any passages exhibiting such use, and against the evidence of all the analogies of asterismal nomenclature.

In the following chapter, "the Antelope's Head," we come to the very centre of our author's position. By the name antelope's or deer's head (*mṛigaśīras*) has been generally understood the little group of inconspicuous stars in the head of Orion, constituting one of the series of asterisms, while the brilliant star  $\alpha$  in his right shoulder constitutes another, called *Ādrā* ('wet'): the whole constellation of Orion has been viewed as the antelope (*mṛiga*); and, correspondingly, the neighbouring Sirius is named *mṛigavyādha* 'deer-hunter,' while the three stars of Orion's belt, which point just in the direction of Sirius, are the "three-jointed arrow" (*ishus trikūṇḍā*) shot by the hunter. *Mṛigaśīras*, as so understood, is in itself an insignificant group, and we have some reason for wondering why the bright  $\gamma$ , Orion's left shoulder, was not selected instead; but the general constellation is so conspicuous that anything standing in a clearly definable relation to it might well be regarded as sufficiently marked; and, at any rate, the identity of this group as the asterism is established beyond all reasonable question by the circumstance that it is accepted as such in the two other systems, the Chinese and the Arab. Mr. Tilak, however — under what inducement, it seems difficult to understand — desires to change all this, and to turn the entire constellation of Orion into a head, with what we call the "belt" running across the forehead at the base of the horns. By so doing he cuts loose altogether from the traditional asterismal systems, makes up an unacceptable constellation with some of the brightest stars omitted, regards the deer as shot through the top of the skull with the arrow, as if this had been rifle-bullet. All this, though our author values it so highly as to make his frontispice of it, is to be summarily rejected. If the Hindus of the *Brāhmaṇa* period saw, as they plainly did, a deer (*mṛiga*) in Orion, it should be enough for us that the asterismal system adopts its head as one member; the establishment of the deer itself might be as much older as there is evidence to prove it. Mr. Tilak tries to find something relating to it in the *Rig-Vēda*, by pointing out that the dragon slain by Indra is more than once spoken of there as a "wild beast" (*mṛiga*: this is the original, and in ancient times the only, meaning of the word); and that, as he claims, Indra cuts off the head of his foe the dragon; but here, as nearly everywhere that he appeals to the *Rig-Vēda*, his exegesis is faulty; two of his three passages speak of "splitting" (*bhid*) the head, and the other of "crushing" (*sam-pish*) it; no cutting off is alluded to; and all attempts to find in the earliest Veda a severed head of a *mṛiga*, in whatever sense of the word, are vain. If, as he asserts, there are Hindus at the present time who point out the belt of Orion as the asterism *Mṛigaśīras*, that can be nothing more than a popular error, substituting for one group of three stars another and brighter one in its vicinity, and easily explainable of a people who have long been notoriously careless as to the real identity of their asterisms.

Then the author goes on to find in the the Milky Way, near by, the river that separates this and the other world, and in Canis Major and Canis Minor the two dogs that guard it on either side, and the two dogs of Yama, and the dog of the Avesta, and Saramā, and Cerberus, and the dog whom (R.-V. i. 161, 13: see below) the he-goat accused of waking up the Ribhus — all very ingenious and entertaining, but of a nature only to adorn and illustrate a thesis already proved by evidence possessing a quite other degree of preciseness and cogency. We are taught to regard the deer, the hunter, and the dogs as originally Indo-European, the dogs having been later lost (from the sky) by Hindu tradition, and the hunter (as distinguished from the deer) by Greek tradition. Throughout the discussion, the treatment and application of *Rig-Vēda* passages is far from being such as Western scholarship can approve; and the same is the case with the final conclusion of the chapter, that "the three principal deities in the Hindu mythology can be traced to and located in this part of the heavens" — the trio being Vishnu, Rudra, and Prajāpati.

The sixth chapter, "Orion and his Belt," continues the same argument, and with evidences to which we must take equal exception. *Āgrahāyana* and its derivatives are again brought forward for explanation, and its *hāyana* is made out to come probably from *ayana*, with an indifferent *h* prefixed (for which various supporting facts are adduced, as *hinu* and *inv*) and the vowel lengthened; and thus *āgrahāyana* is identified with *āgrayanī*, the sacrifice of first fruits while the latter is further on identified with the name Orion. The number of the planets is found to be "fixed at nine" (with anticipation, it is to be inferred, of the discovery of Uranus and Neptune), since there are nine *grahas* or 'dips' of liquid oblation at the sacrifice (the common name of a planet being also *graha*). The sacred thread of the Brāhman comes from Orion's belt as its prototype; and the belt, staff, and antelope's skin of the Brahmanic pupil commencing his Vedic study go back equally to Orion's trappings. The chapter has no direct bearing upon the main question of the work, and these details are quoted only as illustrating the degree of the author's prepossession in favor of his theory of the immense importance of Orion. And the first part of chapter VII., "Ribhus and Vṛishākapi," is of the same character. It is suggested that the means — *turiyeṇa brahmaṇi* (R.-V. v. 46, 6), 'by the fourth prayer' — which the sage Atri employed successfully in bringing the eclipsed sun back into the sky, was perhaps a quadrant or some similar instrument. Planets are recognized in *bṛīhaspati*, in *śukra* and *manthin*, and in *vena*, both *vena* and *śukra* (= *cypri*) being names of Venus — and so on. Then the principal part of the chapter is devoted to the discussion of a couple of obscure legends from the *Rig-Vēda*. At i. 161, 13, we read thus: "Having slept, ye Ribhus, ye asked: 'Who, O Agohya, hath awakened us?' The he-goat declares the dog to be the awakener; in a year thus to-day have ye looked out (*i. e.*, opened your eyes);" and iv. 33, 7, says that the Ribhus slept twelve days as guests with Agohya. If, now (as has been suggested also by others), the Ribhus are the divinities of the season (which is reconcilable with some of their described attributes, though by no means with all); and if Agohya, lit. 'the unconcealable one,' is the sun; and if the twelve days of recreation are the twelve that must be added to the lunar year to fill it out to a solar one (one, unfortunately, of 366 days, which neither Vedic tradition nor astronomy sanctions); and if "in a year" (*sahvatsare*) means distinctly 'at the end of the year' (which might be if the sleep had been of a year's length, but is far less probable, if not impossible, supposing it to have been of twelve days only) — then the dog that roused them (or, at least, was accused of having done so by the he-goat, whom Mr. Tilak this time interprets to be the sun), presumably in order to recommence their duties at the beginning of a new year, may have been *Canis Major* (although this is nowhere called a dog in Hindu tradition, the Hindus, as we saw above, having lost that feature of the original Indo-European legend); and this would imply the sun's start upon his yearly round from a vernal equinox in the neighbourhood of Orion, at four to five thousand years before Christ. Doubtless it will be generally held that a conclusion depending on so many uncertainties and improbabilities is no conclusion at all. If it were already proved by sound evidence that the Hindus began their year, at the period named, from an observed equinox at that point in the heavens, then the interpretation of the legend offered by our author might be viewed as an ingenious and somewhat plausible one; but such an interpretation of such a legend is far too weak a foundation to build any belief upon.

As for the Vṛishākapi Hymn (R.-V. x. 86), the use made of it in the chapter seems utterly fanciful and unwarranted. Of all who have attempted to bring sense out of that strange and obscure passage of the *Rig-Vēda*, no one is less to be congratulated on his success than Mr. Tilak. His discussion of it is only to be paralleled with the endeavour to extract sunbeams from cucumbers, and does not in the least call for examination or criticism in detail. Nor need we spend any words upon the final chapter, "Conclusions," in which the theories and suggestions of the work are gathered and presented anew, without added evidences, in their naked implausibility. Our own conclusion must be that the argument is wholly unacceptable, and that nothing has been brought forward, either by him or by Jacobi, that has force to change the hitherto current views of Hindu antiquity.

## BOOK-NOTICE.

## THE BOWER MANUSCRIPT.

A BRIEF account of the progress made in the publication of this important work, under the editorship of Dr. Hoernle, may interest our readers.

In Vol. XXI. of this *Journal*, pp. 29 and following, Dr. Hoernle commenced an interesting series of papers dealing with the contents of this ancient manuscript. It will be remembered that he said:—

“It consists of not less than five distinct portions.

“The first portion consists of 31 leaves. It contains a medical work. \* \* \* \* I shall designate it by the letter A.

“The second portion, to be called B, which immediately follows the first portion, consists of five leaves, and forms a sort of collection of proverbial sayings. \* \* \* \*

“The third portion, C, consisting of four leaves, contains the story of how a charm against snake-bite was given by Buddha to Ānanda. \* \* \* \*

“The fourth portion, D, consists of six leaves. It \* \* \* \* appears to contain a similar collection of proverbial sayings to the second portion, B.

“The fifth portion, E, which also consists of five leaves, contains another medical treatise \* \* \* \*

The first part of Dr. Hoernle's edition appeared in 1893. It included the whole of the fifth portion called E above. This is an incomplete medical work, — and consists, so far as we have it, of 131½ verses, written on five leaves of the MS. The method of editing this, as well as the other portions of the MS. is, first to give a transcription of the text in Roman characters, with critical foot-notes; next to give the translation, illustrated with copious annotations, and finally to give facsimile plates of the MS., accompanied, leaf by leaf, with a line for line transcription in the Dēvanāgarī character.

The second part has appeared in two *fasciculi*: the first published in 1894, and the second in the present year. It contains what Dr. Hoernle, in

1892, called the first portion A, of the MS. I originally consisted of 33 leaves, but two of these (Nos. 20 and 21) are missing, and two others (the 16th and 17th) are the merest fragments. It is a medical treatise, originally in sixteen chapters, of which the two last are wanting. It differs from Part I., in being a series of prescriptions for various diseases, while the former partakes more of the nature of a *materia medica*, and describes the nature and effects of various drugs. From the introductory verses we learn that the work is called the *Nāvantaka*, and that the contents are as follows:—

Chapter I. — Formulas for powders.

„ II. — „ „ the various kinds of clarified butter.

„ III. — „ „ medicated oils.

„ IV. — Miscellaneous formulas.

„ V. — Formulas for enemas.

„ VI. — „ „ tonics.

„ VII. — „ „ gruels.

„ VIII. — „ „ aphrodisiacs.

„ IX. — „ „ collyriums.

„ X. — „ „ hair-washes.

„ XI. — The modes of using chebulic myrobalan.

„ XII. — „ „ bitumen.

„ XIII. — „ „ plumbago-root.

„ XIV. — The treatment of children.

„ XV. — „ „ barren women.

„ XVI. — „ „ women who have children.

It will be seen that out of a total of fifty-one leaves, thirty-six have been disposed of in these three *fasciculi*, and we may congratulate the Editor on his coming within sight of the completion of his task.

This is not the time for criticizing the way in which this task is being accomplished, nor was it our purpose, in undertaking this note, to do so. But we cannot conclude without expressing our admiration at the learning and perspicuity exhibited on every page, and at the style in which the work is being brought out by the Government of India.

G. A. G.

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